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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Chinese Translations of the Milinda Paṇḥo.*
By J. TAKAKUSU.

- I. The number of the Chinese translations in existence.
With a translation of the introduction contained
in one translation.
- II. The date of the two translations.
With an examination of the existing catalogues
of the Chinese Buddhist Books.
- III. The story of the discussions between the King
(Milinda) and Bhikshu Nāgasena found in a
Buddhist sūtra called "Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka."

The above has been written to clear up the doubtful points concerning the Chinese translation as mentioned by Prof. Rhys Davids in his Introduction to the "Milinda" II, pp. xi-xvii.

THE STORY OF KING MILINDA AND NĀGASENA THE SAGE.

The "Questions of Milinda" is, according to Professor Rhys Davids, to whose labour the production of an authentic translation of the work is due, of its kind (that is, as a book

of apologetic controversy), the best in point of style that had then been written in any country, and it is the masterpiece of Indian prose. This interesting book, originally written in Northern India, at or a little after the beginning of the Christian era,¹ has been entirely lost in the land of its origin, but it has been translated into Pāli and Chinese,² and from Pāli into Sinhalese, and much commented in Burma and Siam. For a study of the history of the "Questions of King Milinda" it is important to gather all the information about the work itself, about King Milinda, or Bhikshu Nāgasena, and to inquire as to how early the memory of the king goes back, or how long the same has survived in India. We have been very fortunate to have that interesting paper³ of MM. Sylvain Lévi and Ed. Specht on the Chinese translations of the Milinda. M. S. Lévi has further discovered that a reference to the Milinda was not only in the commentary,⁴ but also in the text of the Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā of Vasubandhu.⁵ The actual words of the reference have been published by M. Léon Feer in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1891, p. 476. Mr. Schiefner has found a statement in a Tibetan work that a schism took place under a Thera Nāgasena 137 years after the Buddha's death.⁶ But it is not certain whether he is our Nāgasena.

Professor Serge d'Oldenbourg, of St. Petersburg, has pointed out that the two Cambridge MSS. of Kshemendra's Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalata mention incidentally the name Milinda (not "Millinda," as given by Rājendra Lāl Mitra).

¹ See Rhys Davids, Introduction to Milinda I, p. xi, "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxv; compare the same, pp. xxii, xxiii, "Milinda must have reigned for a considerable time in the latter half of the second century a.c., probably from about 140 to about 115, or even 110 a.c."

² The Chinese may represent a different original, as MM. S. Lévi and E. Specht think, or a portion of a text of Pāli recension mixed with a comment or notes made in Siam or somewhere else. These points will become clear when the promised translation of the above two scholars has been laid before us.

³ See the Proceedings of the Ninth Oriental Congress, 1892, vol. i, pp. 520-529.

⁴ That a reference is in the commentary has been pointed out by Burnouf in his "Introduction," etc., p. 570.

⁵ See Milinda, part i, p. xxvi, and part ii, p. xvii.

⁶ Note to his translation of Tāranātha, p. 298.

Some other important references by Buddhaghosa and others, and the relation of our work to the Kathā Vatthu, Brahma-jāla sutta, and other books, have been minutely discussed by Professor Rhys Davids himself, and all are found well put together in his two introductions to the Milinda, parts i and ii.

Several points, however, remain still to be cleared up. All those points relating to the Chinese translation of the work will, I hope, be further discussed by MM. S. Lévi and Specht in their forthcoming translation of the Chinese text, i.e. "Nā-Sien-Bhikshu King."¹

It is true that Bunyu Nanjio says in his catalogue, as pointed out by Prof. Rhys Davids, that it was "translated under the Eastern Tsin dynasty, A.D. 317-420"; while MM. S. Lévi and E. Specht tell us that one of the two translations was inserted in the Korean collection made in that country A.D. 1010, and the other was printed in the Collection of Buddhist Books, published under the Sung, A.D. 1239.² The difference of these statements, though it may seem very great, is not, after all, very difficult to be accounted for. But before we try to speak about the date of the translation we must decide how many translations now exist in Chinese.

I. *It is certain that we have two distinct translations of the Milinda among Chinese Buddhist Books. But have we a third?*

Professor Rhys Davids has pointed out that there seems to be a third Chinese translation besides the two mentioned in the paper above referred to, and further doubts whether there must not be a fourth to explain all the different statements of Nanjio and Specht.

Now as to the first two. The new Japanese edition (published in Tokyo, 1883—Bodleian Jap. 65) of Chinese Buddhist Books contains two translations of the Milinda,

¹ Bunyu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of Buddhist Books, No. 1358.

² Milinda, part ii, p. xii (S.B.E. xxxvi).

one in two volumes, the other in three. These two are, in all probability, the same as those mentioned in the paper of MM. S. Lévi and Specht. This edition was based on the Korean edition of A.D. 1010, and collated from five different editions published in China and Japan. The Japanese editors have recognized that these two translations were distinct works, and inserted the two together in their new edition. Whether the two texts in the Japanese edition are the same as those in Paris¹ or not, it is certain that we have two different translations of the work in question.

Now, have we a third translation, besides these two contained in the Japanese edition?

Professor Serge d'Oldenbourg told Professor Rhys Davids that the introduction contained in the Chinese translation of the *Milinda*, which was further translated into Russian by Mr. Ivanovsky, was a sort of Jātaka story, in which the Buddha appeared as a white elephant.² The copy in the India Office Collection (Chinese Miscellaneous, Case 67^c) consists of three volumes, the first of which has an introduction relating to the former births of Milinda and Nāgasena.

In this introduction we have something about an Elephant-king representing Milinda's former birth, but not the Buddha's. As it is important to identify the India Office copy with one of the texts in Paris, or with the Russian translation just referred to, I have thought it best to give the introduction in question in the following pages, by means of which, perhaps, Professor Serge d'Oldenbourg or M. Ed. Specht will be able to see from a comparison with their own books whether or no the India Office copy is identical with one of theirs.³

In any case, it would be very interesting to decide to which class the India Office copy belongs.

¹ Very likely they are the same: see below.

² See Rhys Davids, *Introduction, Milinda II*, p. xi. He thinks that, as there is nothing about this curious introduction in either of M. Specht's papers, it seems possible that there are really three Chinese books on the "*Milinda*."

³ The importance of this identification has been emphasized by Professor Rhys Davids, *Milinda II*, p. xii, note.

I here give a translation of the introduction contained in the India Office text of the Milinda.

THE SŪTRA ON THE BHIKSHU NĀ-SIEN.¹

(No. 1358 in Nanjio's Catalogue—Chinese Miscellaneous, Case 67¹ [26].)

"The translator's name is lost, and we register this work as belonging to the Easter Tsin dynasty (A.D. 317–420)."²

³The Buddha (once) dwelt in Śrāvastī, in the grove of Jeta, in the gardens of Anāthapiṇḍada.⁴ At that time all the Bhikshu Saṅgha, Bhikṣuṇīs, Upāsakas, Upāsikās, all the kings of heaven, great ministers, rich men and other people, and also those who pursue the (heretic) doctrines of 96 varieties, altogether to the number of more than 10,000, daily attended the Buddha to hear his religious discourse (sūtrānta). It occurred to the Buddha: "The assembly of men here is great from day to day, and my body cannot be at ease." The Buddha's wish was to forsake the assembly of men and retire into a quiet place, where he could sit down, contemplate, and meditate on the path. The Buddha then deserted the assembly of men, and retired to a mountain in the thicket of Kiao-lo⁵ trees. These trees

¹ Three vols. in all—

Vol. i consists of 23 leaves, the first word being 佛, the last 善哉.

Vol. ii " 21 " " " 王, " 善哉.

Vol. iii " 15 " " " 王復, " 作禮.

The division of the collection is marked at the edge, 聚五六七. Though the India Office text is an old Japanese edition (1681), yet it is practically a reproduction of the Chinese edition of the Ming dynasty (1600).

² 失譯人名附東晉錄. This is the editor's remark.

³ Mark that this book does not begin with "evaṃ mayā śrutam," though it pretends to be a sūtra.

⁴ Anāthapiṇḍika in Pāli, another name of Sudatta.

⁵ Kolaka, "black pepper"? Or do the three characters stand for a name something like Karañja, *pongamia glabra*.

had a spirit; and the Buddha seated himself under one of the trees and was meditating on the path of purity. Not far from the forest there were elephants to the number of more than 500. The elephant-king was wise and good, and able to judge what is good or bad; their manners resembling those of men. All the elephants used to surround the king; among them there were male and female, long-toothed, middle-toothed, and small-toothed.¹ Whenever the elephant-king, being thirsty, wished to go and drink water, all the smaller elephants ran before the king and entered the water and drank it. After that, they would sport with water, running about, stirring up, or fishing in, the water, and make it turbid and impure, and the result was that the king could not drink any pure water. Whenever the king, being hungry, wanted to go and eat grass, all the small elephants used to run before him and eat all the beautiful grass, and sport, running about, jumping, treading on the grass, and the king himself could not eat fresh grass at all. The elephant-king thereupon thought to himself: "My companions are too many, and I regret that all the elephants and their young ones would stir up water (before I drink), thereby making it turbid, or eat grass before me, making it impure (by treading on); and I have always to drink impure water and eat trodden-down grass. What if I abandoned all the elephants and retired to a quiet place where I can be happy?" Thereupon the king abandoned the assembly, went to a mountain, and came to the thicket of the Kiao-lo trees. (As it happened to be the place where the Buddha was) he saw the Buddha there sitting under a tree. Then, greatly rejoicing in his heart, he came before the Buddha, bowed, knelt down, and worshipped the Buddha; and retired to one side and remained there. The Buddha then thought to himself: "I have abandoned my companions and have come here in the forest; the elephant has also forsaken his retinue and is come here in the same place. Thus we have come here for exactly the same purpose."

¹ These may be "advanced in age," "middle-aged," and "young."

The Buddha then gave a religious discourse (sūtrānta) for the sake of the elephant-king, and said: "A Buddha is the most honoured among men, and the elephant-king is the most honoured among elephants." Further: "My intention is similar to that of (you) the elephant-king; I shall be happy being together with the elephant in the forest."

When the elephant heard the religious discourse his mind was enlightened, and he understood what the Buddha meant, and, looking towards the Buddha, he wandered about the Buddha's walking-place (Caṅkrama).¹ Now he would draw water with his nose and water the ground, then he would pluck some grass with his nose and sweep the place, or he would make the ground flat and good by treading on it. The elephant-king served the Buddha in this way every day from morning till evening. Some time afterwards the Buddha took the quiet path of Nirvāṇa² and disappeared.

The elephant did not know where the Buddha was, and, therefore, he wandered about to look for the Buddha, but without success. Thereupon he wept, cried, and was full of sorrow, without any enjoyment; he did not even eat or drink.

At that time there was a Buddhist monastery on a mountain in the country. It was called "Ku-la-yüan,"³ and had 500 Śramaṇas living in it, who all were Arhats. They used to recite sūtras on the six fast-days, every month. (One day) at dawn the elephant-king was also on the mountain, and came near the monastery. He noticed that there was a recitation of sūtras on the six fast-days, and

¹ Caṅkrama here, of course, cannot be a "covered walk." I-tsing, a Chinese traveller in India (A.D. 671-695), mentions "Caṅkrama" of the Nālanda monastery in his "Record of Buddhist Practices in India and the Islands of the Southern Sea," a translation of which will soon be published by the Clarendon Press in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series. For "Caṅkrama," see also Mahāvagga v, 1, 14, note 2; "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xvii.

² 無爲泥洹道, *lit.* "Actionless Nirvāṇa Path."

³ Kālavana?

came to the monastery every fast-day in order to hear sūtras recited.

All the Śramaṇas knew that the elephant was glad to hear the rehearsal, and waited each time until he came among them.

While hearing the recitation of sūtras he would not sleep, or lie, or move, or tremble all the night. As the elephant often heard the exposition of the sūtras and served the Buddha, he was born, as a man, afterwards when his long life as elephant had come to an end. He was born in the family of a Brāhman; he did not hear of the Buddha or of a sūtra, nor did he see any Śramaṇas. He left his family, went in a deep forest, and lived there learning the path of a Brāhman. At about the same time there was another hermit Brāhman in the same forest; and the two visited each other and made acquaintance.

One of the two thought to himself: "I am disgusted with the human life, with the district magistrate,¹ with the conditions of sorrow, suffering, old age, sickness, and death; after death we are to fall into hell, or become a hungry spirit (preta), or an animal, or live a poor and miserable life when born as a man. Therefore, I will shave my hair and beard, and become a Śramaṇa, wearing a Kāśhāya (yellow robe), and seek after the quiet path (Nirvāṇa), which is (the means of) saving the world." The other Brāhman also thought, to himself: "I wish to be a sovereign, possessed of might and power, and to let all the people under heaven follow me and obey my command and instruction."

Some time after they both made these vows they died, and were reborn again in the world as men. The one, who had wished to become a sovereign in his former life, was born as the crown-prince to a king (in a country) bordering on the sea. His parents named him "Mi-lan."² The

¹ This is very curious; 縣官 may be for 縣空 "lodged in mid-air," as an adjective to the "human life."

² "Lan" is never used for "lin" in transcribing a Sanskrit word, but used almost exclusively for "lan" or "ran." This shows that the original had

other, who had wished to pursue the quiet path of Nirvāṇa, which is (the means of) saving the world, was born in Tien-chu (Sindhu as a name for India), in the district of Kaśmīra. His parents named him "Da-la" (Dhāra?). He was born wearing a Kūshāya (yellow robe), in consequence of his vow made in his former life. In his house there was an elephant which was born on the same day as he. As elephant is called nā (for nāga) in Tien-chu (Sindhu, India), the parents again named their son "Nā-sien" (Nāga-sena).

So far about the former births of Milinda and Nāgasena. Then the introduction goes on relating something about Nāgasena's uncle "Lo-hau" (Rohaṇa).¹ Nāgasena goes to his uncle and asks to be made a Śramaṇa. He becomes a Śrāmaṇera, and receives the ten precepts (śīla). In his 20th year he goes to a temple called "Ho-shan" (probably Vattaniya), and receives the great precepts (śīla) from the head of the 500 Arhats, the venerable O-pei (or A-pi). The assembly points out that Nāgasena alone among them is not yet an Arhat, and, therefore, Nāgasena intends to leave the assembly. O-pei exhorts him. Another teacher of Nāgasena, Ka-vi by name, 80 years old, orders the latter to go with water full in his mouth to the house of an Upāsaka, who asks him to preach a sermon. Nāgasena preaches the Law, having emptied his mouth against his teacher's order. As a result of his sermon, the Upāsaka as well as Nāgasena himself obtain the fruition of Sotāpanna² (Srotāpanna, the first of the four stages of the Path). His teacher, Ka-vi, wants to expel him on the ground of his

Mi-lan or Me-lan as its first part, not Mi-lin or Me-lin. St. Julien's "*Méthode pour Transcrire les Noms Samscrits en Chinoise*" also does not give any instance of "lan" being used for any Skt. syllable, but "lan," "lan," or "ran" (including "la" or "ra"): see p. 135.

¹ For Rohaṇa, see Rhys Davids, *Milinda I*, p. 13 seq.

² The four grades are—(1) Sotāpanna, (2) Sakatāgāmin, (3) Anāgāmin, (4) Arhat. See Childers, *s. v.* nibbāna, p. 268, and Max Müller's "*Diamond Cutter*," IX (S.B.E. vol. xlii, part ii), p. 120, note 2.

disobedience to his teacher; the head of the assembly, O-pei (or A-pi), protests against the proposal, but in vain. Nāgasena, being sad, retires to a mountain and finally becomes an Arhat. He then appears once again before the 500 Arhats, who have expelled him, and apologizes for his former fault, but does not stay there. He makes a preaching excursion, and his fame spreads all over India. He comes to Sā-ga (Sāgala), of Tien-chu (Sindhu), and remains at the temple of I-ti-ka.

Mi-lan (Milinda), on the other hand, studies with diligence sūtras and also heretic systems, and afterwards succeeds to the throne, in a country bordering on the sea, and asks publicly if there is anyone who can discuss the doctrines of the sūtras with him. The ministers tell him that in the North there are Śramaṇas who are wise and learned, and can discuss with him. One of his courtiers, Chan-mi-li-wang-chun, introduces a Śramaṇa, Ya-ho-la (Āyupāla).¹ Milinda begins his question with the comparative merit of homeless life, and the life of a layman, as to the final result, *i.e.* Nirvāṇa. As the Śramaṇa has answered that both can produce one and the same result, the king further questions why then he (Āyupāla) has become a Śramaṇa, seeing that a Śramaṇa is not different from an Ūpāsaka so far as the final result is concerned. Ya-ho-la (Āyupāla) is silenced after one or two questions.² Chan-mi-li again introduces Nā-sien (Nāgasena), whose knowledge included the twelve divisions of the Sacred Books and the ninety-six systems³ of heretics.

When the two meet, the "Questions of Milinda" proper begin at folio 9^b of the India Office text, so that the introduction occupies really nine leaves of the Chinese book.

This India Office copy has in all fifty-nine leaves, 22,651

¹ See Milinda, part i, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³ Heretic doctrines are said to be ninety-six or ninety-five. In the Brahma-jāla sūtra sixty-two views are enumerated, as can be seen in Rhys Davids' Milinda II, pp. xxiii-xxv. Of its two Chinese translations, the one made in A.D. 222-250 (Nanjio's Catal. 554) is called "Brahma-jāla sūtra on the 62 views"; but the other, of A.D. 406 (Nanjio's Catal. 1087), is called simply Brahma-jāla sūtra. The latter belongs to the Mahāyāna and the former to the Hinayāna.

(besides the title and the editor's remarks) Chinese characters, and it is pretty clear that it is the same text as that in the Sung collection in Paris, which has, according to MM. S. Lévi and Ed. Specht, 22,657 characters.¹ If this be the case, we can only reasonably assume that there are only two different texts among the five copies in France and England, two in Paris, two in Oxford, and one in London, as shown in the following table:—

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| A. | { | 1. The longer text in Paris, 22,657 characters, the Sung edition of A.D. 1239, mentioned by MM. Lévi and Specht. This would be the same as the following, if the above introduction and other points agree.
2. The India Office copy (the old Japanese edition of 1681), the introduction of which is translated above, 22,651 characters, in three volumes. This copy is the same as the following.
3. The longer text in the new Japanese edition of Buddhist Books of 1883 in Bodleian Library, Oxford, in three volumes. |
| B. | { | 1. The shorter text in Paris, 13,752 characters, the Korean edition of A.D. 1010, mentioned by MM. Lévi and Specht. As the new Japanese edition is based on the same Korean edition of A.D. 1010, this will in all probability be the same as the following.
2. The shorter text in the new Japanese edition of 1883 in Bodleian Library, Oxford, in two volumes. |

Thus we have two different translations of the Milinda, though the originals may have been one and the same text. There only remains the Chinese original of the Russian translation of Professor Ivanovsky, which has something about a "white elephant" representing the Buddha's former

¹ See Rhys Davids' Introduction, *Milinda II*, p. xii.

birth, as told by Professor Serge d'Oldenbourg (Sergej fedorovič Oldenbourg).

It is to be hoped that Professor d'Oldenbourg himself will clear up this point by comparing the text he has seen with the above translation of the Introduction contained in the India Office copy, and decide whether we have a third copy or not.

II. *The date of the existing Chinese translations of the "Questions of Milinda."*

Generally speaking, Chinese translators are very particular about the date of their translations; at least they give their own names, stating also to which dynasty they belong. And a subsequent collector of the Sacred Books will register exactly in which year and in what place the translations have been made, so far as he can ascertain. But the translation of the "Milinda" is unfortunately an exception. No authors of the fourteen or fifteen Catalogues of Chinese Buddhist Books, which have come down to us, know who has been the translator of the "Milinda." When the first catalogue, whether Chinese or Korean, which inserted the translation, was made, the memory of the date of its production must have already been vague, and the authors of that catalogue must have stated that the translator's name had been lost. But as some catalogues seem to have been lost, we cannot say with certainty which catalogue inserted it for the first time. All the existing catalogues, in which the "Milinda" is mentioned, do not know the translator or the date of the translation, and all state that the translator's name has been lost, or omit the translator's name; and as the authors were not certain of the date, they "registered it as belonging to the Eastern Tsin dynasty (A.D. 317-420)." The authors of the earliest catalogue, in which the "Milinda" is inserted, may have had some ground in believing that it belonged to the Eastern Tsin dynasty. Mr. Bunyu Nanjio simply gives the above date

without any remarks. But in any case this date is very questionable, for the first existing catalogue, made in A.D. 520, does not mention any translation of the Milinda, as may be seen from the following table, which has been made from my cursory inspection of all those catalogues in the new Japanese edition (1883) of the Buddhist Books.¹

CATALOGUES OF CHINESE BUDDHIST BOOKS.

The 'Questions of Milinda.'

Name of Catalogues.	Date of their Compilation.
1. The Record of the Translations of the Tripi- ṭaka ²	A.D. 520.

In this earliest catalogue in existence we do not find any 'Milinda' which is said to have been translated in A.D. 317-420. Had it then existed, it must have escaped from the compiler's notice.

2. The Khâi-yuen Shih-chiào-lu ³	A.D. 730.
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In this it is said: "Nā-sien-Bhikshu Sūtra, two vols. It is sometimes called 'Nā-sien Sūtra'; it is sometimes said to be 'three vols.'"⁴ (See Bodleian, Jap. 65^{no}, No. 1485, vol. xx, p. 53^b.)

3. The Chêng-yuen Hsin-ting Shih-chiào mulo ⁵	A.D. 785-804.
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It says: "Nā-sien Bhikshu Sūtra, two vols., or simply called 'Nā-sien Sūtra'; sometimes said to be '3 vols.' The translator's name is lost, and we register it as belonging to the Eastern Tsin dynasty (A.D. 317-420)."

¹ Bodleian Library, Japanese, 65^{no}.

² Nanjio's Catal., p. xxvii (1). All the contents of this Catalogue have been given by Nanjio in his Catalogue, pp. xiii-xvii.

³ Nanjio's Catal., p. xxvii (8).

⁴ There seems to have been two translations, and the compiler of the catalogue may have taken them to be one and the same translation (the difference not being very great).

⁵ Not in Nanjio's Catalogue. Bodl. 65^{no} 貞元新定釋教目錄, vol. xiii, p. 47^a.

4. The Chi-yuen-fâ-pâo-chien-thun-tsun-lu¹. A.D. 1285-7.
The same as the last. See Bodl. Jap. 65^{va}, No. 1612, p. 77^b.
5. The Tâ-tsân-shan-chiâo-fâ-pâo-piâo-mu². . . A.D. 1306.
It says: "Nâ-sien Bhikshu Sūtra, two vols." (and an extract from the text is given). See Bodl. Jap. 65^{va}, No. 1611, p. 34^b.
6. Two other catalogues,³ the date of which is not at present certain, mention the 'Milinda,' one as 'two vols,' the other as 'three vols.' The two catalogues are not found in the India Office collection.
7. In all the remaining catalogues I have not seen the 'Milinda' mentioned.

The result of the above examination is only this, that we possessed a translation of the 'Milinda' in A.D. 730, when the catalogue (above 2) was made. The catalogue of A.D. 520 does not know of the book, and the subsequent writers of the catalogues of A.D. 594, 597, 602, 664, and 695,⁴ do not seem to have had any translation of the 'Milinda.'

As I have left Oxford for some time I cannot make a further examination of the Japanese edition of Buddhist books. At present we can only state with certainty that a translation of the 'Milinda,' either the one in two vols. or the other in three vols., must have been made before A.D. 730.

So far about the catalogues. Now we must examine those different editions of Buddhist books themselves.

The Chinese Buddhist Books (so-called 'Tripiṭaka,' though they contain a number of books outside the Tripiṭaka) existed

¹ Nanjio's Catal., p. xxvii (11).

² *Ibid.* (12).

³ 大藏目錄卷中, Jap. p. 91^a (Tâ-tsân mu-lu), and 大普寧寺大藏目錄第三, Jap. p. 104^a (Tâ-pu-ning-shih Tâ-tsân mu-lu).

⁴ All these are included in above 7 in my table.

in MSS. for many centuries (A.D. 67-972), and were printed for the first time in A.D. 972 under the later Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-975). This first edition very likely contained a 'Milinda,' for an earlier catalogue mentions a translation of the 'Milinda' (as we have seen above).

The second printed publication was made in Korea in A.D. 1010, in which a translation of the 'Milinda' in a shorter form (13,752 characters in two vols.) was inserted, as M. Specht told us.¹ The third edition of the Sacred Books was completed in A.D. 1239 in China under the Southern Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127-1280). In this there is a translation of the 'Milinda' in a longer form (22,657 characters, in three vols.).²

An old Japanese edition (the tenth publication, in A.D. 1678-1681), which is the India Office copy, has the 'Milinda' in three vols. (22,651 characters, in three vols.). This edition was copied from a Chinese edition of A.D. 1586-1606 (the eighth publication), which had also been copied from a still earlier Chinese edition of A.D. 1403-1424 (the sixth publication). All these must have had the same copy of the 'Milinda.'

The new Japanese edition (the thirteenth edition) of 1883,³ which can be read in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, has two copies of the 'Milinda,' one in two vols., the other in three, as we have seen before.

Thus we can see that not only the two editions which MM. S. Lévi and Ed. Specht mention, but also all the existing editions of the Chinese Buddhist Books published in China, Korea, or Japan, have a copy of the 'Milinda,' either short or long.

All I have given above may have come under the notice of the two able scholars of Paris. But as I know that we are often hampered by the inconvenience of not having all

¹ See *Milinda*, part ii, p. xfi.

² See the same as above.

³ For the thirteenth edition of Buddhist Books, see Nanjio's Catalogue, p. xxviii.

the existing texts before us, and as I happened to see the two Japanese editions existing in England, I thought it best to notice chiefly the point which Prof. Rhys Davids desired to be decided. Though I have often been tempted to go into the matters contained in the discussions of Milinda and Nāgasena themselves, I have nevertheless refrained from doing so, wishing not to encroach upon the work promised by MM. S. Lévi and Ed. Specht, whose fruitful research will soon be laid before us.

In conclusion, may I notice that there is a sūtra called "Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra," or "Tsā-páo-Tsāng-King" (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1329), which gives a tale (avadāna) about the King interlocutor and Bhikshu Nāgasena. This sūtra contains 121 different stories of every description, and is divided into eight volumes. Some of the avadānas are like Jātaka stories, while others are a curtailed form of the traditions relating to Buddha and his disciples.

The Avadāna CXI in vol. viii gives the story of Milinda. The king is, however, called "Nanda"¹ there, not Milinda; the Bhikshu, "Nā-ka-ssū-na."² We have seen above that in the Chinese translation of the Milinda, the king is Milan, and the Bhikshu, Nā-sien. If the introduction in Chinese had not mentioned that in India an elephant is called nā (for nāga), we might have hesitated to identify nā with nāga (and nā-sien with nāgasena). But this avadāna which I am now speaking of has an exact transcription, "Nā-ka-ssū-na," the identification of which no one can doubt. As to the king's name, it is very interesting to see its form represented in many ways. The original is Menander, and we have "Mi-lan," "Milinda," and here in our case "Nanda," which, I think, represents "Menander" in its disguised form, or at any rate a part of the syllables "Menander." In any case the variety of the representation of the name shows that the original was not a native name. Dr. Trenckner³

¹ 難陀.

² 那伽斯那.

³ Pāli Miscellany, part i, p. 55.

and Professor Rhys Davids¹ have discussed the transition of Menander to Milinda, and the identification of the two names is now "as clear as that of Candagutta with Sandro-kottos."

"Nanda," of our book, again confirms the identification representing the original in quite a different way. This sūtra, having a comparatively early date, shows us that the memory of the story of the King Nanda-Milinda and the sage Nāgasena still survived in the time of the author of the Original Avadānas (which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 472), and induced him to bring their famous discussion in his tales.

I give in the following pages a translation of the Avadāna in question. The date of the Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka sūtra is, as we have just seen, as early as A.D. 472, and may be much earlier than the Chinese translations of parts of the "Milinda" itself.

III.—*The Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka sūtra.*

Translated by Ki-kiā-ye (Kiñkara), an Indian śramaṇa, and Thān-yāo, a Chinese priest of the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386-534). The date of its translation, A.D. 472. The number in Nanjio's Catalogue, 1329.

Vol. viii. Avadāna CXI.

THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN KING NANDA AND NĀGASENA.

The King Nanda of old was an intelligent and well-informed man, and there was nothing in which he was not skilled. He thought to himself that what he knew was (so wide that) no one could surpass. Thereupon he asked his ministers if there were a man of great wisdom, intelligence, and eloquence, who could answer any question that might be asked by him.

¹ Milinda, part i, pp. xviii, xix.

At that time there was a minister¹ who was accommodating and supporting an old Bhikshu² for some time. The Bhikshu was not of wide learning, but his conduct was very pure. He had then an interview with the king.

The King asked : Can one find out the truth (*lit.* "win the way") while living at home, or is it necessary to become a homeless one?

The Old Bhikshu answered : Yes, both can obtain the same path.

The King : If so, why have you left your home?

The Old Bhikshu was silent, for he did not know how to answer.³

Thereupon Nanda became more proud and conceited than ever.

Then the ministers told the king that there was a Bhikshu named Nāgasena, who was endowed with an unequalled intelligence and wisdom, who was at that time living in a forest. The king wished to try him. Accordingly he sent a messenger to him and presented him a jug which was "full" of ghee. The king meant that his own wisdom was so "full" that no one could add to it or excel him. Nāgasena on receiving the ghee understood what was meant by it. He then collected 500 needles from his disciples and put them into the ghee, without causing it to overflow. He sent the jug (with both ghee and needles in) back to the king, who also understood what was meant by the action. Again the king sent a messenger to invite Nāgasena, who soon came to the king according to his command. Nāgasena was tall and fat, and was above the average height, and consequently noticeable.

The king was proud and haughty (he would not receive the Bhikshu at home), and falsely declared that he would see him on the way, as he would be going a-hunting. But when he saw from afar that Nāgasena was gentle and tall, the king took another way (and shunned him). So he did not speak

¹ Chan-mi-li-wang-shun by name, according to the Chinese text of Milinda.

² Ayupāla by name, according to the Pāli text, and Ya-ho-lu (Ayupāla) in the Chinese text.

³ Compare Rhys Davids, *Milinda*, part i, p. 32 (S.B.E. vol. xxiv).

with the Bhikshu, and wished to defeat him by silence. No one (*lit.* "no householder") knew what was meant by him (in so avoiding the meeting). Nāgasena, however, said to himself, pointing to his own breast with his finger: "I alone know it."

Now King Nanda was about to call Nāgasena to his palace, and prepared a small room, and made its door very small and low so that Sena might, he hoped, bend his body and throw himself prostrate before the throne.¹ But this Sena knew the king's wish of ensnaring him (and making him bow before the throne); and (to avoid this) Sena entered the room *backwards*.

King Nanda next prepared food and drink for him. First he gave him a roughly cooked food. Sena ate three or five spoonfuls of each course, and said: "I had enough." Afterwards the king gave him a fine and delicious food, and Nāgasena ate it. The king thereupon questioned him, saying: "You said that you had enough; why is it that you eat again as before?" "I had enough of the rough food, but not of the fine food," was the answer. Further, he illustrated his meaning to the king in this wise: "Now let all the men in the Court come to the hall, so that no room is left there for anyone." So all the men in the Court were called together, the hall was filled by them, and there was no more room left for anyone. The king came afterwards and wanted to enter the hall. All those present were afraid of the king and made room for him by pressing one another (*lit.* "by contracting their bodies"); and then there was room for many more.

Sena said to the king: "The rough food is like the subjects, and the fine food like the king: who among the subjects would not keep out of the way when they see the king coming?"

The king then questioned: Which of the two, *i.e.* he who had gone forth from his home (*pravrajita*) and he who remains at home (*upāsaka*), will reach the path?

¹ Perhaps Nāgasena did not like to submit himself to the king.

Sena answered: Both can obtain the object.

The King: If so, why have you left your home?

Sena: Suppose we are going to a place 3,000 miles away from here. Can a young and strong man, on horseback, with provision and with all the necessary instruments and weapons, reach the place very quickly?

The King: Yes, he will.

Sena: What if an old man were to go there riding an old horse without provision?

The King: Even if he had provision, it would be difficult to reach the place of destination; how much less without provision.

Sena: Well, to reach the path by leaving one's home is like that young man's journey (easy), while to seek the path by remaining at home is like that old man's travel (difficult).

The King: I now turn to the matter concerning our bodies. Am "I" permanent, or am "I" impermanent? Answer me satisfactorily.

In reply Sena raised another question: If there were an an-ba-la (āmra, mango) tree in the Royal Palace, would the fruit be sweet or sour?

The King: There is no such tree in my garden: how can you ask me if the fruit is sweet or sour?

Sena: Even so is your own question. None of the five skandhas (form, sensation, perception, discrimination, and consciousness) is "I"; there is no "I": then how can you ask me if "I" am (you are) permanent or impermanent?

The King: As to all the hells, we hear that the body of the dead is torn asunder by swords and thrown away here and there, and yet the soul lives. Is this possible or impossible?

Sena: Let us take a woman as an example. She eats cakes, meat, melon, vegetables, and also drink, but she assimilates them all. When she becomes pregnant, the embryo, while called "kalalam" (immediately after conception), is as minute as dust. Why does it grow large without being assimilated?

The King: That is the power of Karma.

Sena: So it is with the hells; the soul lives through the influence of Karma.

The King: The sun shines above, and its body is one. Why is it that the summer is so hot and the winter is so cold? And farther, why is the summer day so long and the winter day so short?

Sena: The Mount Sumeru has two ways, above and below. In summer-time the sun passes through the higher way, which is longer than the lower, and therefore goes slow (*i.e.* the day is long). Moreover, it shines against the "Gold Mountain," and therefore the summer day is so hot, besides being long. In winter-time the sun passes through the lower way, which is shorter, and therefore it goes down soon. Besides, it shines against the water of the "Great Ocean," and therefore the winter day is so cold, besides being short.¹

¹ Compare Rhys Davids, part ii, v, 7, 24 (S.B.E. xxiv), p. 112), where there is no such answer as this given.

[The following note arrived from the author just as we were going to press.—RH.D.]

Krausnickstr. 4^{IV},
Nov. 22, 1895.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—Professor d'Oldenbourg, of St. Petersburg, answered me as to the Russian translation of the Chinese text of Milinda as follows:

"SIR,—I am only a few days back to St. Petersburg, and have asked my friend, Prof. Iwanowsky (the Russian translator), to compare our Chinese Milinda with your translation *—it is the same text, etc.—Yours truly,

S. D'OLDENBOURG."

This shows again that we have no third text in existence.—Yours faithfully,

J. TAKAKUSU.

* This is a translation of the Introductory part of Milinda.

ART. II.—*Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Palæontology.*

By BERNARD HOUGHTON, B.A., M.R.A.S.

It is proposed in the present essay to give a brief outline, based on linguistic evidence only, of the state of civilization attained by the Tibeto-Burman race previous to the migration of the great Southern branch, and also to throw some light on the probable time of that migration. Of course, in all such inquiries anthropological evidence is now, and rightly, held to be a much more trustworthy guide than facts derived from the comparison of two or more languages, but results obtained from philological data alone are by no means to be altogether contemned. In the present case the geological exploration of the two countries is practically in its infancy, whilst even in Burma physical measurements of the population have not yet been systematically undertaken. It is clear, therefore, that we shall have to wait a quite indefinite time before any anthropological data are forthcoming. So far as is known, however, both the physical type and the idiosyncrasy of the two peoples are remarkably similar, and thus there is little fear that in comparing their languages we shall be trespassing against the canons of ethnology, for language and race are here, I think, nearly coterminous. All Tibetan or Burmese speaking people are not, of course, ethnically Tibetans or Burmans, but there can be no doubt that the bulk of them are, and that formerly they constituted but one race on the high plateau north of the Himalaya. The anthropological evidence, so far as it goes,

points that way, whilst the linguistic evidence is overwhelming. I shall, therefore, take this conclusion for granted, regarding the Burmese tradition of descent from Indian Kshatriyas as either a myth pure and simple, like the corresponding one of the Manipuris, or at most, as being based on some small immigrations of warrior Hindus, who, after perhaps conquering the local tribes, became altogether absorbed in them.

As is well known, the pronunciation of Tibetan now differs considerably from the written character, phonetic decay having very much simplified, throughout a large portion of the country, the former harsh utterances so plentifully besprinkled with consonants. The researches of Jaeschke, however, make it probable that the words as spelt render accurately enough the sounds of the Tibetan language at the period it was reduced to writing (A.D. 632), though at the same time I am inclined to think that the vowels had formerly, as now, more gradations of sound than would appear from the alphabet.

The Burmese language, which was, I apprehend, first written about the same time, had then already suffered much from phonetic decay; indeed, in some cases the sounds had become remarkably similar to those of modern Tibetan. There is no reason to doubt that the written words represent truly their pronunciation at that time, except that final *ach* and *añ* were pronounced as *ats* and *añ*, the vowel sound approximating closely to *i*, as not infrequently happens before a palatal; and that the vowel pronounced now as *o* when final and as *ai* otherwise, then represented the modified vowel *ū*. The arguments in support of these suppositions are rather elaborate, and would be out of place here. I must ask the reader, therefore, to take them for granted, as also the following table showing equivalent Tibetan and Burmese consonants. It is, perhaps, needless to state that in comparing the two languages the written character, as representing the oldest known pronunciation, is alone followed.

TIBETAN.	BURMESE.	NOTES.
<i>k, k', g</i> (initial)	<i>k, k', h</i>	<i>k'</i> sometimes disappears.
<i>g</i> (final)	<i>k</i>	<i>ig=ats</i> sometimes.
<i>ñ, ñ, n</i> (initial)	<i>ñ, ñ, n</i>	
<i>ñ, n</i> (final)	<i>ñ, ñ, n</i>	<i>in=añ</i> .
<i>ch, ch', j, ts, t's, dz, z</i> (initial)	<i>ch, ch', j</i>	
<i>t, t', d</i> (initial)	<i>t, t', d</i>	
<i>d</i> (final)	<i>t</i>	
<i>p, p', b</i> (initial)	<i>p, p', b, b', w</i>	
<i>b</i> (final)	<i>p,¹ t</i>	
<i>m</i> (initial)	<i>m</i>	
<i>m</i> (final)	<i>m, n, ñ</i>	
<i>z, z', s</i> (initial)	<i>s</i>	
<i>s</i> (final)	<i>ats</i> , or disappears	
<i>y, r, l</i> (initial)	<i>y, r, l</i>	
<i>r</i> (final)	<i>y</i>	<i>ar=ê</i> sometimes.
<i>l</i> (final)	<i>y, n</i>	
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	
<i>b</i> (before <i>r</i>), <i>db, ,</i>	nil	
<i>ky, kr, kl, k'y, k'r, k'l, gy,</i>	<i>ky, kr, k'y, k'r,</i>	
<i>gr, gl, dr, z'r, sr</i>	<i>hy, hr, hl</i>	

Prefixed consonants, as a rule, are not represented in Burmese, but occasionally they survive as an aspiration of the initial letter.² *S* following a consonant is unrepresented. Initial *k'*, besides being frequently softened to *h*, in some cases has disappeared altogether. It will be noticed that the final sonants *g, d*, and *b* had already become surds, just as they now have in modern Tibetan, whilst the palatals and sibilants had suffered considerable diminution in number. There is undoubtedly a connection

¹ Final *p* is now pronounced as *t* or *k*.

² Especially when this is a nasal.

between these two series both in Tibetan and Burmese, that is, in both languages there are allied stems, one commencing with a palatal and the other with a sibilant, whilst a palatal in one language is sometimes represented by a sibilant in the other.¹ I have hesitated, however, to use herein as identical any such words, as the possibilities of error are considerable. Occasionally a final consonant has disappeared altogether in Burmese, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened, and the word takes one or other of the tones.

Where the form of the word differs dialectically in Tibetan, the Burmese almost invariably follow that in use in Western Tibet, and, as in that district, the perfect root of the verb is evidently the one utilized. These, together with several minor peculiarities, show that the home of the Burmese was in the western part of Tibet, supposing that the present inhabitants of that district were at the time of the departure southward in their present location, which was probably the case. It may be also noticed that of the sub-Himalayan dialects, those of the Gurung, Magar, and Murmi, who live immediately south of Western Tibet, present the closest resemblances to Burmese.

As regards the time of this migration, the Burmese and Arakanese historians, of course, place it in an altogether fanciful antiquity. However, after making every allowance for exaggeration, and disregarding as such those lists of supposititious kings who are supposed to have reigned in untold ages B.C., and in the early centuries of our era, it seems hardly probable the period was subsequent to that (A.D. 632) when the Tibetan language was reduced to writing. A powerful argument against this is the fact that *dr*, *kr*, and *sr* in Tibetan are equivalent to *ky*, *kr*, etc., in Burmese. The existence of this equation shows that *d*, *ḡ*, and *s* in these combinations are softenings of original gutturals,² and that the Burmans must have left the

¹ In modern Burmese the old palatals have now become sibilants, whilst *ky*, *k'y* are becoming palatals.

² The tendency to soften *kr*, etc., to *sr* still continues, in W. Tibet at least.

country at a time anterior to their phonetic corruption, and therefore *à fortiori* to the reduction of Tibetan to writing. For the whole life-history of Burmese shows that it would have been impossible for gutturals in these combinations to have been evolved from sibilants or dentals. It is worthy of note, also, that since the separation, apart from grammatical peculiarities, Burmese has developed very considerably certain stems or has made an extended use of them. Thus the stem *tan*., *tan* or *tan* (T. *γtan*), with the original meaning of 'a bar,' appears in a very large number of compounds, whilst in the Northern language it has shown little or no power of growth. Again, the single Tibetan word *ñug*, 'to project,' is represented in Burmese by *ñū*, *ño*, *ñok*, *ño*, *ñā*, *ñyoñ*, *ñwā*., in all of which that signification is apparent. It is evident that a considerable lapse of time must be assumed for the development of growths such as these. And the same remark applies to the grammatical divergences, though here the subject becomes very intricate, as the influence of the different foreign languages with which Burmese has come into contact must be considered. It is right, however, to place in evidence one or two curious facts on the other side. The word for 'book' is the same (T. *dpe*, B. *pe*) in the two languages, though in the first it means originally a 'form,' whilst in the second it signifies also a certain kind of palm, the leaves of which are used for writing on. (It is not clear whether the palm was named from 'book' or *vice-versa*.) The analogy is carried so far as the compounds, T. *dpe-ch'a*, B. *pe-chā*,¹ meaning 'book' or 'writings.' The word 'to write' (T. *bri*, B. *rē*.) is also the same, but as in each case it means originally 'to draw,' this proves nothing, whilst 'paper' (T. W. *śuggu*, B. *chakku*) seems to have been independently introduced into the two countries.²

There is only one Burmese word which begins with a

¹ It is, of course, open to doubt whether *chā* here is *chā* = 'writing,' or *chā* (T. *ch'a*) 'a thing.'

² This is also probably the case with 'plaster' (T. *'arān*, B. *aiya-te*).

lingual, *te* 'to have abundantly,' 'be rich.' Supposing this to be an indigenous word, it certainly tallies most curiously with the corresponding Central Tibetan word *ti*, (old pronunciation, *k'rigs*).

The above two coincidences may, however, be subsequently explained away, and by themselves they are certainly insufficient to prove anything. It is not impossible, however, from other facts, that there may have been two migrations into Burma, the first and principal from Western and the second from Central Tibet. The evidence as to the latter being very slight its possibility will be disregarded in the following essay, nor does it seem probable that, even granting its existence, the conclusions obtained would be modified to any extent.

Before discussing the Tibeto-Burman palaeontology proper, I propose to show briefly how much light is thrown by Tibetan on questions of Burmese etymology and grammar.

False etymologies.—In no respect, perhaps, is a comparison of the Tibetan and Burmese languages more instructive than in showing the exceeding danger which exists in attempting any deductions, either as regards etymology or sematology, in a tonic language like the latter, which has suffered much from phonetic decay. Nothing seems easier than to deduce connections between words which are spelt identically or, at most, differ only in tone, more especially when they have all the appearance of representing primitive roots. If many such exist in Burmese, where phonetic decay is comparatively moderate, how much more must it be the case in extreme cases like Chinese, (even the re-construction of the old sounds in this language barely brings it to the same stage as modern Burmese,) and Sgaw-Karen, in which latter every final consonant, even nasals, has been elided. In effect we must always remember that the modern smooth-sounding tonic languages were originally harsh and discordant, and, therefore, that the rule to go back to the earliest form of a word before making etymological deductions applies to them with especial force. It is true that comparisons of names of the commoner objects,

parts of the body, etc., are fairly safe, (*e.g.* Hodgson's lists), but as regards anything beyond these we are on extremely treacherous ground. To what an excess fallacious comparisons, based on the modern sounds of words, can be pushed, may be easily seen in Latter's "Burmese Grammar," whilst many will know of similar attempts as regards the Chinese language.

Mr. Stevenson, in his new dictionary, has practically followed Dr. Judson as regards the classification of the different meanings and the sub-grouping of words, so that remarks in this respect will apply equally to both works.

Under the heading *acha* is the following: "From *cha*, to begin, a beginning . . . ; . . a piece; ability," the evolution of the meanings from each other not being, on the face of it, very clear. A reference to Tibetan shows that in reality there are four distinct words grouped here from (1) *ch'as*='to begin,' and *rtsa*='root,' 'beginning'¹; (2) *ch'a*='a piece'; and (3) *rtsal*='ability.'

It might seem a safe deduction to derive *achā* 'chips' from *achā* 'food,' as being 'what is consumed in any operation' (the italics are mine). Unfortunately the former meaning comes from *zas*='food,' or *za*='to eat' (probably the former), whilst the latter is the ordinary Tibetan word *tsal*. Nor does this word (*cha*='to eat') reappear, as alleged, in *cha-yō*='the anus,' the first syllable being the Tibetan *leha*='excrement,' which word may be seen also in the Burmese *cha-mrañ*.

To infer that *lun*='to be all entire, as if in a ball,' is a secondary meaning of *lun*='round,' might also seem a legitimate exercise in sematology, were it not that these really represent two quite different words, the first being from the Tibetan *yoñs*, (which has got nothing to do with balls), and the second from *zhum*='round.' Further, *lun* in the sense 'to wrestle' (*lun*: *tuē*, *napan*: *lun*:) has obviously nothing in common with the above meanings, and is probably

¹ The slight difference in the meaning of these two words is reproduced exactly in the Burmese, showing *acha* or *cha* in the first signification to be a coalescence of two roots.

derived from the Tibetan *len* (pf. *blañs* or *loñs*), in the sense 'to seize,' 'grasp.'

Under the heading of *se* we have again three distinct words, namely (1) 'to die,' (2) 'to be settled,' 'immovable,' 'slack,' (as water at the time the tides turn), and (3) in *se-k'yā* = 'be exact,' 'well finished,' the three corresponding Tibetan words being, respectively, *si*, *zī*, and *zib*.

Perhaps, however, the word *arū* furnishes the best example of how totally different words have, through phonetic decay, come to be spelt and pronounced the same way, and consequently jumbled up together under the same heading. The meanings given are as follows, the corresponding Tibetan words being placed opposite:—

(1) A bone	<i>rus(-pa)</i>
(2) A stalk	?
(3) The handle of an instrument	<i>yu</i>
(4) A ridge	} <i>rī</i>
(5) A range of hills	
(6) The course of a brook	<i>yur</i>
(7) A lineage	<i>rus</i>
(8) Customs	?

Spelling.—Owing to the ease with which consonants of the same class, or *varga* as the Sanskritists term it, interchange, a comparison with Tibetan affords but little help in disputed spellings of Burmese words. In a few cases, however, it can help us to a decision, though as regards the most numerous class of cases, *i.e.* whether words should be spelt with *y* or *r*,¹ it is unable to afford much assistance.

As an example may be mentioned *alañ* or *alay* = 'middle,' both of these words occurring, (though the latter is by far the most common), and their pronunciation being the same. The corresponding Tibetan word is *brīh*, which coincides with the first and not the second method of spelling, and shows that the latter was probably introduced after the sound of the word had been corrupted from *alañ* to *alē*.

¹ When immediately preceded by *k* or *k'*.

The late Spelling Committee in Rangoon have thought fit to change *ñan-ba* (= 'to have a settled dread of') to *ñyan-ba*. The former of these spellings has, at least, good authority in support of it, and as the Tibetan equivalent is *ñens* = 'to fear,' 'dread,' it is presumably the more correct. Similarly the Tibetan *amin* = 'ripe' shows *hman*, the old spelling of the Burmese word, to be correct, not *hmē*, the new one ordered by the Committee.

The word for 'body' and 'self'¹ is always spelt *koy* in Burmese, though pronounced *kē* as if derived from the Pali or Sanskrit *kāya*. Apart from the intrinsic improbability of Burmese having to borrow such words from the Pali, there are several equivalents in Tibetan and elsewhere of this root. In Tibetan we find both *sku* and *sgo*, in Chinese, *kū* or *ku*, (old sound *kō*), in Kachin, *kum*, and in Sgaw-Karen, *nā-kō*, all meaning 'body.'² On the face of this it would seem highly improbable that the Burmese equivalent, (which was originally pronounced *kū*), should have been borrowed from the Pali, and that the sound should have been so corrupted as to harmonize with the Tibetan or Chinese.

In Mon there is *tsa-ku*, meaning indifferently 'body' or 'self,' (*kāyya* is added for the sake of clearness in the first signification), which is curiously like the Tibetan. There are a sufficient number of such similarities in Mon to induce one to the belief that the Mons were formerly in juxtaposition with some of the Tibeto-Burman tribes, perhaps in Central Asia, as De Lacouperie's investigations render probable.

Ko is, it may be remarked *en passant*, by no means the only word in Burmese which is misspelt owing to a supposed Pali or Sanskrit origin. In this connection

¹ It is difficult to know the reason why the two meanings are given separately as if from two different words. Both in S. Chin and in Kachin the words for 'body' and 'self' are the same, and I have no doubt many other instances could be given from allied languages.

² This word does not occur in B. H. Hodgson's lists, the only information we have concerning many of the Tibeto-Burman dialects.

might it be suggested that the well-known Burmese exclamation *amay* or *amay-lê*:¹ is, after all, not an apostrophe to one's mother? At any rate, there is a Tibetan interjection, *ê-ma*, which is suspiciously like the Burmese, and from the interpretations given in the dictionary certainly coincides exactly in its use with the latter. There is, indeed, no reason why the Burmese in particular should signalize them by calling in season and out of season on their maternal ancestor.

Grammar and Etymology.—It is not intended here to enter at length on these subjects, which would, indeed, be sufficient in themselves for a small treatise. As I have remarked elsewhere,² a really scientific grammar of the Burmese language has yet to be written. Such a grammar would presuppose a knowledge of Tibetan at least, because the different grammatical forms are so different from those in use amongst the Aryan languages, whence alone we get our nomenclature, that a person who has not studied the whole subject comparatively, is almost certain to fall into mistakes arising from the totally different ideology of the two systems. Even in the Dravidian languages, despite the magnificent work of the late Dr. Caldwell, there are not a few points of grammar, *i.e.* the correct way of classifying certain forms, which remain at present very open subjects. The unfortunate death of Professor de Lacouperie has deprived the languages of the Far East of the services of one whose logical insight and clear apprehension of the more salient points, were in no way hampered by a too slavish adherence to the grammatical terminology and theories of purely European scientists.

A few words in which Tibetan gives some elucidation of grammatical forms in Burmese are now given merely by way of example, as anything further would be out of place here.

Bê usually means, (with the negative *ma* prefixed to the

¹ Pronounced *amî-lê*. *Lê* is the Tibetan *le*.

² "Professor Sayce and the Burmese Language," J.R.A.S. 1893, p. 149.

verb,) 'without,' as *ma swā bē*¹ = 'without going,' though Judson also gives a meaning 'before.' The usage in Tibetan is similar, e.g. *ma fob-pai bar-du* = 'as long as it has not been obtained,' but in this language *bar* is still used without a negative, and, in fact, the evolution up to its present meaning in Burmese can be clearly traced.

The similar Burmese word *mē*, which has now dwindled to a simple affix, meaning 'without,' is seen to be the Tibetan *med*, (a contraction of *mi yod*), which, though still used with the meaning 'not to be,' has also come to be applied in exactly the same way as the Burmese equivalent. The verb *yod*, by-the-bye, is not otherwise represented in the latter language.

The word *lañ-koñ* denotes when reduplicated 'both—and,' i.e. 'also—also,' and when alone 'the aforesaid.' A comparison with Tibetan shows that in the former case it possesses simply the meaning of its first syllable *lañ* (T. *yañ*), whilst in the latter the second syllable (T. *goñ*) has similarly usurped the pre-eminence to the exclusion of the first.

In the dictionary *a-sū* = 'who?' is said to be merely a contraction of *a-b'ay-sū*. It seems more probable that it has retained its old meaning (T. *sū*), which in the modern Burmese *sū* has become altered to 'he.'

The verbal affix *ch'ani* = 'merely,' 'just,' is the Tibetan *tsam*, meaning first 'so much' and then, *inter alia*, 'only.'

Chōk and *ch'og* mean now, both in Burmese and in W. Tibetan, 'to be allowed,' 'suitable,' but the original meaning is found to be 'to suffice.'

The Burmese affix *nū*, which has no substantive meaning now, but when reduplicated denotes 'probably,' is evidently the same as the Tibetan *mo*, 'to think,' 'fancy.'

It is needless, however, to enter further here on these exercises in sematology, and I must even refrain from that tempting subject, the origin of the Burmese aspiration of

¹ In reality it has almost become a merely euphonical affix, since the sense is complete in the two words *ma swā*.

the initial consonant of certain intransitive verbs in order to give them a transitive signification.¹ A few specimens of etymology generally will suffice to conclude this part of the subject.

The three Burmese words *an*, *an*, and *ā*:, meaning 'strength,' 'force,' all come from one stem, the Tibetan *dban*, which in the colloquial has now reached the same stage of corruption as the first of these words at the time that Burmese was reduced to writing. It is noteworthy that *dban* has also the same meaning of 'regard,' 'consideration' as *ā*: in the phrase *ā: nā* 'to be deterred by feelings of courtesy.'

The only common name for a quarter of the compass in the two languages is 'west' (T. *nub*, B. *nok*), which, it appears, meant originally to 'sink' or 'set,' (of the sun). In Burmese it also means 'behind,' thus bearing significant testimony to the general *eastward* movement of the race for a considerable period of time. It is natural also that they would particularly remember that direction from which they came.²

The origin of the Burmese *mak* 'to dream' is T. *dmigs* 'to imagine'—a sufficiently obvious change of meaning.

A phrase for 'early in the morning' is *mū sok*, which is generally taken to be when 'the sky is drinking.' It is possible, however, that *sok* is the Tibetan *zogs*, with the former signification, though the change from *z* to *s* is irregular.

There seems little doubt that gold was practically unknown to the two races before they divided. The Burmese word *Arice* is probably from the stem *k'rol* (T.), meaning 'to glitter.'

Shame is said by the students of anthropology to be a simple development of the emotion of fear, and it

¹ Tibetan shows that this uniform aspirate is really a coalescing or weakening of several different consonants.

² The burial-grounds in Burma are placed on the *west* side of the villages, the original idea being doubtless to give the spirits of the departed a clear way to the home of their forefathers, without passing through the village and thus disturbing the living.

seems probable that the Burmese *hrak* has been evolved from the stem (T.) *skrag* 'to be frightened.'

Tō 'a wood' evidently meant originally 'a crowd,' i.e. of trees (T. *du*), though the two meanings have been carefully transposed in the dictionary. As regards changed meanings, it will suffice to notice T. *lu*, B. *lu*, which denotes in the first language 'a body' and in the second 'a man'; and *le-na* meaning 'downy goat's wool' in Tibetan, whilst the corresponding Burmese *lē* is applied to the downy wool of the silk cotton tree.

Perhaps the commonest words which differ entirely in the two languages are those for 'tree,' 'earth,' 'water,' 'sky,' and 'night'; but it is nevertheless true that none of the old Tibetan words for these have become entirely lost. Thus, the Tibetan *sin* appears as *sañ* in the names of several trees, and *sa* 'earth' in the Burmese *sa-rwat* 'mortar,' *sa-lan* 'a crystal,' *sa-lē* 'sand,' and *sa-licē* 'lead.' The Burmese *chicat* 'moistened' is probably the same as the Tibetan *bcud*, and certainly goes back to the same ultimate root *chu*='water'; whilst *mī'san* 'night' appears in the first syllable of the Burmese *chan-chā* 'twilight,' and *dguñ* 'sky' in that of *koñ-kan*.

Natural Products, etc.—The *flora* and *fauna* of their former and present home differ so widely, that the comparative paucity of common names preserved in Burmese need afford no matter for surprise. The appearance of so many animals and plants, even when they belong to the same *genera*, differ largely in a tropical and in a cold climate, and thus emigrants from the latter to the former would, in many cases, naturally adopt the local names for them.

Of trees, by far the most familiar to them would be the pine or fir, which also occurs on the higher slopes of many of the mountains of Burma. This tree (T. *lan*, B. *lan-rā*) is, in fact, almost the only one I have been

¹ Cf. Forbes, "Languages of Farther India." The words for 'liquid' generally (T. *rlan*, B. *aran*) are the same.

able to identify in the two languages, though doubtless a few more names could be obtained by a skilled botanist. A plant far commoner in Burma than in Tibet is the bamboo (T. *spa*, *sba*, B. *wā*), its great utility serving, doubtless, to preserve the name, whilst another Tibetan word for 'bamboo,' *smyig*, occurs in the Burmese (*hmyats*) for its sprout. 'Mushroom' (T. *samo*, B. *hmū*) is the only other word I identify.

Of birds there is the goose (T. *ñāñ*, B. *ñan*), but not the duck, whilst as regards the ordinary domestic or jungle fowl, the Burmese seem to have used a word for it meaning 'grouse' or 'water-hen,' according to the word prefixed (T. *skyegs*, B. *krak*).¹ This, taken with the existence of radically different words for 'egg' (T. *agon*, B. *ū*), points to the conclusion that the domestic fowl was not kept by the Burmans in Tibet, since the fowl shares with the dog the distinction of being the most widely utilized of all beings in the Far East.

The Burmese *chā*='sparrow' is probably the same as the Tibetan *cha-chir*='lark,' and is connected with *cha-cho*='twittering,' the bird thus being the 'twitterer.'

The words both for 'plover' (T. *ti-i-bo*, B. *ti-ti-ticat*), and 'crane' (T. *kruñ-kruñ*, B. *kro-kra*), though onomatopœic in imitation of the cries of these birds, are probably the same, whilst, although the words for 'owl' are different, the Tibetan *ti-t'ug*='bad' suggests an etymology for the *ti: tut*='the large horned owl,' birds of this kind usually having an evil reputation, (cf. B. *hñak-ch'ū*).²

Amongst animals we find, of course, the dog (T. *k'yi*, B. *k'wē*), a word somewhat corrupted, the pig (T. *p'ag*, B. *wak*), and cattle, i.e. the genus *Bos* (T. *nor*, B. *nurā*). The latter word has, as already remarked, now come to mean usually 'wealth' in Tibetan, just like the Latin *pecunia* came to mean 'money.'

¹ In point of fact the water-hen is still called in Burmese *re-krak*, as is natural, its appearance in both countries being the same.

² The Burmese, it may be noted, have, apparently, called the pheasant (*sacā*) after its tail feather (T. *sacā*), leaving aside the regular word (*ema*) for it.

More doubtful is the word for 'yak,' the tails of which animal are, or were, used in Burma as ornaments for certain spears. The Tibetan is *broñ*, so that properly the Burmese should be *roñ* or *yoñ*, instead of *oñ*; the actual word, which, therefore, may either be slightly corrupted or else introduced afresh into Burmese, through the Northern hill-tribes. On the whole I think the former supposition more probable, the yak being the characteristic animal of Tibet.

It is possible that the Burmese *kran* = 'rhinoceros' is the same as the Tibetan *glan*, a word of doubtful signification, meaning either an ox or an elephant; but this is by no means certain, as is also the case with the word for 'hare' (T. *yos*,¹ B. *yun*). There is a local word for 'otter' in parts of Burma, which is not met with in the dictionary, *kram* or *kran* (the spelling is doubtful), and this is etymologically the same as the Tibetan *tram*. It is curious that the Burmese have completely lost the old word for 'horse' (*rta*), though retaining that for 'saddle' and perhaps 'bit.' Their present word *nran* is probably a compound of the Chinese-Shan *mā* and some syllable *ran*. It is probable that, having to buy all their ponies from the Shan country, they have come by degrees to adopt a local word for them.

The ordinary word for insect in general (T. *bu*, B. *pū*), has been retained, as well as that for the common house-fly (T. *sbran*, B. *yan*), whilst the word for 'butterfly,' though transposed, is still the same (T. *p'ye-ma-leb*, B. *lip-pyā*). (The derivation of this word is probably from *pyā* = 'to fly,' 'a flier,' and *leb* = 'flat.')

Amongst reptiles the 'frog' (T. *shal*, B. *p'd*) is the only word recognizable in the two languages, unless *san*; which occurs as a prefix in two Burmese names of lizards, be, as seems probable, a corruption of T. *rtan*s. It is difficult to understand why the Burmese should have preserved the word for 'soap-stone' (T. *k'ar-gon*, B. *kañ-ku*) in particular, except that its peculiar softness may have rendered it useful in times when proper graving tools were practically

¹ A word of very rare occurrence.

unknown. Silver (T. *dñal*, B. *ñee*), so much used for ornaments, is the only mineral—excepting salt (T. *vtāca*, B. *ch'ā*)—we find with a common name in both languages, for the words for 'lead' (T. *ñā-ñe*, B. *sa-lueē*¹), though similar, are not the same.

The question, however, as to what metals were known by the Burmese on quitting Tibet is discussed in another part of this article.

Religion.—The worship of demons or fairies, (whichever we like to call them), is almost as intimate a part of the religious life of the Burmans as of their Northern congeners, though both profess the Buddhist faith. It has, indeed, been argued,² with some show of plausibility, that the latter, owing to its want of a controlling guardian, affords especial ground for the cult of the fairies, magic, etc.; but after seeing the marked manner in which this cult survived amongst the Celts and Iberians after many centuries of nominal Christianity, the vigour with which it still subsists in both Burma and Tibet at the present day need cause no surprise.

A careful and scientific study of fairy or demon worship amongst the Burmans and people of Western Tibet, (Waddell's papers apply principally to the parts on the Sikkim frontier), has, I believe, yet to be made. When done, many close parallels of belief, custom, and ritual will doubtless be discovered; it will suffice now to point out a few coincidences from the vocabulary. In the first place, there are the subaqueous beings who frequent wells and springs (T. *klu*, B. *k'rā*). They may be styled water-fairies, and are doubtless similar to the apocryphal mermaids of Europe. Other beings said to be allied to those are called in Tibetan *smān*, and in Burmese *hmañ*.

It is curious that, although the ordinary fairy or demon of Tibet (*lha*) coincides so closely to the Burmese *nat*, the names should be so radically different. The former word

¹ The probable (Tibetan) derivations are—*sa* = 'earth' + *ñi* = 'soft,' and *sa* = 'earth' + *ñul* = 'rotten' (cf. B. *k'ē-ma-pup*).

² Campbell, "Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom."

seems in fact to have disappeared from Burmese, though possibly *kra* in *kra-hñan*, the name of a certain house-post, (these are all called after fairies), may be a survival of it. It would be interesting to ascertain in which, if any, of the Himalayan languages the term *nat* occurs for these spirits.

Witchcraft was and is practised, of course, by both peoples (*cf.* T. *rol* = 'practise sorcery,' and B. *ruca* = 'witchcraft,' etc.). The Burmese *apa* in *apa-hmi* 'to possess' is also probably the same word as the Tibetan *ba* = 'sorcerer' or 'witch,' whilst in both countries people can, with equal ease, be bewitched (T. *p'rut*, *sprut*, B. *pru-chā*). It would appear from the identity of the Burmese *ch'wam* with the Tibetan *m'esan* that what was formerly food offered to the manes of the dead has now, amongst the former people, come to mean food offered to the (Buddhist) priests. Similar changes of signification are, of course, common enough amongst other peoples.

It is noteworthy that the stone cairns and rags, (the latter more rarely), found in many of the more outlying parts of Burma, invariably at one end of a bad bit of jungle path, occur similarly in Tibet at the tops of passes, etc.¹ In the latter country, Buddhism being more impure and imperfect, it appears that there is no concealment as to their connection with spirit worship, but in Burma the people are rather ashamed of this practice, and usually prevaricate when asked concerning it.

War.—Although the words for 'bow,'² 'arrow,' 'spear,' 'sword,' and 'shield,' the usual weapons of war in the East, are different in Burmese and Tibetan, there is by no means such a dearth of common military terms as to suggest that fighting was completely unknown before the emigration of the former people. At the same time it is unlikely that they were constantly in the habit of using these weapons, for were this the case, some, at least, of the names would have survived; in fact, few words would

¹ Dr. Waddell's "Demonolatry in Sikhim, Lamaism."

² Burmese *ka* 'bow' is probably corrupted from the Tibetan *ya*, but this is the respectful and not the ordinary term.

be more likely to do so amongst an essentially warrior race. Taken then with the state of civilization reached by the Burmese in their Northern home, this hiatus seems to point to the conclusion that they were there, on the whole, a fairly peaceful people, taking more interest in the culture of the ground and in petty commerce than in the fierce raid and counter-raid which fill up so large a part of the existence of the wilder hill-tribes.

The very first move south seems to have supplied them with the word for 'arrow' (*hmra*), which occurs in Murmi, Gurung, Magur, etc. (*mya*), and 'bow' (Chepang *lū-i*¹). These tribes, if not then inhabiting the southern slopes of the Himalaya as now, were probably on the northern parts of that range of mountains, and a glance at the map will show that it would be precisely with these hill-men that a tribe emigrating south-east from W. Tibet would first come in contact. The ordinary Burmese word for 'sword' or 'chopper,' (*fā*, pronounced *dd*), seems to be the Bengali *dhao*.

There is, in fact, every probability that the Burmese would, like most other emigrating tribes in those parts, have to make their way literally sword in hand, and that in their progress south-east they would have the fullest opportunity of investigating the make and effect of the different weapons used at that epoch. Sparsely peopled as the plains were then, it is probable that many a savage fight and massacre took place ere the advance-guard of the Mongoloid tribes, called Mramma, debouched on the Kube Valley from the plateau of Manipur.

The Tibetan *dmag*='war' or 'army' occurs in Burmese only when conjoined with *rē* and *chats* (*chats-mak*), and thus forms one of those couplets known in Chinese as 'male and female words.' *Chats*, the usual word in everyday parlance, is perhaps the Tibetan *rtsoḍ*, pf. *brtsad*, meaning 'to quarrel' or 'fight.' An allied word is *ran*=

¹ This word, as well as 'spear,' 'sword,' 'shield,' does not occur in most of Hodgson's lists.

'enmity,' 'quarrel,' which has the signification of 'war' in Lushai (*ral*), but only, I believe, occurs in the word for 'sword' (*ral-gri*='war-knife') in Tibetan.

Although the Burmese have presumably abandoned their old word for 'arrow,' they have retained that for 'quiver' (*toh*, T. *doñ*), not improbably for the reason that their quivers were of superior excellence to those possessed by the more savage tribes which they encountered.

Again, the Tibetan *rmog*='helmet' is undoubtedly the same as the Burmese *mok*,¹ which occurs in *mok-tū* and *mok-rū*, described as two kinds of 'caps,' and in *k'a-mok*, which is a hat similar to that worn by the Chinese peasantry, (hence *san-k'emok*=[iron] 'helmet').

Unless, however, it turns out that these 'caps' were originally in the form of or served for helmets, it would be unsafe to conclude that the emigrant Burmans wore helmets, as the Tibetan *rmog* may be merely a specialized meaning of a word for 'hat' or 'cap.' Similarly the words for 'mail' (B. *k'yap*, T. *k'rab*) are the same, but each word denotes originally a flat, thin thing or scale, and hence they come to mean 'scale-armour.' It is, of course, possible that this was possessed by the Burmans in Tibet, but, on the other hand, it is equally probable that the words have been applied independently on the introduction of this particular kind of armour, (? from China). The Tibetan *rmā*='a wound' survives only in the Burmese *ama-rwat*='a scar,' and the word *fab*='to fight' has lost its original signification, and come to mean first a body of fighting men, and thence a stockade (*cf.* Tib. C. *fab-rags*='stockade'), the mode of alteration being sufficiently apparent.

It is possible that the Burmese *chak*='target' may come from the Pali *chakka*='a wheel,' as supposed, but it may, on the other hand, be allied to W. Tibetan *teag-ge*, the black mark or bull's-eye in a target, *i.e.* always supposing

¹ Connected with *amok*='crest' and *mok*='elevated in the centre,' probably the original meaning of the word.

the latter to be an indigenous word. At any rate, it is curious that the Southern Chins still preserve their old word *boñ* (T. *ben*) for a target.

Agriculture.—From the retention of two separate words, meaning 'plough' or 'to plough' in Burmese, it is evident that when the latter left Tibet they were no mere nomads or wild hill-men, but people who were acquainted with the art of agriculture. Amongst not a few of the related hill-tribes the plough is to this day either unknown or but a recently introduced instrument, implying as it does a fairly settled mode of life, so that this point is especially important in connection with the state of civilization reached at the above-mentioned time.

The first word is T. *l'oh*, B. *l'uan*. The latter instrument is generally a kind of a harrow, used instead of a plough, but it also means 'to plough,' being, in fact, the ordinary verb with that signification. The second word is the Tibetan *rmon* (B. *hmun*), apparently used in the former country with the general sense of 'ploughing,' but in Burma merely 'to plough a field of young plants in order to loosen the soil,' etc.

Although the commonest words for 'field' (T. *zhā*, B. *lay*) are different in the two languages, we find the Tibetan *khūis*, another word with that meaning in the Burmese *k'yōñ*,¹ a word which occurs only in conjunction with *lay*, just the same as *mak* with the meaning of 'war' only occurs now when in union with *chats*.

As with animals so in the crops grown, the difference of species has been the cause of losing most of the old names. The Burmese for 'radish,' however (*mun-lā*), I take to be the same as the Tibetan *la-p'ug* (in composition *la*). *Mun* may either denote that it was the species cultivated by the people to the south of the Himalayas, called generally Mon in Tibetan, or that it was that cultivated by the Mons, or Talaings, who were undoubtedly in Burma

¹ Spelling doubtful, as the word is not found in the dictionary. It usually occurs in the phrase *lay-k'yōñ lap-chā-sañ* = 'I am a worker of the fields' (i.e. an agriculturist).

at the time of the arrival of the Burmese. Although the former is the national appellation of these people, the Burmans have, so far as is known, always called them Talaings, so that the first of these two hypotheses seems the more probable. Similarly the Burmese for 'mustard' (*mun-ñāñ*) is probably *mun* and T. *yuns* or *ñūñ*. It seems probable, however, that the same word occurs in 'turmeric' (B. *nañ-nicañ*, *sa-nicañ*), *ñūñ* being admittedly often used for *yūñ* in Tibetan, and this crop was probably better known to the undivided Tibeto-Burmans. I am inclined to think, therefore, that both radishes and turmeric were cultivated, and subsequently also mustard, before the departure of the Burmans. It is also possible that *swan*, in the Burmese *krak-swan*='onion,' is a corruption from T. *blson*, in which case this plant also must be added to the list.

The Burmese *lu*, a certain kind of millet,¹ would seem to be identical with the Tibetan *bru*, meaning grain in general; probably the only kind of grain grown in ancient times in Tibet being an inferior kind of millet or something similar.

That the Burmans in Tibet were accustomed to the cultivation of grain and the preparing of it for food is shown by the existence, in both languages, of common words for 'husks' or 'chaff' (T. *sbur*, B. *p'wē*), for 'tossing up' or 'sifting' grain (T. *p'yar*, B. *pyā*), for 'cleaning' (T. *p'ad*, B. *p'wāp*), and for 'pounding' it (T. *rduñ*, B. *l'ōñ*). But it is probable that these operations were performed on millet alone, and that rice was, at that time, not cultivated in Tibet.

The common beast for cultivating was, of course, the bullock (T. *nor*, B. *nwā*), but we may note that the Tibetan word, although still retaining its primitive signification in some contexts, has now come to mean 'wealth' or 'money,' affording thus a close parallel to the Latin *pecunia*.

The House, Domestic Articles, etc.—The number of common

¹ *Lā*:*-nat-khā* is "the classic name for wheat."

words relating to the house (T. *k'yi*m, B. *im*¹) and its appurtenances is not small, and they show a state of things very similar to what prevails in the less civilized parts of Burma at the present day. Before adverting to them it is worthy of notice that two other Tibetan words,² each with the meaning of 'house,'³ are still retained in Burmese, though with specialized meanings. The first of these is *nan*, which in Burmese (*nan*) has come to mean merely the house of the king, *i.e.* a palace, and the second, *gyon*, is similarly applied to a house inhabited by priests (*kyon*), *i.e.* a monastery. We may observe that *un*i, with the meaning of 'house,' (it also denotes an interior, household, etc.), is found especially in Central Tibet.

We find *kyon*, however, again in a single obsolete word in Burmese, *nū-kyon*, meaning 'cook-house.' The first syllable is probably the Tibetan *sol* in *sol-k'an* = 'cook-room' or 'kitchen,' and, from the close analogy between these two words, it is not too much to infer that rooms especially used for cooking were known to the Burmans before quitting Tibet, an important fact in considering the stage of civilization they had then reached. Although the style of building in the two countries is very dissimilar, owing to climatic and other considerations, yet we find common words for 'room' (T. *k'an*, B. *k'an*); for 'floor' (T. *shyan*, B. *kram*); and for 'door' (T. *sga*, B. *tan*³-*k'ā*), whilst the Tibetan *lham* = 'a rafter' is probably the same as the Burmese *ch'an* = 'a joist,' used in the same way as a rafter to support the floor of a house, which, as everyone knows, is in the latter country raised above the ground on posts.

It may be noted that there are common words (T. *rtso*g, B. *ch'ok*) for building houses, words ultimately connected with that 'to erect,' 'make fast' in the ground (T. *yug*, B. *chük*).

¹ This word has suffered considerably from phonetic decay. Its connection with the Tibetan is easily traced through Manipuri, Lushu, etc.

² Further, the Tibetan *viltsai* = 'castle' probably reappears in the Burman *tan-ch'ok* = 'a kind of tower,' and *ach'ok* = 'a building.'

³ *Tan*, *tan*, or *tan*: simply means anything long and straight, and is a common prefix in Burmese (*cf.* T. *gtan*).

Turning now to the utensils in the house (T. *ts'og-chas*, B. *a-ch'òk¹-a-û:*), the most obvious are those used for storing or carrying food, for, of course, anything in the way of chairs or tables is in these countries entirely of modern introduction. We find that at least one kind of basket was known (T. *dron*, B. *k'yôn*), this being a long cylindrical one carried on the back. There would also appear to have been in existence, as might be supposed amongst an agricultural people, small granaries (T. *rdzan*, B. *chan*) and even casks (T. *zem*, B. *chan*), but these latter were merely rudimentary, being formed by hollowing out portions of tree-trunks. The Burmese *tan* 'a pannier' would also appear to be the same as the Tibetan *Itan* = 'a bale of goods for carriage by an animal.' In a country where carts were unknown, it is obvious that pack bullocks or ponies would be used by a people who had attained any moderate degree of civilization.

The common Tibetan word for 'pot,' *rāza*, although superseded by another root in Burmese, may still be seen perhaps in the two words *cha-lôn* 'the cover of a pot,' and *ja-lun* 'a large basin.' The ordinary Burmese word is *ō*; and although this has evidently suffered much from phonetic decay, it can, I think, be yet identified with the Tibetan *k'og*, since *k'* is sometimes elided (see *supra*), and there is a very analogous case in the Tibetan *k'ogs*, Burmese *ō*, meaning 'old.' The existence of other earthenware before the separation of the two races is evidenced by a word for a 'large pitcher' (T. *p'in*,² B. *p'yañ*), and for 'cup' (T. *skyogs*, B. *k'wak*).

Other articles were ropes (T. *rygul* and allied words, B. *krō:*) and ladders (T. *skras-ka*, B. *hlē-ka:*), the latter being, however, but notched logs, as are still commonly to be met with in the less civilized parts of Burma.

Fishing is carried on to no great extent in the more northern country, and hence it must not be expected that

¹ I doubt whether *ch'òk* in this signification is from the root *ch'òk* 'to build.'

² T. *ben* is probably merely another form of this word.

many of the names for nets in Burmese would be found in Tibetan. As a matter of fact, only the commonest, the *kuan* or casting net (T. *rkou*), can be identified, and in Tibet it is used apparently not for fishing but for catching birds.

The Burmese have adopted the Mon word for 'hearth' (*p'au*), but those for 'charcoal' (T. *sol*, B. *mi-swe*), and 'cooking' (T. *sregs*, *šrog*, B. *k'yak*), still survive, while naturally with the change of habitat the word for 'fat' (T. *ts'ib*) has come to signify 'oil' (B. *ch'i*). As above pointed out, it is evident that the kitchen had already been formed into a separate compartment.

It seems probable that the undivided race had already emerged from the skin-clothing stage; *teste* the words for 'clothes in general' (T. *ydiñ*, B. *a-č'añ*),¹ and those for 'a spindle' (T. *p'añ*, B. *can-rò*).² At the same time, as almost all Burmese words connected with the loom and weaving are radically different from the Tibetan, it is probable that this art was practised to a very limited extent only. Possibly clothes were as yet chiefly imported, and were obtained by barter. This is one of the grounds for supposing the Burman migration to be anterior in time to those, for example, of the Chins and Karens.

Paint, or rather colouring matter (T. *rtsi*, B. *ch'é*), must of course have been known from very early times. The Burmese word means also 'medicine,' but this is undoubtedly, in spite of the dictionaries, a secondary meaning of the word.

It remains to mention three words which point to the existence of a somewhat high stage of civilization before the departure of the Burmans, namely 'fan' (T. *yab*, B. *yap*), 'tassel' (T. *bod*, B. *puā*), and 'cushion' (T. *bol*, B. *p'un*). It is, of course, not improbable that the tassels

¹ The Tibetan *žus* 'a hat' is possibly the same as the Burmese *sč*.

² The existence of a common word for 'needle' (T. *š'ab*, B. *ap*) proves nothing, since needles are employed by all races who consider expedient garments of any kind whatever. Similarly as regards 'thread' (T. *dran-bu*, B. *š'rañ*), and 'to sew' (T. *šrub*, B. *k'yup*).

were merely the barbaric appendages to spears; that the cushions consisted but of a few skins sewn together; whilst the fans were almost certainly rude arrangements made from particular kinds of leaves. Nevertheless, the existence of such common words, together with the others already cited, goes far to show the existence of a state of things not very dissimilar to what prevails in the less civilized parts of the respective countries at the present day.

Medicine, etc.—The fact that the ordinary Burmese for 'medicine' (*chê:*) is merely a secondary meaning attached to 'pigment,' and that all words relating to drugs, curing, etc., are different in the two languages, points to but a slight knowledge of medicine at the time of the migration southwards—indeed, the only common word to be found is that for 'plague' or 'pestilential disorders' (T. *γñan*, B. *nan*). This is, of course, precisely the word one would, on *a priori* grounds, expect to survive.

There are, nevertheless, numerous common words for parts of the body, of which I give a few of the more unusual for sake of example only: 'waist' (T. *rked*, in composition *ska*, B. *k'ā:*), 'marrow' (T. *rkan*, B. *k'ran-ch'i:*), 'mucus of nose' (T. *snabs*, B. *hnab*), 'the nose' (T. *sna*, *sna-k'an*, B. *hna*, *hna-k'ōn*), 'womb' (T. *bu-snod*, B. *hnut*), 'knee' (T. *pus*, B. *pu-chats*), 'breast' (T. *bran*, B. *ran*), 'the iris of the eye' (T. *miγ-bras*, B. *myek-rats*), 'hair' (T. *lchan*,¹ B. *ch'an*), 'wen' (T. *rmen*, B. *mran*), and 'mole' (T. *sme*, B. *hmē*). The ordinary Burmese words for 'to be hungry' or 'thirsty' (*ch'd*, *nat*) are merely specialized from the Tibetan *tsal* 'to want,' and *riab* 'to crave.'

Terms of Relationship.—I hope in a future paper to discuss the evidence relating to the existence of a former maternal family amongst the Burmese and allied tribes. The paternal family is now well established amongst these, whilst the Tibetans are still in that intermediate stage between the two systems where the wife is shared amongst brothers, though the elder has the predominance. (It is

¹ This properly means 'matted hair,' a significant distinction.

stated, however, that that system has now begun to crumble away and monogyny to take its place, at any rate amongst the higher classes.) The common terms of relationship, besides 'father' and 'mother,' are a man's 'elder brother' (T. *qjo*, B. *ats-kū*¹), a man's 'younger brother' (T. *ñu*, B. *ñi*), a woman's 'elder sister' (T. *ache*, B. *ats-ma*), a woman's 'elder brother' (T. *mīn*, B. *moñ*), and a 'son-in-law' (T. *mag*, B. *sa-mak*). The omission of certain terms must, in view of the different family systems now prevailing in the two countries, be regarded as of some significance.

In addition to these it appears that an old Burmese term for 'elder brother' (*anoñ*) simply meant 'first-born' (T. *śnoñ-kyes*), whilst the second syllable of *kāñ-piān*, 'a friend' or 'spouse,' is the Tibetan *spun* = 'brothers' or 'cousins.'

Political Organization.—The long Shan domination to which the Burmans were subject after their arrival in their present country, the possible existence of a Kshatriya dynasty at one time, and the undoubted tendency to use Sanskrit and Pali words for royal functions as being more high-sounding and imposing than the vernacular, have all tended to obliterate the political terms brought from Tibet. And as regards some such words, although apparently capable of explanation from the Tibetan, their etymology is of too problematical a nature to be worth insertion here.

It has been already pointed out that the word *rua*, which means 'village' still in Burmese, has in Tibetan (*gul*) come to mean 'country' in general, but it does not necessarily follow that at the time of separation the village was the political unit, as amongst the Nagas and other wild tribes at the present day. For *gul* still means village as well as country, and *rua* in the expression *nat-rua*² means rather country than village. The existence of a common word for 'kingdom' (T. *ñān*, B. *nūñ*³-*ñān*) is, however, decisive on this point, and, indeed, apart from the king (T. *rgyal*,

¹ Probably a reduplicated word (*cf.* Chinese *kō*).

² Fairy-land.

³ Means 'to conquer.'

γtso, B. *hrai*, *chō*); there would appear to have also been subordinate governors or ministers (T. *dpon*, B. *wan*).¹

Theft (T. *rku*, B. *kū*), at least, was a recognized crime, and it is just possible, though not very probable, that the Burmese *l'ōñ* 'a prison' is a shortening of the Tibetan *dom-gañ-gru-bzi*, with the same meaning. Taxes seem to have been levied (T. *k'al*, B. *k'we*), thus showing a considerable degree of political organization.

As regards slavery, the Burmese and Tibetan words are quite different, and it seems probable that the word for 'slave' (*k'ywan*) in the former language originally meant 'foreigner' (T. *groñ*). This would indicate that slaves were prisoners taken in war, and that slavery as a domestic institution was probably little, if at all, known.

Other quasi-political terms are 'to appoint' as an official (T. *gel*, pf. *bkal*, B. *k'an*) and possibly 'to punish' (T.² *god*, B. *kwap*).³ Although there is no common name for 'court' or 'justice,' the Tibetan throws some light on the Burmese terms. Thus, *k'un* 'a petty magistrate' seems to be the same word as the Tibetan *ngon* = 'lord'; and the chief court of Burma formerly, the *hlicat-tā*,⁴ was originally merely 'the assembly' (T. *k'rod*), similarly to *rup*; the ordinary word for 'court,' which also means 'to assemble.' That courts of some kind were known appears also from words such as 'to engage in a suit' (T. *γtag*, B. *tiē*), 'to suspect of a crime' (T. *yus*, B. *yü*), and 'to accuse falsely' (T. *rdzab*, B. *chicap*), though justice would, of course, be of a very rough and ready kind.

With regard to the existence of private property, it is observable that boundary lines (T. *m' sams*, B. *chan*) were evidently known.

The Arts.—It may be premised at once that the names of the different handicrafts are in Burmese apparently of

¹ The Burmese *dūā* 'a petty chief' is probably connected with T. *m'os* 'high in rank.'

² Central.

³ Note also the Central Tibetan *γjags* 'to make a present,' and B. *ch'ak* 'to present to a superior.'

⁴ *Tā* is the royal affix.

modern introduction, or, at any rate, have been invented since the departure from Tibet. Until men have segregated in large masses it is rare, at any rate amongst these races, to find persons who give up their whole time to a particular craft. One person may be clever at carpentry and another at smith's work, but they will still continue to carry on the customary pursuit of agriculture, doing the various jobs required of them in the intervals of such work. The latter are not, in fact, sufficiently important to tempt them to break altogether from tradition, and the result is that, even when society has considerably advanced, we fail to find anything like the specialization of labour which prevails amongst ourselves.

Before alluding to any common names of tools there is to be settled the very important question: Was the undivided Tibeto-Burman race acquainted with iron? The chief argument for a negative answer to this question is the fact that the words for this metal (T. *lehags*, B. *san*) are quite different in the two languages. This does not, of course, absolutely preclude a knowledge of the metal before leaving Tibet, though it throws the burden of proof very much on the other side. It is not quite clear to me from what language the word *san* has been taken.

Pro contrâ it may be first noticed that a name for 'thunderbolt' in Tibetan is *lehags* or *qnam-lehags*, i.e. 'iron' or 'sky-iron.'¹ The Burmese similarly call it *chak* or *mü-krü-chak*. *Chak*, in the dictionary, is put down as the Pali word meaning 'a wheel,' because it 'whizzes round,' a rather obvious piece of folk-etymology. It seems more probable to identify *chak* here with the Tibetan *lehags*. Again, the Tibetans call the bit of a horse—riding was undoubtedly known at the time of the separation—*srab-lehags*, the corresponding Burmese term being *jak*, so that here again we seem to see the old term for 'iron' cropping up.

It may be postulated that if the Burmans on leaving Tibet were only in the Bronze age—there is, I think, a

¹ The Tibetans are not alone in giving it this designation. See Tylor, "Early History of Mankind."

common term for bronze—words denoting cutting, etc., will in general differ in the two languages, since the use to which bronze tools can be put is relatively small. This, however, is not the case, the number of common words being as many as can be reasonably expected with a people mainly agricultural and yet in the Iron age. For example, it would appear there were punches (T. *γzōn*, B. *chū*) and chisels, the Burmese *ch'ōk* being the same word as the Tibetan *γtup* 'to scoop out,' whilst there are common words for 'chiselling' (T. *bru*, B. *nee*), 'cutting off small pieces' (T. *γtub*, B. *tiap*), 'cutting off' (T. *grun*, B. *k'yūn*), 'mowing' and 'shaving' (T. *breg*, B. *rit*), and for 'chips' (T. *l'sal*, B. *chā*).¹ The ordinary Tibetan word for 'sword' or 'knife' (*gri*) has been supplanted by another (*l'a*) in Burmese, but it survives in the word for 'scissors,' *kat-kyē*: (= 'lever-knife'), and *hlū*: 'to cut' is undoubtedly from the same root.

The existence of common words for 'hammer' (T. *l'o*, B. *tū*) and 'bellows' (T. *spud*, B. *p'ū*), does not perhaps prove much, but I think that the number of such for 'cutting,' etc., taken with the other evidences of a fairly high state of civilization attained by the Burmans before leaving Tibet, is sufficient to justify a belief that they were at that time acquainted with iron. This, of course, furnishes an anterior limit to the time of the migration.

As regards other metals, besides silver (T. *diul*, B. *nee*), it seems probable that some kind of bronze was known, that is, if the Tibetan *kar* be the same as the Burmese *k'e*, a word of doubtful signification, meaning now either lead or tin, according to the word affixed to it.

The art of dyeing was also unquestionably known (T. *l'sod*, pf. *bl'son* and allied words, B. *ch'ū*).

Culture.—The point up to which a semi-civilized people can count is always some index of the state of culture obtained by them. In the case of the Tibeto-Burman race the amount is one thousand (T. *ston*, B. *toñ*)—an unusually

¹ Possibly also T. *dagyal* 'to cut up' and B. *nyed* 'to gash obliquely' are the same.

high number. Most of the lower numerals are closely alike in the two languages, but 'one,' 'four,' and 'seven' are different, and 'ten' and 'a hundred' are much corrupted in Burmese. A word for 'counting' (T. *byan* and allied words, B. *k'yan*) has also been retained.

As regards measures (T. *rytor*, B. *tūn*), 'a span' (T. *m'lo*, B. *f'wā*) is the only one that can be certainly identified. It is not likely that regular shops, such as we know, existed before the separation of the two races, but there is evidence that some kind of traffic, probably petty peddling, was not altogether unknown. *Tan* in *tan-b'ū*: 'value' is evidently the Tibetan *fan* or *f'an*. There are two words for 'borrowing' or 'hiring' (T. *skyi*, *brña*, B. *k'yē*, *hūā*), and the ideas of 'repaying' (T. *tsat*, B. *ch'ap*) and 'redeeming' (T. *blas*, etc., B. *rice*;) were certainly known. Again, the Burmese *ch'ūn* 'a shop' is evidently connected with the Tibetan *l'son* 'to sell,'² and *ron* 'to sell' with *riñ* 'price,' whilst 'scales for weighing' (T. *sran*, B. *k'yiñ*) were known, thus showing that matters had probably got beyond mere 'barter' (T. *sdeb*, B. *lap*). In addition we have a regular word for 'business' (T. *bröl*, B. *arē*), and probably also 'to carry on business' or 'to trade' (T. *l'son*, B. *ch'on*). It would seem, therefore, that there was a regular class of traders. Although, as has been already pointed out, the words for 'horse' in the two languages are quite different, yet these animals were certainly known and used for riding. This is evident from the words for 'saddle' (T. *sga*, B. *ka*), for 'to mount' (T. *chib*, B. *chū*), and probably also for 'bit' (T. *srah-lehags*, B. *jak*).

A few ideas as evidenced by common words may here be noticed, which would be either altogether unknown or, at any rate, but slightly noticed amongst half-savage people such as the hill-folk of Burma. The existence of common words for them is, I think, proof that they were

¹ The Burmese here is the same as the Gyarung, and is possibly a relic of counting on the hands.

² *T'son* 'to trade' is a closely allied root. Cf. *l'son-su* 'a market.'

³ If the Burmese *ch'ap* and Tibetan *tsat* 'a standard' are the same, some considerable advance in the arts must be assumed.

widely understood and often thought of amongst the undivided Tibeto-Burman race. Such are a 'memorial' (T. *tems-yig*,¹ B. *l'im-hnat*), showing that it was customary to remember specially the more heroic or notable ancestors, and 'to draw,' 'picture,' etc. (T. *bri*, B. *re*). As regards the latter word, it is curious that in each language it has also the meaning 'to write'; but from the historical data available this meaning would seem to have been independently evolved. The very close parallel is noteworthy, and shows the caution necessary in endeavouring to ascertain the limits of a former system of civilization from philological evidence only.

Other words are 'pride' (T. *ychom*, B. *choñ-man*), a 'belief' or 'sentiment' (T. *blo*, B. *ayū*), a 'fault' or 'crime' (T. *dpyas*, B. *aprats*),² and 'to feel remorse' (T. *yuon*, B. *noñ-ta*). They seem to have paid attention to a man's character (T. *grags*, B. *krak-sarē*), whilst there are several words for 'respect,' 'trust,' or 'reverence' (T. *rim-gro*, *gus*, *bkur*, B. *rū-kyū*, *kā-yā*, *kū*), such as would be paid to the elders or to good men, as well as one for 'affection' or 'tender regard' (T. *ychags*, B. *cha*). Mere affectation (T. *k'ens*, B. *in*) was distinguished from a proper regard for one's appearance (T. *mdaṅs*, B. *tañ*), and by proper examination (T. *l'sir*, B. *chi-chata*), they were accustomed to ascertain what was done secretly (T. *gya-gyu*, B. *hlyū*), or what was merely feigned (T. *sgrun*, B. *kyuan*). The only common words denoting colour are 'black' (T. *nag*, B. *nok*) and 'parti-coloured' (T. *k'ra*, B. *kyū*). Would these be the words most in use for denoting the colours of the Tibetan cattle?

Miscellaneous.—There is no reason to suppose that dancing and music were less popular formerly than now amongst the Burmese. There are, in fact, common words for 'singing,' or rather 'chanting' (T. *gla*, *abyaṅs*, B. *kyū*; *rañ*), and for 'dancing' (T. *gar*, B. *ka*). I have not,

¹ *Yig* = 'writing,' *hmat* = 'mark.'

² Cf. also T. *g'aus* = 'error,' and B. *ach'a* = 'faulty.'

however, been able to clearly identify any musical instrument.¹

The names of the Burmese months are altogether different from the Tibetan, as might, indeed, be expected from the relatively late date at which calendars were introduced, nor are the seasons similarly called. *Ku*='year,' used only in certain dates, is probably, however, the Tibetan *dguñ*. The Burmese have naturally retained the old words for 'cold' (T. *grān*, B. *kyam*), for 'hoar-frost' (T. *zil-dkar*, B. *ch'i-k'é*), and 'to warm oneself at the fire' (T. *sro*, pf. *sros*, B. *hlun*), but none to express heat, which sensation is not experienced to any vivid degree in the bleak uplands north of the Himalayas.

Conclusion.—It is inevitable that many of the results obtained, and opinions arrived at, in a first essay such as this, in a comparatively little known subject, will require hereafter to be considerably modified, if not altogether rejected. The actual truth in most antiquarian matters is only to be arrived at after a long series of discussions, and the reiterated scrutiny of all the evidence available. I venture to hope, however, that the following main conclusions, at least, will not be shaken.

The Burmans, when quitting their home in Western Tibet, were already considerably advanced in civilization—were, in fact, on very much the same plane as that of peasants now-a-days who inhabit the more sequestered parts. Whatever improvement they may have made mentally since is probably largely due to the introduction of Indian and particularly Buddhist ideas, which have to a considerable extent obliterated their original fairy or demon worship. At the time of the immigration, the Burmans were acquainted with some kind of regular government under a king, and had entered into the agricultural stage of society. They were acquainted with iron and other metals, though this was probably obtained

¹ The Burmese *pā-pā* 'tootingly' is, however, obviously allied to the Tibetan *bad*, pf. *p'u* 'to blow a trumpet.'

by trade which was carried on to no inconsiderable extent. Before starting on their migrations they were not a very warlike race, but, on the other hand, had attained a degree of culture much in advance of the fiercer hill-tribes of cognate race who dwelt in their vicinity. Their language, after leaving the Northern uplands, suffered considerably from decay before being reduced to writing.

It is possible, though not proved, that a smaller migration from Central took place after the main one from Western Tibet, which latter, taking all circumstances into consideration, would seem to have taken place during the present Christian era. The numerous kings who are stated to have reigned in Burma B.C. may be dismissed as entirely apocryphal, or, at least, they did not reign over a people who can be linguistically identified with the present Burmese race.



ART. III.—*Chao Ju-kua, a new source of Mediæval Geography.*
By F. HIRTH, Ph.D.

THERE is probably no study more fascinating to the student of historical geography during the period preceding Marco Polo than that of the Oriental maritime trade, which made Arabic enterprise the ruling element in the commercial world for centuries before the rise of the Portuguese. The ocean-trade of almost every port in those waters, which may be said to reach from the coast of Morocco in the west to that of Japan and Corea in the east, was in the hands of Arab merchants. We need not be astonished, therefore, to find that Arabic authors are the principal source of what we know, not only about the navigation of that period, but also about the ethnography of the nations with whom their countrymen had come into contact.

I do not propose here to review the well-known reports, dating from three different centuries, in which Arabic authors have handed down, I may almost say, our entire knowledge of the Oriental sea-trade of those days. The Abbaside period, the epoch following Mahmud's conquest of India, and the Mongol era, have each contributed their share. The accounts of Soleiman and other Arab seafarers, edited by Renaudot and Reinaud, belong to the ninth century. Arab geographers have since monopolised the field down to the time of Marco Polo.

Thankful though we may be for these efforts of Arab industry, we are bound to admit that, while receiving from them powerful encouragement in extending our knowledge of this branch of historical geography, we have to lament many a gap where information is most urgently wanted. Our curiosity being once roused, we should like to complete

the picture by a few bold but realistic dashes from a contemporaneous brush. Such a desire will probably never be satisfied. The value of the work done by such writers as Reinaud's Arab travellers, Maçoudi and Ibn Batuta, has been doubled and trebled by the acumen of their interpreters; and further efforts may succeed in eliciting additional information from these texts in parts where they still remain a mystery to us. In the meantime new matter, information collected at the period concerned, is of the greatest importance wherever it may be found. Such new matter I am now able to contribute from a source scarcely thought of by the friends of Arabic geography—a Chinese author who wrote at the beginning of the thirteenth century. I have before me a critical digest regarding the author and his work, and an English translation of the latter which, with the most essential points of interpretation, has occupied me for the last ten years. I have gone through the translation several times, in order to be as sure of the exact sense of all the details as a fair knowledge of the Chinese language in an enthusiastic European will admit; I have then examined every sentence in company with a student of Chinese, thoroughly capable of tracing an oversight if any should have crept in—Mr. E. H. Fraser, lately H.B.M. Consul at Chungking—to whose critical interest I am indebted for many a valuable improvement in my translation.

The Chinese author of whom I speak may almost be called an Arab authority, inasmuch as we have reason to believe that he collected his information from the Arab traders with whom he came into contact.

Chao Ju-kua, whose work, the *Chu-fan-chih*, i.e. "Record of Foreign Countries," I have attempted to translate and, to a limited extent, to interpret, is an author quite undeservedly unknown, both among his countrymen, the Chinese, and among foreigners. Neither Schott nor Wylie seem to have known his name. Bretschneider, in his *Botanicon Sinicum*, mentions the work as quoted in the abbreviated edition of the "Catalogue of the Imperial

Library of Peking"; but he, too, has apparently never seen the book, since, had this been the case, with the well-known speculative talent which has helped him to select valuable sources of information out of endless lists of Chinese works, he could not have failed to discover its importance in the history of Oriental trade. I am bound to assume that Léon de Rosny, with all his diligence in searching for Chinese texts throwing light on this subject, has handled the book for a short time only. For, while communicating a few highly-useful extracts, in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1861, regarding Japan and the Loo-Choo Islands, he does not avail himself of the information contained in the *Chu-fan-chih* in his later work on the Oriental nations known to the ancient Chinese (*Les peuples orientaux connus des anciens Chinois*), a revised third edition of which appeared in 1892. Pauthier, in 1857, published a translation of Ju-kua's chapter on Ta-ts'in in his well-known treatise *De l'authenticité de l'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fu*; and I conclude from certain notes furnished by St. Julien to Renan, published in Renan's *Histoire générale des langues sémitiques*, that the former had read, though misunderstood, the same chapter. A French version of this short part of Chao Ju-kua's text appears also in Hue's *Le christianisme en Chine*, though I am not able to say at present by whom it was prepared. My own version of the same chapter appears in *China and the Roman Orient*, published in 1885. Some notes, with a short extract, introducing the Chinese author, have appeared in vol. i of my *Chinesische Studien* (Leipzig, 1890), and I have recently, in a supplementary fascicule of the *T'oung-pao* (Leiden, 1894), published a German version of Ju-kua's chapters on the Arab possessions as a first instalment regarding "Die Länder des Islâm nach chinesischen Quellen," and an extract on the Kingdom of Malabar, pp. 149 *seqq.* in vol. vi of the same periodical. I am not aware that, apart from the few instances just mentioned, the work of Chao Ju-kua has been referred to by Western writers.

In China, too, the book is very little known, and copies of it are exceedingly rare; in fact, the only two copies I have seen formed part of an expensive collection of reprints. The numerous biographical works of the Chinese, with all their comprehensiveness, are perfectly silent on its author, whose name is neither mentioned among the biographies of the *Sung-shih*, the national history of the period, nor apparently in the minor records of those, and later times, which would have been collected in such works as the *Wan-hsing-t'ung-p'u*, the biographical Thesaurus of the Ming dynasty and the first collective biographical record published after the probable lifetime of our author.

✓ The *Chu-fan-chih*, though decidedly the most important source on the Oriental sea-trade of the Sung period, is but seldom quoted in later works. It has had the misfortune of being copied, though incompletely, by T'o-t'o, the author of the official history of the period, the *Sung-shih*. The result is that later authors, when referring to the foreign nations, quote the latter in preference to the older work. Ma Tuan-lin, whose cyclopædia appeared about a century after Chao Ju-kua, borrows from him without a word of acknowledgment. Unfortunately this is the rule, or at least a very common occurrence, in Chinese literature. The existence of the Chinese national histories, such as the two *Han-shu*, the *T'ang-shu*, etc., has to atone for the loss of many a special work on ancient or mediæval geography. It may be some sort of consolation in view of the entire disappearance of the great Chinese explorer Chang K'ien's work (if it were at all written by himself), the *Chang-ch'ien-ch'u-kuan-chih*, that we may point to the account of his expeditions in the *Shih-ki* by Ssu-ma Ch'ien; possibly the loss of another very important work, the *Hsi-yü-t'u-chi*, an account of Central Asia early during the seventh century, by Pei Ch'ü, may be made up for by certain unacknowledged portions of the *Sui-shu*, the official history of the period, as Von Riechthofen assumes ("China," vol. i, p. 530). But a comparison of the text furnished by Chao Ju-kua, with the extracts made from it with and without acknowledgment

by later authors, clearly shows how much we would have lost as regards matter-of-fact information, had the *Chu-fan-chih* shared the fate of Chang K'ien's and Pei Ch'ü's works, which we know were still kept in the Imperial Library in A.D. 618.

And a narrow escape the *Chu-fan-chih* has had from being lost to the memory of man. It must have been a rare book at any time. It is well known that the Chinese do not print editions, as we do, of 100, 500, or 1000 copies at a time, when a book is published; but the wooden blocks being preserved in the publisher's library, merely as many copies are struck off as are required to satisfy immediate demand. If perchance the printing-blocks get lost or destroyed, the entire edition rests on the number of copies which happen to have been taken. To reprint such a work as the *Chu-fan-chih* would have required stronger demand on the part of the public than probably ever made itself felt during the Sung period. Geographical studies, though extensively applied to every part of China proper, were treated with a certain amount of indifference where foreign countries were concerned. Whatever enthusiasm we may admire in a few single individuals of the Chao Ju-kua kind, the public taste was not given that way. Chang K'ien and Pan Ch'ao, the early explorers, had become national heroes, it is true; Fa Hsien and Hsüan Chuang, the Buddhist travellers, had in their time occupied public attention to a high degree. But Confucian learning was the order of the day at the end of the twelfth century, when Chu Hi wrote his great commentaries: the antiquities of China, the history of its art; the philosophy of the classical and the Taoist schools, with their mystical degenerations; Buddhist cosmology, the poetry of the past and present;—all were studied with an ardour worthy of a period which may be called the age of *renaissance* in China, while the knowledge of foreign countries was merely an obscure branch taken up by a few amateurs. Confucian philosophers actually threw discredit on what was then known of foreign geography,

and I can at least quote one of the well-known essayists of the period, Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang, who died in 1195, and who in his antiquarian work, the *K'ao-ku-pien*, tries to make out that foreign geography is absolutely untrustworthy. The arguments he uses in support of his assertion, however, show that the untrustworthiness lies entirely with himself, who, to judge from his remarks, must have been altogether destitute of geographical sense.

The *Chu-fan-chih* is mentioned in the descriptive catalogue of the library belonging to the celebrated bibliophile Ch'ên Chên-sun, who furnished the greater part of the bibliographical portion of Ma Tuan-lin's cyclopædia, published in 1319. Ch'ên Chên-sun was appointed Prefect of Kia-hing-fu in Chêkiang in 1234-1237; this is the only date I can discover regarding his lifetime. Probably the *Chu-fan-chih* had then existed for a number of years, though all the evidence therefore rests with what we learn from the text itself, which cannot have been concluded before the year 1205, owing to an Arab embassy being mentioned in it as having come to China during the years 1205-1208, nor after the year 1258, because Baghdad is described in it as being governed by rulers who called themselves the lineal descendants from the prophet Muhammad. The book is quoted in the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi*—the description of an embassy to Cambodja terminated in 1297, written by Chou Ta-kuan, a member of that mission, of which there is a French translation by Rémusat in the first volume of his *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*.

It appears that, during the Mongol period, Chao Ju-kua's work fell into entire oblivion, and it must have been very rare indeed in A.D. 1407, when it was received into that gigantic collection of manuscripts published under the name of *Yung-lo-ta-tien*. Thereby the work has actually been saved to us, for I doubt whether we shall ever succeed in finding a copy printed previous to that date. There, too, the work remained buried for centuries, inaccessible to the public and exposed to the danger of being annihilated by fire, until in 1783 it was unearthed again with other

literary treasures by a great lover of his native literature, Li T'iao-yüan, whose biography will be found in the provincial gazetteer, the *Ssü-ch'uan-t'ung-chih*. Born in Lo-chiang-hsien, in Szechuen, he followed his father—who, like most high officials, was ordered about from one province of China to another—and, after a good education, showed considerable literary taste. Having taken his degree as *Chin-shih* in 1763, he tried to combine a student's life with his official career, which brought him to the neighbourhood of Peking. Here, as a member of the Academy (Han-lin), he had, of course, access to the Academy library, where, according to Mayers, in his instructive paper on the "Bibliography of the Chinese Imperial Collections of Literature," in the sixth volume of the *China Review*, the *Yang-lo-ta-tien* is said to have been preserved down to our days. The existence of so many highly important works being buried in the chambers of the Academy was a trouble to a public-spirited man of Li T'iao-yüan's order. He, therefore, copied what seemed to him the works best worthy of being introduced to the general public, and printed them afterwards with his own works and some other matter in the collection known as *Han-hai*, first published in 1783, of which two further editions are known in Szechuen. From this, the first printed copy as far as I am aware, another edition has been received into the collection of reprints published by Chang Hai-p'êng in Chao-wên, near Soochow, in 200 pên, under the name of *Hsiao-tsin-t'ao-yüan*, which appeared in 1805, previous to the second edition of the *Han-hai*, published in 1809. I have compared the two texts and found none but trivial variants, such as would in no case affect the translation, for which reason I shall not notice them.

These are the only editions I have fallen in with after many years' ransacking of the Chinese book stores at Shanghai and Yang-chow, the latter place being an important market for literary curiosities as well as antiquities, whence even the curio dealers at Shanghai draw much of their ancient porcelain. A copy of the *Chu-fan-chih* must

be, or have been, among the Chinese books of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, since Pauthier quotes from it in his work on the Nestorian inscription. I am not aware that the British Museum has a copy, at least it was not enumerated in Dr. Douglas' Catalogue of 1877.

All we know about the author's life is a very scanty notice of his book in the bibliophile Ch'ên Chên-sun's descriptive Catalogue, written some time during the early part, or the middle, of the thirteenth century. It says, by way of explanation, after the title *Chu-fan-chih*: "the Inspector of Foreign Trade in Fukien, Chao Ju-kua, records [in this book] the several foreign countries and the merchandize which come from them."

This is very little indeed; and yet it speaks volumes towards the elucidation of our subject, if we try to read between the lines. The Inspector of Foreign Trade, in Chinese T'î-chû-shih-po, i.e. "Shih-po by special appointment," or simply Shih-po, or Shih-po-shih, was during the Sung dynasty an official whose functions corresponded to the combined position of the present Superintendent and Commissioner of Customs. Indeed, in the *Li-tai-chih-kuan-piao*, a tabular list of the names of all the public offices of the present Empire and their equivalents during the various former dynasties, compiled in 1780, though not published in book form until 1844, the Shih-po-shih of the Sung dynasty is identified with the modern *Kuan-shih-chien-tu*, i.e. the Superintendent of Customs.

✓ In the *Sung-shih* we are repeatedly told that this officer had to superintend the collection of taxes on the trade carried on by the sea-going vessels laden with foreign goods, especially those being brought from afar by the inhabitants of distant countries.

The history of this office may for this reason be said to represent the history of foreign sea-trade in China. Foreign trade had for a long time been covered by the name, inseparable from the early foreign enterprise of Chinese Courts, of "tribute." The word "tribute," in Chinese *Kung*, was nothing but a substitute for what

might as well have been called "exchange of produce" or "trade," the trade with foreign nations being a monopoly of the Court. The latter would refuse to trade unless it was done under its own conditions, viz. the appearance of the offering of gifts as a sign of submission and admiration on the part of a distant monarch. In each case the full equivalent was paid for these offerings in the shape of counter-gifts presented to the so-called ambassadors by the Chinese Court. If these counter-gifts had not made it worth their while to submit to all the trouble and even humiliation imposed on the tribute-bearers, we should not see such a long list of distant nations recorded as regular tribute-countries, such as India, Persia, and Arabia, who had nothing to gain or to lose by the friendship of China. I am inclined to believe that, with exceptions of course, these tribute-bearers were in reality nothing better than private merchants who purchased the counter-gifts of the Court under the pretext of bringing tribute in the name of some distant monarch. The description and quantity of goods returned to such tribute-bearers as a reward for the submissive feelings expressed by them on behalf of their monarchs have in many cases been placed on record by the court historians, and if measured by our present estimation of their value, point to a trade as lucrative as any carried on under modern treaty regulations. Such relations had existed between China and the neighbouring countries from the oldest times; they had assumed larger dimensions under the Han, when certain nations were compelled by force of arms to send in tribute, while others, like Parthians and Syrians, volunteered it as a matter of speculation. ✓The regularity with which these transactions took place led, of course, to the creation of court officers connected with their management. We read in the *Sui-shu* that an office called *Ssü-fang-kuan* was established under the Emperor Yang-ti during the period 605-617 at the Chinese capital, for the special purpose of receiving the ambassadors of the countries in the four directions of the compass (*ssü-fang*), viz. those

in the east, principally Japan; in the south, represented by the southern barbarians on the continent and the Archipelago (nan-man); in the west, represented by the Central Asiatic tribes (hsi-jung); and in the north, represented by the pei-ti (Tartars, Hsiung-nu, Tunguses, etc.). For each of these four classes of traffic a special officer was appointed, whose duty it was to superintend the "exchange of produce" (*hu-shih*, *lit.* "mutual marketing"), besides the duties connected with the reception of the mission. This shows clearly enough that, even in those early days, the embassies received at Court were not purely political or complimentary, but have to be looked upon as representing the official form in which trade was then conducted. The superintending officers were then stationed at the capital; but later on, when trade by sea assumed larger dimensions, the necessity arose to appoint Special Commissioners, precursors as it were of the modern Superintendents and Commissioners of Customs, at the places where foreign merchandise was imported in exchange for native produce.

Of all the ports open to trade during the several periods of Chinese history, Canton, or some locality near Canton, is probably the oldest. We have seen that ocean-trade between China and the countries of Western Asia had its terminus in some port of Tonkin or Annam on the southern frontier of China, and I have ventured to identify this port, wherever it may have been situated, with the eastern terminus of Roman navigation, Kattigara, adding some arguments in support of a suggestion made by Baron von Richtbofen. This port was apparently the terminus of Western trade as late as A.D. 226, when Ts'in Lun, a native of Ta-ts'in (Syria) landed there; but Canton, or some place in its neighbourhood, must have been opened to foreign trade in the same century, since we read in a work of A.D. 300, the *Nan-fang-ts'ao-mu-chuang*, that foreigners from Western countries introduced the cultivation of the jasmine-plant into Nan-hai, i.e. the Canton district. I am inclined to believe that this port,

the cradle of foreign trade in recent days, has ever since the third century been one of the main channels of ocean commerce.

Positive evidence is on record in the eighth century. I read in the *T'ang-kuo-shih-pu*, by Li Chao, a work of the beginning of the ninth century, purporting to record historical facts concerning the period 713-825, that "the sea-going ships of Canton were foreign vessels (*Nan-hai-po wai-kuo ch'uan yeh*); that they made annual trips to Annam, Kuang-chou [probably a place in the Gulf of Tonkin], and Ceylon." "These ships were of the greatest size, so that, for going on board, ladders several *chang* in length had to be used. The skippers would collect cargoes of valuable goods, and when the ship was about to leave, the local inspector submitted a report to the provincial chief, which was styled 'beating the alarm drum.' The ship was in charge of a foreign captain (*yu fan-ch'ang wei chu*), whose name had to be registered by the Shih-po-shih, and the latter collected the taxes on the goods as well as the ship's freight. The exportation of precious and rare articles was forbidden, and if a foreign trader [apparently a Chinese merchant trading to foreign countries] became guilty of smuggling them, he was put into prison. During the voyage white pigeons had to be kept on board to serve as messengers, as they would return to their home, though several thousand *li* away from it, in case the vessel should be lost." The author goes on to say that "the skippers maintain that even rats have souls; for, if the rats on board should flock together and leave the ship, shipwreck is bound to occur within ten days." It is evident from this account, the authenticity and antiquity of which is not subject to the slightest doubt, that foreign ships were in the eighth century chartered by the Chinese Government, and that the modern China Merchants Company had its prototype over a thousand years ago. The mention of white pigeons being kept on board these ships may contain a hint as to their nationality, since I have strong reason to believe that the use of carrier pigeons was introduced into

✓ China by Persian traders. Carrier pigeons are mentioned as a familiar Persian institution by Maçoudi, and, during the Mongol rule in Persia, important news was entrusted to the flying messenger, as I conclude from two occurrences mentioned in Hammer-Purgstall's "History of the Ilkhans." Their earliest mention in China is connected with the biography of the well-known statesman Chang Chiu-ling, the faithful minister of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung, who, as a boy, tied letters to the feet of pigeons returning home. Chang Chiu-ling was born in 673; the anecdote referred to, which is told in the *K'ai-yüan-i-shih* (or "Historical Gleanings of the K'ai-yüan Period," i.e. 713 to 742), therefore, belongs to the end of the seventh century. Carrier pigeons cannot then have been in general use in China, or else the anecdote would not have been worth telling. But we are assured in another old work, the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu*, of the eighth century, that "pigeons are sent home from on board the Persian ships at distances of several thousand *li* as messengers of peace." I am not able to say how the superstition about rats leaving a ship has originated, but to judge from the record quoted, it must have been current among Persian skippers over a thousand years ago.

The history of the office of Shih-po has been compiled by Ma Tuan-lin in his sixty-second chapter; fuller details, however, will be found in the *Sung-shih*. The interest we may take in such an abstruse subject as the history of a Chinese Government office in its early phases is fully justified, if we consider its close connection with the development of foreign trade in China. Ma Tuan-lin refers us to the biography, contained in the history of the T'ang dynasty, of the statesman Liu Tsê, who, during the K'ai-yüan period (713 to 742), held among other offices that of Shih-po-shih at Canton, then called Ling-nan. This appears to be the oldest mention of the office held by Chao Ju-kua five hundred years later. For centuries Canton must have been the only channel through which foreign trade was permitted; for it is not before the year 999 that

we read of the appointment of Inspectors of Trade at Hang-chou and Ming-chou.¹ The latter name is identical with Ningpo. Ma Tuan-lin adds: "at the request and for the convenience of foreign officials" (*ting fan-kuan ts'ung-pien*), which may involve that foreign, probably Arab or Persian, or Indian, communities then existed at those ports, and that they were under the jurisdiction of judges of their own nationality. According to a passage in the *Sung-shih* (ch. 186), the trade superintended by the Shih-po during the early part of the Sung dynasty was carried on with the following countries: Ta-shih (Arabia); Ku-lo (probably Kalah, on the Malayan Peninsula); Java; Cochin China; Borneo; Ma-yi (probably the Philippines); and San-fo-ch'i (Palembang, Sumatra).

An important change took place in the Hsi-ning period (A.D. 1068 to 1078), when the ocean-traders of Ch'üan-chou-fu were obliged to put into Canton (probably one of its revenue stations on the sea-coast) on their return journeys for payment of duty, before they were permitted to sail farther east, failing which their cargoes became liable to confiscation. If they made their escape home by sailing in a wide circle around the station, the penalty was enforced all the same, even though more than six months might have elapsed since the offence was committed. The Prefect of Ch'üan-chou, therefore, submitted to the Throne the desirability of a Shih-po being appointed at that port; but these representations remained unheeded till the accession of the Emperor Chê-tsung, who, in the second year of his reign (A.D. 1087), ordered the desired office to be established at Ch'üan-chou.

Various changes are on record regarding this post which, suiting the exigencies of trade, was either represented by

¹ This is in my opinion the principal reason why the port of *Khanfu*, mentioned by the earliest Muhamadan travellers, or authors (Soleiman, Abu Zeid, and Maqondi), cannot be identified with Hang-chou. The report of Soleiman, who first speaks of *Khanfu*, was written in 851, and in those days Canton was apparently the only port open to foreign trade. Marco Polo's *Ganfu* is a different port altogether, viz. *Kau-fu*, or *Kau-pu*, near Hang-chou, and should not be confounded with *Khanfu*.

a special officer, or administered in connection with some other office, or abolished altogether temporarily and re-established when required. In 1144 the levy of a duty of forty per cent. on all "fragrant drugs" was introduced; in 1147 this duty was reduced to ten per cent. on the so-called "fine fragrant drugs," which comprised cloves, eaglewood, nutmegs, and camphor. In 1166 the inspectorate in Chêkiang was transferred to the local officials at the ports. "Squeezes" and other malpractices led to the temporary abolition of these posts here and there during the Sung dynasty, but we find them again under the Mongols.

Ma Tuan-lin's sketch of the history of the inspectorate is somewhat condensed; we find much fuller information in the *Sung-shih*, but I must admit that it is not always smooth sailing trying to find one's way in these ancient records. It appears from this fuller account that, originally, the entire foreign trade had to pass through the official treasuries, and that the importation at least of all incenses and other goods of intrinsic value was a State monopoly. Later on this monopoly was confined to pearls, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros horns, ivory, steel, turtle-skin, corals, cornelian stones, and frankincense. Towards the end of the tenth century (984 to 988) the Chinese Court fitted out a commercial expedition with a view to encourage trade with "the foreign nations in the south of the sea." Eight officers of the Imperial Palace were placed in charge of that mission, and provided with credentials and funds for the purchase of goods. These funds consisted of gold bullion and piece goods. The result of this revival of foreign trading relations was that the people were allowed to share in this traffic, but merchants engaging in ocean-trade had to apply to the inspectors in Chêkiang and the Shih-po-ssü for an official license, on pain of the confiscation of their goods. Moreover, a scale of fines held out certain penalties for clandestinely trading with a foreigner even to a very limited extent, exchange of produce to the extent of merely a hundred *cash* being

threatened with punishment. Whoever bought fifteen strings' worth of goods without a license had his face branded, and was banished to an island of the sea. We read that in 994 these laws were modified by a liberal change in the scale of penalties, and it appears that the Court soon came to the conclusion that the monopoly system could not be upheld with its original strictness. Since the T'ien-shêng period (1023 to 1032), the *Sung-shih* says, large stocks of ivory, pearls, jadestone, incenses, medicines, and precious stones had been hoarded up in the Imperial Treasury; and since the Court was not in need of all this, the surplus was sold to the people in exchange for gold, piece goods, straw, and paddy, for the benefit of the provincial district administration, which was a real help to them. If, in explaining the early tribute missions as mere pretexts for trade under Court monopoly, we must admit that, nominally, produce may have been purchased to cover the consumption of the Court, this sale of surplus stocks to the people certainly stamps Court purchases as trading transactions pure and simple.

At this stage of its account the *Sung-shih* inserts what may be considered an early specimen of commercial statistics. It makes the accumulation of goods in the Treasury responsible for a stagnation in the importation of foreign merchandise observed in 994, and, in order to show how the recent measure had caused the trade to recover, quotes the following comparative figures:—

"In A.D. 1049 to 1054 the annual importation of ivory, rhinoceros horns, pearls, jadestone, incenses, and medicines exceeded 530,000 [strings, I presume, worth about a dollar each nowadays]; this amount had increased by a hundred thousand during the period 1064 to 1068."

In 1072 private merchants were allowed a share in the profit out of the foreign trade, and it appears from the *Sung-shih* that the appointment of a Shih-po at Ch'üan-chou was then applied for, which Ma Tuan-lin tells us was not made before the year 1087.

The further history of the Shih-po office as described in

the *Yuan-shih*, the history of the Mongol dynasty in China, is particularly interesting, as it affords us an opportunity to check by it various statements made by Marco Polo as to the Great Khan's revenue. I propose to return to this subject on some future occasion, and now merely mention that about the time of Marco Polo's departure from Zaitun, the Shih-po-ssü was stationed at Ch'üan-chou, and not at Chang-chou or any other place of the neighbourhood, which is in my opinion a very strong argument in favour of the identity of Ch'üan-chou with Zaitun. We read in the *Yuan-shih* that in 1293 a Shih-po-ssü was stationed at each of the following seven ports, viz.: Ch'üan-chou, Shanghai, Kan-pu (near Hangchow), Wenchow, Canton, Hang-chou, and Ch'ing-yüan (*i.e.* Ningpo).

The port of Ch'üan-chou, in the east of Amoy, has always been considered as identical with that of Zaitun, described by Arab travellers, Marco Polo and others, as the chief trading-place in those waters; recently, however, Chang-chou, in the west of Amoy, has been mentioned as a place possessing greater claims to having been a resort of foreign trade. This may be true as far as the Ming period is concerned. I cannot, however, agree to this view in connection with Sung and Mongol trade, whatever praise I may feel disposed to bestow on the painstaking researches of Mr. George Phillips, the originator and defender of the Chang-chou theory. It seems natural that the place where the chief officer for collecting the customs revenue from foreign trade is stationed is identical with the place where, according to foreign accounts, that trade was principally carried on, and Abulfeda (Yule, *Cathay*, xcxciii) distinctly says: "It is also stated that SHANJU, known in our time as ZAITUN, is one of the ports of China, and with them the ports are also the places of customs." Moreover, Chao Ju-kua looks upon Ch'üan-chou as the starting-point for the distant journey to foreign countries, such as Arabia, and that this was so at the time of Marco Polo's arrival in China may be seen from an extract from the *Mêng-liang-lu*, a description of the city

of Hang-chou, issued in 1274, which I published in the December number of the *T'oung-pao* of 1894, and whose author distinctly says that while Tai-chou, Wên-chou, etc., are ports resorted to for local trade, "those who wish to make the journey across the distant ocean start at Ch'üan-chou and sail through the straits of Tai-hsü." If Chang-chou had been identical with Zaitun it would have been enumerated among the seven ports "open to foreign trade in 1293," if we may thus interpret the establishment at them of Foreign Trade Inspectors.

A number of other facts, too, which I shall deal with more fully on some other occasion, point to the port of Ch'üan-chou as a resort of foreign traders long before Marco Polo. Chao Ju-kua informs us on good authority that a foreign merchant, by name of Shih-na-wei (Senai?), a native of Ta-shih, *i.e.* Arabia, took up his residence in the south of Ch'üan. "Taking pleasure in charitable acts, he made a burial-place in the south-east outside the city for the interment of the remains of foreign traders." Chao Ju-kua quotes one Lin Chih-ch'i, a predecessor of his in the office of Shih-po, as having placed this fact on record. The biography of Lin Chih-ch'i happens to be preserved in the *Sung-shih*, and shows that he died in 1176. The burial-place referred to by him must, therefore, have existed before that year, and we are probably quite justified in assuming that a colony of Arab traders existed at Ch'üan-chou as early as the middle of the twelfth century. I am strengthened in this assumption by what the local chronicles, quoted in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng* (section 6, chapter 1500), place on record in connection with a temple or mosque called Ch'ing-ching-ssü, which was built at Ch'üan-chou by certain Muhammadans (*hui-jên*) during the Shao-hsing period, *i.e.* between the years 1131 and 1163. Among the antiquities of the place we find quoted in the same cyclopædia (*ibid.*, ch. 1045) from the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* that on the Läng-shan, *lit.* the Hill of Souls, in the south-east of the city, there were preserved the Muhammadan tombs or "Tombs of

the Medina-men," as they were styled. These I shall be able to show were the tombs of the Muhammadan apostles, supposed to be the first who brought this faith to Ch'üan-chou. According to an account given in the *Min-shu*, which, from the way in which foreign names are transcribed in it, I conclude to have been written down from verbal communications during the Ming or Mongol period, "the Muhammadans (*hui-hui-chia*) say there was in Medina a saint Ma-han-pa-tê (Muhammad), born in the first year of K'ai-huang of the Sui dynasty, *i.e.* A.D. 581." This is exactly ten years later than the birth date calculated by Sprenger, *viz.* the 20th April, A.D. 571. "The saint having become conspicuous as an admirable man, the king of the country invited him to the royal seat. In the 20th year [of K'ai-huang, *i.e.* A.D. 600, perhaps 'for twenty years'] he was inspired to make known the classical books, teaching how to love what is good and hate what is bad, and spread the religion he had received from Heaven. The sun did not scorch him, the heaviest rain did not wet his clothes, he walked into a fire without dying, and kept under water without drowning. He had as disciples four wise men who came to our Court during the period Wu-tê (618 to 627) of the T'ang dynasty, and in the sequel became teachers of their religion in China. One of them taught Canton, the second taught Yang-chou, the third and fourth taught Ch'üan-chou, and upon their death were buried on this hill. The two men to whom these tombs belong were thus men of the Y'ang period. Since these two bodies were buried there, a glory appears on this hill at night which is considered a great wonder by the people, who call it 'the Holy Tomb,' or 'the Tomb of the Western Saints.'"

I do not think for a moment that much more historical value need be attached to this account than to any religious legend of the kind; but the story seems to show that, among the natives, Ch'üan-chou was considered the cradle of Muhammadanism in this neighbourhood.

In his description of Nan-p'i (Nambi, Namburi?), a

country which I have identified with the kingdom of Malabar, Chao Ju-kua refers to two foreigners, father and son, who came from Malabar, and who lived at his time "in the south of the city of Ch'üan." The southern suburbs of that city probably contained the foreign settlement, which, moreover, is most likely to have occupied a site facing the harbour, or as near as possible to the anchorage, which is actually in the south of the city. Here, indeed, stood a Buddhist temple, the Pao-lin-yüan of Ju-kua's time, which had been built by an Indian devotee, by name of Lo-hu-na (Râhula?), at the end of the tenth century. It appears from Chao Ju-kua's description of T'ien-chu (part of India) that foreign merchants even then frequented the port; for when the devotee had come, "they vied with each other in presenting him with gold, silks, jewels, and precious stones," which the disinterested monk invested in the building of a temple. However, the term standing here for "foreign merchants" (*fan-shang*) may possibly mean "Chinese merchants trading to foreign countries." Such, however, is not the case with the "foreign traders" who, according to the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih*, in 1211, petitioned the Court, through the local prefect, for permission to put into thorough repair, from funds raised by a subscription list among themselves, the city wall of Ch'üan-chou. Ibn Batuta says that in Zaitun "the Muhammadans have a city by themselves," and it is probably for the safety of the Muhammadan settlement that these subscriptions were raised. The year 1211 is probably just about the time when Chao Ju-kua collected his notes.

The relations between natives and the foreign residents must have been particularly good then, and the foreign community must have seen palmy days indeed if they could afford to build city walls for the Chinese. Such times would naturally be favourable to friendly intercourse between an official in the Shih-po's position and the prominent Arabian and Indian merchants; for the Shih-po was not only, as we have seen, the chief authority for all matters connected with foreign shipping, but even

performed functions resembling those of a foreign consul. Certainly shipwrecked strangers, whose nationality could not be ascertained, were sent to him to be dealt with. I am able to quote an instance in the case of a lengthy account of a shipwreck, which occurred in 1150 near Foo-chow, when a Chinese adventurer, who had spent many years somewhere in the Archipelago, was thrown on shore with some dark natives, including his, probably Malay, wife, and who were sent on by the local authorities to the Shih-po in Ch'üan-chou, who was to provide them with a passage to their native country.

I could easily multiply the number of arguments which speak in favour of the identity of Ch'üan-chou with the Zaitun of Western authors. But I shall take it for granted that the prominence given by the Chinese authorities quoted to the connection of the Shih-po of Ch'üan-chou with the foreign ocean-trade, and the fact of our author's introducing his accounts of various countries by the words, "ships start at Ch'üan . . .," etc., is quite enough to indicate Chao Ju-kua's connection with that city. I have dwelt at some length on this point, because it seems to throw more light on the probable origin of his work than any amount of detail regarding his personal history would have done. Of the latter I have only succeeded in tracing the following facts.

Chao Ju-kua was a member of the imperial family of the Sung dynasty, whose name was Chao; and Chao is the family name of all the members, whatever their titles may have been as emperors or princes. But while all the lineal descendants of the founder of the dynasty, the Emperor Tai-tsu, had this common family name, the personal name, or *ming*, varied, of course, but was given to each new-born member according to fixed regulations, under which the *ming* is to consist of two characters, the first being common to all belonging to the same generation, while the second was peculiar to the individual bearing it. Thus the name Chao Ju-kua, as belonging to this family name system, may be interpreted to mean *Kua* of the *Ju* generation of the *Chao* family.

The Chinese have at all ages been very careful about their pedigrees. The family name (*hsing*) is a sacred institution; every respectable family has its ancestral hall; many well-to-do houses preserve the history of their pedigree in printed books, and look with a certain pride upon these records. The former Mixed Court Magistrate Huang in Shanghai once presented me with two volumes devoted entirely to the history of his ancestors. During the Mongol period numerous Chinese families abandoned their old names in exchange for Mongol names, but soon after his accession to the throne the Emperor Hung-wu, the founder of the Ming dynasty, issued an edict by which Mongol names were forbidden to all except Mongols by blood. On the other hand, the family name of the ruling emperor was bestowed as a special honour to the representatives of powerful hordes having tendered their submission. Thus the chief of a Mo-ho tribe occupying the Djurdahen country, bounding the sea north of Corea, who had allowed his country to be incorporated into the empire under the name of Hei-shui-fu, was rewarded by his son being named Li Hsien-ch'êng in 722, Li being the family name of the T'ang emperors. As far as I can judge, however, such extensions of the Imperial House "by adoption," as it were, do not affect the pedigree, inasmuch as the genealogical tables compiled by the official historians after the close of a dynasty appear to contain none but the names of natural descendants. If I am not mistaken in this assumption, *i.e.* if the boon of bearing the emperor's family name has not been extended to the children of daughters and other relatives, the genealogical tables of the Imperial House of Chao, which occupy a series of, say, 400 years, and which are printed in twenty-seven chapters (Nos. 215 to 241) of the *Sung-shih*, constitute one of the most extensive family records ever published. The Emperor T'ai-tsu had four sons, two of whom left no progeny. The remaining two, Tê-chao and Tê-fang, stand at the apex of a large pyramid of descendants. The first part of the name of each male child born in the "House"

or *fang*, of which Tê-chao was the head, denoted the generation. The sequence of these generation names was as follows: Tê, Wei, Tsung, Shih, Ling, Tzū, Po, Shih, Hsi, Yū, Mêng, and Yu. It is this branch of the Chao family which produced the greatest painter of the Mongol period, Chao Mêng-fu, also known as Tzū-ang, who lived from 1254 to 1322, and who, from his personal name, Mêng-fu, may be seen to have belonged to the Mêng, or eleventh, generation after T'ai-tsu. Since the founder of the dynasty left the empire to his brother, who reigned under the name of T'ai-tsung, the latter became actually the ancestor of the greater part of the Sung emperors and their descendants. He had nine sons, each of whom stands at the head of a *fang* or "House," but the first part of the *ming* in each of these nine genealogical divisions is uniform for the several generations. These generation names follow each other thus: Yüan, Yün, Tsung, Chung, Shih, Pu, Shan, Ju, Chung, Pi, Liang, and Yu. Chao Ju-kua, whose name appears in the Genealogical Records, is therefore, a descendant of T'ai-tsung in the eighth generation. The name occurs twice in the *Sung-shih*, viz. once on p. 53 of chapter cexxxi, and again on p. 23 of chapter cexxxiii. I do not know whether there is any special reason for the "Catalogue of the Imperial Library" in two places (lxxi, p. 10, and cxxv, p. 42) identifying the author of the *Chu-fan-chieh* with the first mentioned, or if the bibliographer of the "Catalogue" was at all aware of the twofold occurrence of the name in the *Sung-shih* tables. The first name, however, has this point in its favour, that its bearer had a son who distinguished himself as an author. Taking it for granted that the "Catalogue," for reasons unknown to us, is right in its identification, Chao Ju-kua was a lineal descendant of the Prince of Shang, a younger brother of the Emperor Chên-tsung (A.D. 998 to 1023). He was the youngest of four brothers; his father, Shan-tai, was the son of Pu-jou, on whom posthumous rank as Kuang-lu-ta-fu had been bestowed. He, again, Ju-kua's grandfather, was the son of a Prince of Chung-hu, a grandson of Prince Shang

above mentioned. The Chao Ju-kua thus traced in T'o-t'o's genealogical table had two sons, the younger of whom, Chung-hsün, became the author of a small cyclopædia, the *Chi-li* (Wylie, *Notes*, etc., p. 148). Both Ju-kua's sons had children, but his descendants do not reach beyond this, the Pi generation. Apart from our author and his son, I cannot trace any literary or political excellence among his nearer relatives, but several Chao have become famous as statesmen and politicians, their biographies being preserved in the *Sung-shih*, and the Imperial Catalogue contains the names of a respectable number of authors, being members of the family, who have created works bearing witness to industry rather than to genius. The *Chu-fan-chih* is certainly the most interesting to us.

The methodical arrangement prevailing in these Genealogical Records, as in those of many other Chinese families down to the present day, in connection with the vast material furnished by T'o-t'o in his *Sung-shih*, gives us an opportunity to compare notes as to the extent of a generation in China. The late Chancellor of the University of Tübingen, Dr. Rümelin, in his interesting study "On the definition of the word and the duration of a generation" (*Reden und Aufsätze*, Tübingen, 1875, pp. 285 *seqq.*), fixes the average duration of a generation for Germany at 36½ years, for England at 35½, for France at 34½; but he adds that lower figures must be assumed for nations, rich in children, where early marriages are customary, and he quotes China as an instance. We have seen that the Ju generation was the eighth after T'ai-tsung, who ascended the throne in 976, being born in 939. If we give the generation in China an average duration of, say, 31 years, which would probably quite answer the learned statistician's theories, the eighth generation should have been born about 1187. I have traced the biographies of some of Ju-kua's cousins, and find that two of them took a degree in 1184, and another died as late as 1261. From a statistical point of view, therefore, the probabilities are that our author flourished during the early part of the thirteenth century,

say between 1210 and 1240. This would certainly not contradict the generation theory, which is further illustrated by the painter Chao Mêng-fu, born in the year 1254, in the eleventh generation after T'ai-tsu (born in 917). In this instance the average duration of a generation amounts to $30\frac{2}{3}$ years.¹

¹ It may be of interest to statisticians of human life to compare with this average the duration of life of a number of Chinese national celebrities, both political and literary. The biographies of China's great men are mostly contained in the twenty-four Dynastic Histories, but it is not in every case that the exact year of birth and death of a man is given; the former especially is usually omitted, perhaps rightly so. The year of his death is certainly more important in a man's career than that of his birth; for one man may be fifty years old before he does the chief work of his life, while another may do it at the age of twenty-five and then die. Chinese biographers, therefore, often merely tell us that "he died in such and such a year at the age of so much," or even let us infer the death year from some other fact, as if we were to say of Gustavus Adolphus, "he died in the battle of Lützen, thirty-eight years old," leaving it to the reader to calculate therefrom the years of his birth and death. It was not till the beginning of the present century that the desirability of being informed on the duration of life as described in the various sources of Chinese biographical literature resulted in practical labour. Ch'ien Ta-hsin, a native of Chia-ting-fu, took the trouble to calculate from the biographical records the duration of hundreds of lives from the Han dynasty down to his own time, the last death recorded in his list being one in A.D. 1796. His work was published in 1812 under the title *I-nien-lu*, and was followed by a supplement in 1814, written by a native of Chêkiang, the two works being embodied in the collection of reprints called *Yüeh-ya-t'ung-tung-shu*. Though these dates will scarcely help us to determine the length of a generation in China, the results possess some interest to the life statistician, who may wish to compare the following averages with our Western experiences. An abstract from the Chinese work referred to shows that out of 745 individuals whose lifetime could be ascertained by means of their biographies, there died—

At the age of 24-29 . . .	5	At the age of 70-79 . . .	195
30-39 . . .	18	80-89 . . .	111
40-49 . . .	67	90-97 . . .	13
50-59 . . .	138		105 (doubtful) 1
60-69 . . .	200		

The following special abstract, scanty though the material may be, will give us a clue as to the duration of life in China during ancient, as compared with modern times. It certainly does not confirm what Strabo reports of his Sereæ, if this name can at all be applied to the Chinese, viz. that they were a race

The Chao family, whose pedigree has been carried down to the end of the Sung dynasty, continued to flourish, though deprived of official influence, under the Mongols. We read in the *Yuan-shih* (xv, p. 25), under the year 1289, that its descendants then lived scattered about in the provinces south of the river, and that they were held in high esteem among the people. By this time there must have existed quite a little nation of Chao. I have not counted the names appearing in the great Genealogical Table of the *Sung-shih*, which makes up six volumes out of a hundred of the Palace edition of 1739; but at a rough estimate I should say that the number of male individuals registered there as having descended from the first Sung emperor, who bore his name Chao, and were born during the Sung period, *i.e.* within less than four centuries, amounts to some thirty or forty thousand.

of extraordinary longevity, said to exceed two hundred years (*cf.* Yule, *Cathay*, xxxix, note 2).

There died—

(a) Out of 93 individuals born between the first century A.C. and the accession of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618)—

(b) Out of 336 individuals born since the accession of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368) up to the middle of the eighteenth century—

At the age of 20-29 . . .	1	At the age of 20-29 . . .	1
30-39 . . .	5	30-39 . . .	10
40-49 . . .	22	40-49 . . .	14
50-59 . . .	11	50-59 . . .	64
60-69 . . .	23	60-69 . . .	91
70-79 . . .	17	70-79 . . .	92
80-89 . . .	12	80-89 . . .	56
90 . . .	1	90-97 . . .	8
105 (doubtful) . . .	1		

It must not be forgotten, when judging about these abstracts, that the lives to which they refer belong to men who made a mark among their countrymen, and that youthful deaths are, therefore, naturally excluded. On the other hand, many of the heroes of Chinese biography were generals who died in battle, or statesmen who lost their lives by punishment or crime.

Such as it is, Chao Ju-kua's work must be regarded as a most valuable source of information as regards the ethnography of the nations engaged in the sea-trade carried on by the Arabs in Oriental waters. His notes may be called second-hand information, inasmuch as he places on record the accounts made to him by Arabs, Persians, Indians, or other traders; but, taking this into consideration, we must admit that the percentage of clear and simple matter of fact we find in his work, as compared to the improbable and incredible admixtures which we are accustomed to encounter with all the Oriental authors of his time, gives him a prominent place among the mediæval authors on the ethnography of their time.

ART. IV.—*Notes on Akbar's Subahs, with reference to the Ain-i Akbari.* By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (ret.).

No. I.

BENGAL.

For upwards of twenty years the late Professor Blochmann's translation of Abul Fazl's monumental work, the *Ain-i Akbari*, has remained a splendid fragment, and students have longed in vain for its completion. It is, therefore, cause for congratulation that this has at length been effected. Colonel Jarrett's scholarly translation of the remainder of the work, which has recently appeared, is fully equal in accuracy, while it is superior in grace of language, to that of his predecessor. Only those who have laboured over the intricacies of Abul Fazl's detestable style, at one time turgid and overloaded with meaningless phrases, at another so curt and jejune as to be obscure, can fully appreciate the skill and learning which Colonel Jarrett has brought to bear on the supremely difficult task of rendering his author intelligible to European readers.

The translation, moreover, is illustrated by notes, which, if not so copious as Blochmann's, are sufficient—and more than sufficient—for all practical purposes. It is not given to everyone to possess such stores of learning as the late Professor Blochmann, who was as familiar with the Court and times of Akbar as we are with those of Victoria, and who, in fact, sometimes rather overdid his note-making, giving us treatises instead of notes. Colonel Jarrett's sense of proportion has led him to restrain his notes within reasonable limits, though he is rather unequal in this respect, some subjects being far more generously illustrated than

others. Of course there is good reason for this, some subjects being more abstruse and requiring more light thrown upon them than others. The only subject on which the translator can be charged with giving insufficient assistance is the geography; and this is peculiarly unfortunate, because perhaps the most practically useful and interesting portion of the work is the geographical account of the twelve Súbahs at p. 129 of vol. ii, and here the editor leaves us almost entirely without notices. The elucidation of this important section calls, it is true, for minute local knowledge, such as few men possess. No amount of scholarship is here of any use, for the text cannot be relied upon. The Persian character is notoriously the worst in the world for expressing words foreign to the Persian or Arabic languages. The omission of vowels and the fact that nearly half the letters are distinguished from each other merely by dots, which are always carelessly applied and often omitted altogether, introduces an amount of confusion which baffles the most acute student. It is only by knowing beforehand what word is meant that one can be sure of transliterating the original correctly, and this knowledge can only be obtained by careful local enquiry. Colonel Jarrett's authorities seem to be Tieffenthaler, Gladwin, and the Gazetteer of India. But neither of the two former were sufficiently well acquainted with the interior of the country to be trustworthy guides for the spelling of places unknown to fame, and the numerous compilers of the last-named excellent publication were not in any way concerned with the Aín or its geography. No one, as far as I know, has worked out the details of all the twelve Súbahs, though several writers have published partial identifications, and have attempted more or less successfully to reconstruct some of them. The following may be mentioned as the principal, and, indeed, to the best of my belief, the only hitherto published sources of information.

1. Mr. "Serishtadar" Grant's "Analysis of the Finances of Bengal," being Appendix iv to the Fifth Report of the

Select Committee of Parliament on the Affairs of the East India Company. Mr. Grant was the official appointed to take over the revenue and financial accounts of the three Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa when the Dewani was conferred on the Company, and had, therefore, exceptional opportunities of studying the details of the Moghul administration. His "Analysis," masterly in all respects but style, was written in 1786. It examines in minute detail, and sets forth in ponderous sentences half a page long, all the systems of revenue administration from the days of Raja Todar Mal down to his own time. It has long been known as a mine of the most accurate and valuable information on this very intricate subject, but it is, of course, useful for our present purpose only as regards the Súbahs of Bengal (including Orissa) and Behar.

2. Sir H. M. Elliot's "Races of the North-western Provinces," vol. ii, p. 82 (my edition), gives a map and elaborate reconstruction of the Súbahs and parts of Súbahs which in his day (some fifty years ago) were included within the limits of the North-western Provinces. Sir H. Elliot's official position, his personal knowledge of the people and places concerned, and the copious assistance he was able to command from experienced officials of all classes, both European and native, render his statements in the highest degree reliable. Colonel Jarrett hardly seems to accord to them the confidence they deserve, as he appears to have adopted the spellings only when supported by MSS., though they are, in fact, far more likely to be correct than those of MSS., copied again and again, with a fresh crop of errors on every occasion.

3. The late Professor Blochmann's learned articles entitled "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadian Period)," in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*. Article I is in vol. xlii, p. 209 (1873), and contains, among other things, a description of the extent and position of all the Sarkárs included in the Súbah of Bengal. Article II is in vol. xliii (1874), p. 280, and Article III in vol. xliv (1875), p. 275.

4. Two articles by myself in the same Journal entitled "On the Geography of India in the reign of Akbar." Article I, containing a reconstruction of the Súbah of Oudh (Avadh), is in vol. liii (1884), p. 215. Article II, containing the Súbah of Behar, is in vol. liv (1885), p. 162. Each article is accompanied by a map.

5. There have also appeared in the same Journal during the last twenty years articles, too numerous to specify *seriatim*, identifying individual places. These, being mostly written by officers stationed on the spot, are worthy of the highest credit. Specially valuable are those by Messrs. Westmacott and Beveridge and Dr. Wise, of Dacca.

It is to be regretted that it did not enter into Colonel Jarrett's plan to consult the above-mentioned authorities, with the exception of Elliot, and it may, therefore, now be useful to note the corrections and alterations which should be made in the names of places as they stand in his translation by the light of these researches. I propose also to make use of a considerable mass of materials referring to Súbah Bengal collected by me in the course of my service in India, but not yet published¹; as well as two MSS. which I have obtained from the India Office Library, and which I shall quote as I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114. All the MSS. of the Aín, however, repeat the same mistakes so slavishly that very little assistance can be obtained from them. It will be convenient to begin with the lists for Bengal (see vol. i, p. 394 of Blochmann's Persian text and vol. ii, p. 129 of the translation).

¹ The following abbreviations are used:—J. Colonel Jarrett's translation. S.M. (*i.e.* Survey Maps) the official maps of the several districts of Bengal made by the officers of the Revenue Survey. A. of I. the Atlas of India. G. Grant's Analysis. E. Sir H. Elliot's articles. Bl. Professor Blochmann's articles. Bea. my articles. Bea. MS. unpublished material in my possession. The numerals indicate for J. and G. the page of their works; for E. the page of vol. ii; for Bl. and Bea. the vol. and page of the J.A.S.B.

Súbah Bangálah (Bengal).

This, which is the largest of all the Súbahs, is also the most difficult to reconstruct. For this there are several reasons.

In the first place, at the time of Todar Mal's settlement the ancient kingdom of Bengal was not yet fully conquered. His lists must have been compiled from materials supplied by the local revenue authorities, which, though for a short time Governor of the Province, he had not sufficient means of controlling or verifying. They are, therefore, not worthy of the same confidence as those of the Súbahs actually under the Imperial Government. It will be seen farther on that there is good reason to suspect serious mistakes in many instances: places mentioned twice over—parganahs placed in the wrong Sarkárs—mis-spellings of the most extraordinary nature—omissions, incorrect insertions, and careless misplacements of the dots which mark the Persian letters—whole tracts of country included in the Súbah, with their revenue duly noted, which had never been conquered by the Kings of Bengal, and paid no tribute to them.

Secondly, Todar Mal's settlement, such as it was, did not remain in force for many years. It is dated 1582, but was probably not completed till 1589. Fifty years later Sultán Shujá', son of Sháh Jahán, revised it, adding several newly-conquered territories. His settlement was completed in 1658 on the accession of Aurangzeb, and lasted for about sixty years. Then came a radical change. Nawáb Ja'far Khán in 1722 introduced a new division of the whole province into thirteen chaklas or circles, abolishing the old Sarkárs, and mixing up the various parganahs, dismembering and readjusting them, and increasing their number from 684 to 1,660. Thus a number of new names were introduced into the map, with a considerable reduction of the old ones.

This was the beginning of a series of changes, which lasted for another fifty years, till the country came under

British rule. Successive Nawábs tampered with the revenues, as well as with the boundaries of all the political divisions, in order to defraud the Imperial Government and fill their own pockets. They imposed numerous abwábs, or illegal cesses and exactions, and they created the immense Zamindáris or estates, which are so striking a feature in the Bengal of to-day. I am not, however, writing a history of the revenue administration of Bengal, and I therefore confine myself to this cursory notice, and refer those who wish to realize the extent of the confusion thus introduced into the geography of Bengal to Grant's "Analysis," where he will find it worked out in almost bewildering detail.

It may be asked if Todar Mal's lists are open to the suspicion of inaccuracy at starting, and if his settlement remained in force so short a time, what is the use of laboriously striving to trace and locate in its proper place on the map each petty division of so transitory an arrangement? The answer is, that the materials which Todar Mal used must from the necessities of the case have been the ancient records of the Kingdom of Bengal. The Bengal officials who handed them to him would of course have been quite capable of altering the amounts of revenue due from each parganah if such a course had seemed advantageous to themselves, but they are not likely to have falsified to any great extent the names of those divisions. Very great carelessness and stupid blundering there have undoubtedly been in transcribing the lists, but there does not seem to have been deliberate falsification. The very uncouthness of many of the Hindu names—old Prákrit corruptions, most of them—is an argument for their genuineness, even when not still extant, and the Persian or Arabic names can, in most cases, be traced to kings or governors known to history. We have, therefore, in these lists the last surviving fragments of the mediæval geography of the province before peculating revenue officers and extortionate Nawábs tampered with it and manipulated it for their own base purposes. As we

SUBAH BANGÁLAH

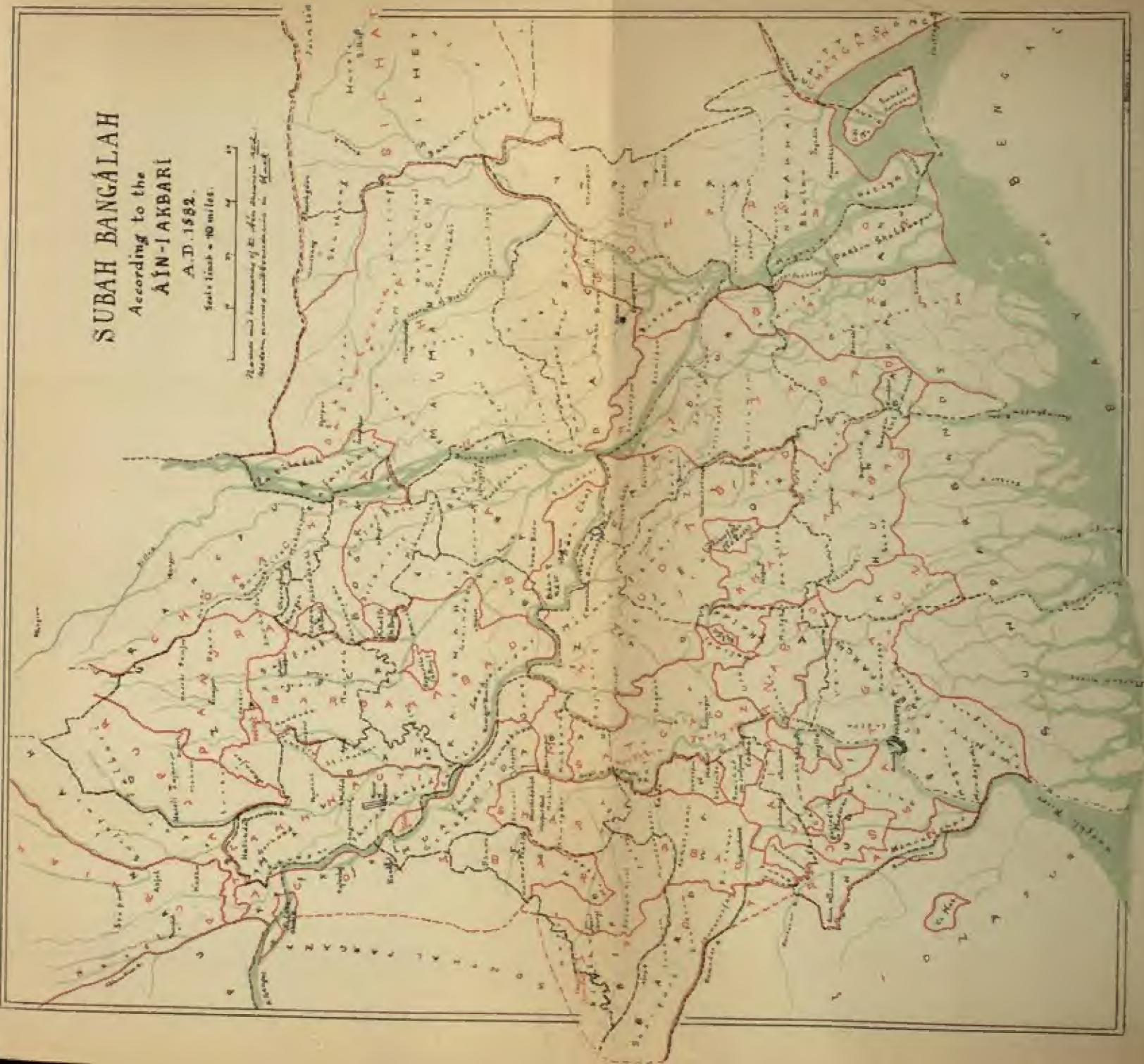
According to the

ĀĪN-I AKBARĪ

A.D. 1582.

Polymers of α -amino acids

22. *Quercus* must have many of the other characters of the *Q. agrifolia*, as a result of which it is not a new species.



become more and more acquainted with the early history of India, which in the present day is being gradually and painfully pieced together from inscriptions, copper-plate grants, and other recondite sources, by earnest students, we shall more and more appreciate the advantage of possessing in Todar Mal's lists information of a genuinely ancient and reliable character.

In the face, however, of all the confusion that was rampant in the revenue administration of the province during what I may call the "Nawábi period," A.D. 1722-1793, it is a matter of the very greatest difficulty to place on the map in their proper position all the mahals or parganahs of the Aín. The boundaries of all the nineteen Sarkárs can, indeed, be more or less accurately ascertained, and I have indicated on the map that accompanies these notes what I believe to be their real position. The Sarkárs on the western side of Bengal—Purniah, Audambar, Sharífábád, Sulaimánábád, Sátgáon, and Madáran—have suffered less than others; but when we come to Central Bengal the difficulty of identification becomes greater, and in three of the largest Sarkárs—Mahmúdábád, Ghorághát, and Sonárgáon—a great majority of the mahals have not been identified. Perhaps officers stationed in those parts of Bengal may by means of local enquiries be able to trace them. The maps give very little assistance. The following note, printed on many of the Revenue Survey District Maps, speaks for itself:—"In consequence of the great intermixture of pergunnahs in this district the areas of the separate or local fiscal divisions could not be recorded, nor their exact limits shown on this scale (1 inch=4 miles). For such information the lithographed maps published on the scale of one British mile to the inch must be consulted." If one consults these latter, the detached villages of the parganahs are found to be jumbled together in such confusion that it would be impossible to show them on any map of reasonable dimensions. Besides which the mahals of the Aín have in a great number of cases been taken up and amalgamated into

the large Zamindáris created in the Nawábi period; the old names have given place to new ones. Every successive Nawáb, and many of their officials, as well as the greater landholders, took a pleasure in "calling the lands after his own name."

Blochmann's articles mentioned above are a mine of information, and, in addition to the articles by other writers, there is a mass of casual notes buried in the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society to which I have occasionally referred. My own notes have also been incorporated, together with such readings of the MSS. as throw light on the subject.

The arrangement of the Sarkárs in the Aín is neither alphabetical nor geographical. It will be more convenient to follow a geographical order, taking first the better preserved Western Sarkárs from north to south, then those of Central, and lastly those of Eastern Bengal, in the same order, thus:

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Purniah. | 8. Lakhnauti. | 14. Bázáhá. |
| 2. Audambar. | 9. Bárbakábád. | 15. Fathábád. |
| 3. Sharífábád. | 10. Mahmúdábád. | 16. Báklá. |
| 4. Sulaimánábád. | 11. Khalífatábád. | 17. Silhat. |
| 5. Sátgáon. | 12. Panjá. | 18. Sonárgáon. |
| 6. Madáran. | 13. Ghorághát. | 19. Chatgáon. |
| 7. Tájpur. | | |

SARKAR PURNIAH.

This Sarkár comprised only the central portion of the present district of the same name (not "the greater and chiefly westerly," as stated by Bl. xlii, 215). Parganah Dharmpur—a long strip on the west and south—belonged to Súbah Bihar; another long strip on the south was divided between Sarkárs Audambar, Lakhnauti, and Tájpur; all the lands east of the Mahánandá river (often, but erroneously, called Mahánadi) were in Tájpur; and the northern part of the district was as yet unconquered. It is therefore impossible to define precisely the northern limit. The

limits of Muhammadan power towards the submontane country of northern Bengal in the reign of Akbar, and for long afterwards, were very uncertain and variable. For a long time the fort of Jalálgarh, only some ten miles north-east of the town of Purniah on the old bed of the Kosi river, was the frontier, and beyond were wild tribes—Kichak, Mech, Kochh, and the like. See Bl. xli, 49 for an account of the expansion of Moghul power towards the north and east of Bengal.

Of the nine mahals in this Sarkár, one is rather a tax than an item of land revenue. It represents duties levied on the capture of wild elephants, which were common in the sub-Himalayan forests of the Morang. J. omits to translate the word *هرن* in this entry, and Bl. seems not to understand it, for he gives several impossible variants. It is a mistake for *ارن* *arud*, Hindi *अरुण* 'a wild buffalo.' The MS. I.O. 6 has correctly *ارن*. The word is also used for wild elephants, rhinoceroses, and other large game. It is the Sanskrit *आरण्यक* from *अरण्य* 'forest.' These duties existed till quite lately, for in 1862-6 a large estate was held revenue-free in the parganah of Sultánpur by Mir Muhammad Kásim and his brother Háji Muhammad Taki on the tenure of maintaining an establishment for the capture of wild elephants. There was a lawsuit about this tenure, but, as I left the district before it was decided, I cannot say how it ended. I believe, however, that the tenure has been resumed.

The remaining eight mahals are, with one exception, still in existence under their old names, and are shown in S.M. and Atlas of India. Jairámpur no longer exists; it has, in all probability, been absorbed into Haveli.¹ It had

¹ In a note on p. 168 J. comments on an explanation of this term given by me in a note on p. 83, vol. ii. of Elliot in these words: "Mr. Beames in a note . . . distinguishes between Haveli and Baddah, the former alluding to the district close to the capital and the latter to that at a distance. It would have been more satisfactory if he had determined the limits of the distance." The "limits" of a parganah, if by this is meant its extent, are as hard to define as those of an English county. Ratland contains 148 square miles, Yorkshire over 6000. So the Haveli parganah of Purniah is some fifty miles

disappeared before 1722, and in the subsequent Nawábi changes the name does not occur, nor could the revenue officials of the district trace it for me in 1885. Dohmálpur lies about twenty miles north-east of Purniah town, and has been incorporated into Sripur. Sripur-Dohmálpur was the name of the whole district during most of the Nawábi period. Asonjá, or Asúnjá, is now pronounced Asjah اسجہ, and Kadwán is known as Kadbah كدبه.

SARKÁR AUDAMBAR, *alias* TÁNDÁ.

Stretches from the southern boundary of the preceding Sarkár, southwards across the Ganges, all along the right bank of that river down to the city of Murshidabad on the one hand, and through nearly the whole of the Birbhúm district on the other. How far it may have penetrated into the hilly country on the west it is impossible to determine, but probably some, at least, of the parganahs, now no longer traceable, represent territory claimed and assessed (on paper) in these hills, though not actually conquered (Bl. xlii, 222; Bea. liv, 164-9).

Udner, J., p. 129. This reading is apparently based on Tieffenthaler, who, however, probably wrote down the word from the dictation of an up-country munshi, who knew as little about Bengal as he did himself. Bl. also, by a printer's mistake, has اودنبر at p. 394 of the Persian text, but in the list of *errata* at p. 3 he gives the correct spelling اودنبر. The mistake is easily caused by putting two dots

long by twenty broad, while that of Khalfatabad is less than two square miles. The fact seems to be that the parganah in which the capital of each Sarkár lay, no matter how large it might be, was called the Haveli parganah (the 'home county' we might say; G. calls it the 'household county'), because its revenues were devoted to the maintenance of the household (haveli) and establishments of the governor. When the revenue of only a portion of the parganah was so applied, that portion was called haveli, and the other portion, whose revenues were paid into the public treasury, was called 'kadbah, or country. This, at any rate, appears to be the original meaning of the terms, though, of course, during the changes and confusion of the Nawábi period the real meaning was often lost sight of.

under the last letter but one, instead of one, thus changing ا into آ . Bl. throughout his articles writes Audambar; so also does Gladwin; and G. writes everywhere "Oudember" or "Audimber." I have always heard the word pronounced Audambar, or Adambar, by the native revenue officials and landed proprietors in the Birbhūm district. It is said to be derived from Sanskrit औदुम्बर from उदुम्बर, a species of fig-tree (*Ficus glomerata*), which may or may not be the case. MS. I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114 have اوددنبز and اوددسر without dots respectively, which, though wrong, shows that the writers heard the sound *audh* or *avadh* in the first syllable, and erroneously connected it with the Sūbah of Audh, or Avadh (Oudh).

Ak maḥal. Should be Āg maḥal, the old name of Rājmaḥal, a famous ancient city, once the capital of Bengal, and still a flourishing place (Bl. xlii, 217). The parganaḥ of Rājmaḥal was in the Nawābī period absorbed into the immense estate of Kānkjol: *vide infra*. Under the name Akbarnagar it was the capital of one of Ja'far Khān's chaklas (G. 254). In all the MSS. ک is everywhere written for گ. I.O. 6 sometimes writes گ for گ.

Achalā. } I have not been able to find these two.

Darsanpāra. } I.O. 6 has احلا درس پورا.

Ashraf Nihāl. G. calls it Ashraf Chag, p. 374, and Chog, p. 384. The correct name is given by Beveridge (J.A.S.B. Proc., June 1892) as Ashraf Bhāg. It is not in S.M. or Atlas of India.

Ibrahimpur. Now Jowās Ibrahimpur in Birbhūm. The name occurs over again in Sarkār Sharīfabād.

Ajial ghātī. G. "Ujiāl kahly," 374, *i.e.* Ujijāl khālī. Not in the maps. The word ujijāl, which occurs so often in names of parganaḥs, means, I believe, 'high land,' and should be written with initial *u*, not *a*.

Angáchhi. G. 374, Amgáchhi, and so in all MSS. It is not in S.M. or other maps.

Barhgangal. Should be Burh—. It is now known as Budhígangal, and is a small parganah in the south of Purniah.

Bhatál. Should be Buitál or Bahtál in Birbhum.

Bahádurpúr. In S.M. a little south of Rajmahal.

Bahrárá. G. 378, Baherai. Situation not known to me. I.O. 6 باهررای.

Phulwári, Bahádursháhi, Tájpur, Ta'alluk Barbhákar. These four are not traceable.

Tánda bá haveli. Has been washed away by the Ganges. The extant parganah of Ambar may possibly represent the word Anḍambar, but this is doubtful (Beveridge, J.A.S.B. Proc., Jan. 1893).

Tanauli. This name has several variants in the Persian text. I suppose the correct reading to be چیتولی Chitauli. The parganah of that name (Chetowleah in S.M. and A. of I.) is close to Rajmahal.

Júnágháti. Should be Chúnákháli, the parganah in which the city of Murshidabad is situated. Not in S.M. or A. of I.

Chándpúr. A large parganah in the north of Murshidabad.

Nasíbí. There are many variants, and a word beginning with *n* is not in its proper alphabetical order here. Bl. text reads جیفتی Jífatí, and other readings are باقیتی Bakítí and پافسی Pafasi. I think the name meant is جمونی Jamúní, a small parganah at the bend of the Ganges north of Rajmahal. جیفتی written without dots is very like جمونی, especially if, as often happens in *Shikastah* writing, the tail of the *waw* were accidentally carried on to the next letter. I.O. 6 has هستی and I.O. 1114 هستی !!

Chúngnadiya. Still extant. Bev. *loc. cit.* I do not know its position.

Hájpur. Absorbed in parganah Gankar. The village is near Suti in North Murshidabad.

- Husainabad, about eleven miles east of English Bazar. Bl. xliii, 293.
- Khánpur, Sulaimánsháhi, Sulaimánabad. Not found, and the last two probably entered by mistake. They really belong to Sarkárs Sharifábád and Sulaimánábád.
- Dhává. Still extant in North Birbhum. In S.M. and A. of I.
- Deviyápur. Should be Diwánapur. Not in S.M. Beveridge, *loc. cit.*
- Daudsháhi. Not in S.M., but mentioned in G. and Beveridge.
- Dugáchhi. Absorbed into Gankar; the village is a little south of Kánkjol.
- Rámpúr. G. 380. Perhaps Rámpur Hát, but the name is almost too common for identification.
- Rúbaspur. This name is written with many variants. I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114 have both روپس پور. It is probably the Rasúlpúr of G. 375, but I do not know where it is situated.
- Sarúp Singh. } In S.M. and A. of I. in North Birbhum.
Sultánpur Ujijál. }
- Salimpur. In G. 375, but not otherwise traceable.
- Sambalá. This name is written with many variants, and I can trace no parganah corresponding to any of them.
- Shersháhi. On the left bank of the Ganges, south of Maldah. S.M.
- Shamskháni. In North-east Murshidabad. S.M.
- Sherpur. There are hundreds of places so named. This one is probably the village in the north of Gankar. There does not seem to be any parganah of this name still extant.
- Firozpur. In G. 375; not otherwise traceable.
- Kunwar Partáb. Still extant; a large parganah in North Birbhum. Beveridge suggests, with much probability, that the name refers to Pratáp Singh, nephew of the celebrated Raja Mán Singh.

Kanakjok. Should be Kánkjol. The old town of this name lies near the East Indian Railway, about twenty miles south of Rajmahal. The parganah has been immensely extended in the Nawábi period, swallowing up not only Rajmahal but many other parganahs. It now stretches from the south of Purniah, down both sides of the Ganges, into the Rajshahye district, with many scattered portions in other districts. In Ja'far Khán's settlement it gave name to one of the largest estates in Bengal. G. 322, 441, *et passim*.

Káthgarh, Káshipur, Kachlá, Kafurdíá. Not traceable. Not in S.M.

Gankarah. Now Gankar. A very large parganah in North Murshidabad, which has apparently absorbed many smaller ones.

Mudesar. Should be Molesar. In Central Birbhum. Bl. xlii, 223. The original name is Sansk. Mayúreshvara. There is a temple of that name still in the village of Molesar or Moresar, on the banks of the river Mor (Sansk. Mayúra).

Mangalpur. So in Bl. text, but I suspect the real name was Mandalpur, now pronounced Maṛalpur, and by the East Indian Railway officials metamorphosed into Mollarpur, in which guise it figures as the name of a railway station in Central Birbhum.

Nasibpur. This parganah has been absorbed by Chándpur. The village lies about twenty miles north of Murshidabad.

SARKÁR SHARÍFÁBÁD.

This Sarkár extends from a point close to the northern end of the Birbhúm district to the southern boundary of that of Bardwán, embracing portions of the districts of Murshidabad, Birbhúm, and Bardwán. With one or two exceptions all the mahals in this Sarkár are still extant or identifiable.

- Bardwán. The well-known parganah and town, headquarters of a Commissioner's Division, a district, and one of the largest Zamindári estates in Bengal.
- Bharor. Should be Bahrol. It is partly in Murshidabad and partly in Birbhúm.
- Bárbaksail. Should be Bárbaksingh. G. 408. Still extant, in south of Birbhúm.
- Bharkonda. Should be Bharkúndah, in Birbhúm (Bl. xlii, 223). Apparently very much shrunk from its former extent.
- Akbarsháhi. Adjacent to the last named.
- Bághá. On the Damodar river, south-west of Bardwán town.
- Bhatsela. G. writes Bhut Salah, 379, 380, 384. The name is Bhatsálá (Bea. MS.¹). It has been subjected to *mudákhl wa mukhárij*, and is now scattered in several places, principally in Murshidabad district.
- Janki. No place of this name is known; it is probable that Jánkibátí, about fifteen miles south-east of Bardwan, is meant. It is now included in the parganah of Chuṭipur, in Sarkár Sulaimanabad (Bea. MS.).
- Khot Makand. Should be Jot Mukund. This is also a scattered parganah, chiefly south of the Damodar river (Bea. MS.).
- Dhaniyán. Now Dháiyán, or Dháinyán. In Hindi characters धाईयाँ or धाईयाँ. North-east of Bardwan.
- Sulaimansháhi. Now called Salímsáhi. In Bardwán and Birbhúm.
- Soniyá. Should be Sotiyá. No parganah of that name now exists, having apparently been dismembered during the Nawábi changes, but the village is still in existence near Khandghosh (Bea. MS.).
- Suburban district of Sherpur Atái. The Haveli parganah of Sherpur is about twenty miles west of Murshidabad town, but in the Birbhúm district (Bl. xlii, 218).

¹ The information thus marked consists of the report of an enquiry made at my request by the Sarishtadar and Record Keeper of the Bardwan Collectorate in 1865.

Uzmatpur. Should be 'Azmatsháhi. A very large parganah occupying the centre of the Bardwán district.

Fath Singh. A large parganah in the south of Birbhúm.

Husayn Ajiyál. Should be Ujiyál, in Birbhúm. Shown in S.M. and A. of I. under the local corruption Zainujal or Zynoojal.

Kargaon. Should be Khargáon. It is in East Birbhúm, immediately south of Haveli Sherpur.

Kiratpúr. Should be Karatpúr. The village is near Ganguria, south-east of Bardwan. The parganah has been absorbed (Bea. MS.).

Khand. Now called Khand Ghosh. It lies south of the Damodar river, opposite Bardwan. S.M.

Khanga. I.O. 6 reads Khatangá, which is correct. G. 408. There are two places of this name. One is now included in Manoharsháhi. The village is near Keogáon, or, as the present Sanskritizing generation of Bengalis persist in calling it, Ketugráma, in the north-east corner of Bardwan (Bea. MS.). The other is on the western frontier of Birbhúum.

Kodlá. Now included in parganah Jahangirabad, East Bardwan (Bea. MS.).

Mahland. A large parganah on the west side of the Bhágirathi, opposite the towns of Murshidabad and Berhampur. S.M.

Manoharsháhi. A large parganah on the northern bank of the Ajay river, partly in Bardwan, partly in Birbhúum. S.M.

Muzaffarsháhi. This large parganah has been much dismembered. The 150 mauzahs which it contains are scattered all over the central and eastern parts of the Bardwan district (Bea. MS.).

Nasak. Should be Nisank or Nishank. It is scattered over the south of the Bardwan district (Bea. MS.).

Natrán, or Nabrán, or Hatrán. Not traceable. Both the I.O. MSS. have نتران.

SARKÁR SULAIMÁNÁBÁD.

This is a somewhat scattered and ill-arranged Sarkár. The bulk of it lies in the southern part of the Bardwan and the northern part of the Hughli districts. But a large portion lies to the east of the Hughli river in the Nadia district, and it is much mixed up with the Sarkárs of Sâtgháon (which it cuts in two) and Madáran. Nearly all of the mahals which it contains are still traceable, and the others can be located conjecturally. The name, as far as it has been preserved, has been generally shortened to Salimábád, either, as Bl. suggests, because it was too long, or in honour of Prince Salím, afterwards the Emperor Jahangír.

Indaráin. Should be Indráin. It is in the north-east corner of Bardwan.

Ismá'ílpur. Now included in the modern parganah of Jahangirabad (Bea. MS.).

Anliya. Should be Ambiyá; انبيا, as in I.O. 1114, not انليا. It is now Sanskritized into Ambiká, and is situated near Kalna in South-east Bardwan. It is also locally pronounced Ambowá.

Basandhari. Should be Basundhari. It is now included in parganah Baliá in Central Hughli. G. 478, where it is called "Bellia Bassenderi."

U'lá. The village of this name is now known as Birnagar. The parganah is now called Mámjoáni. It is in the Nadia district. S.M. and A. of I.

Bhosat. Should be Bhursut, a large parganah in Central Hughli. S.M. and A. of I.

Pandwah. Should be Panduah, in Hughli, a well-known town, with ancient tower and other ruins, also a large railway station. S.M. and A. of I.

Pachnor. Now written Páchnúr, a parganah in West Nadiya.

Bálibhangá. Should be Bálidhangá. There are at least five places of this name in the Nadiya district alone, and

I know not how many in other parts of Bengal.

Which of all of them is meant here, is not certain.

Both the I.O. MSS. have *بالی دھنکا*.

Chhotipur. A parganah in South Bardwan.

Chúmhá. Should be Chaumúhá, west of Panduah in Hughli.

Jaipúr. A small parganah in Central Nadiya.

Husaynpur. Probably a portion of the parganah now known as Husaynpur-Kalarúá, the remainder of which belonged to Sarkár Sátgáon. It is in the Nadia district.

Dhársá. In Hughli. The well-known town of Serampoor is in it.

Ráesát. Probably Ráiná, now in Haveli Sulaimánábád.

Suburban district of Sulaimánábád. Now called Haveli Salimábád, the name having been shortened as stated above. The town of Salimábád is on the left bank of the Dámodar, about twenty miles below Bardwan; at the point where the Káná nadi takes off.

Sátsíka. Now spelt Satsoika. A parganah in East Bardwan.

Sahspur. There are several places named Sáhaspur; I do not know which is here meant. There is no parganah of that name, as far as I know.

Sanghauli. Should be Singholi, now spelt Singúr. It is a small parganah in Central Hughli.

Sultanpur. In Central Nadiya.

Amarpur. In Central Nadiya.

Alampur. In Central Nadiya.

Kabázipúr. Should be Kubázipúr. In Eastern Bardwan.

The seventy villages comprised in this parganah are scattered all along the right bank of the Hughli river above and below the town of Púrbostháli (Bea. MS.).

Gobinda (Kosada). The name is Kosda. It is a parganah in Central Nadiya.

Muhammadpur. Now absorbed into parganah Ársá of Sarkár Sátgáon. Under the name of Muhammad Aminpur it was a large zamindári in the Nawábi period (G. 457).

- Molghar. Should be Múlghar, a parganah in Central Nadiya.
- Nagín. No place of this name is known to my local informants, but they are probably right in suggesting that the place meant is the large village of Nigun, or Nigun Sarái, twenty-two miles north-west of Bardwan town. There is no parganah of the name; it has, apparently, been absorbed into parganah Dhaiyán of Sarkár Sharífabad. (Bea. MS.)
- Náirá. No place of this name is known. In spite of its being against the alphabetical order, I am convinced that the place meant is Báirá, a parganah in North Hughli adjacent to the Haveli parganah of this Sarkár. Báirá, though a very ancient place, is not mentioned in the *Áin*, unless this is it, and the parganah remains otherwise unaccounted for. Instances of places put out of their proper order are not infrequent in these lists. We shall come to several others further on.
- Nasang. Should be Nisank. It has been already mentioned under Sharífabad: see above. Perhaps part of the parganah was in one Sarkár and part in the other. Instances of this kind are not uncommon. But as there are only seven mauzas in the parganah this is improbable, and I incline to think that this is another instance of repetition, a common fault in these lists.
- Nabíá. Probably Nalabi is meant, a small parganah some fifteen miles east of Bardwan. The Mymaree railway station is in it. If the name was originally Nalahá, نلہا, it might easily be corrupted into نيبا or نبيا. I.O. 6 has the former reading, while I.O. 1114 has نبا or بنا, Nabá or Baná—the dots are so placed that it may be read either way. The dots are very loosely placed throughout this MS., and frequently omitted altogether.

SARKÁR SÁTGÁON.

The parganahs in this Sarkár have retained their ancient names and positions, with very few exceptions, unchanged to the present day. The Sarkár, which is cut up into two portions by mahals belonging to Sarkár Sulaimánábád, lay principally on the east of the Hughli river in the modern districts of the Twenty-four Parganahs and Nadia. The town of Sât-gáon itself, however, was on the west side of the river, and there are several parganahs on that side also. The once celebrated town and port of Sât-gáon has now almost disappeared. Only a few insignificant ruins mark its position. For a description of it see Bl. xxxix, 280. As so many of the old parganahs are still extant and shown on the S.M. and Atlas of India, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to those maps.

The following will be found in the district of the Twenty-four Parganahs on the east or left bank of the Hughli, above, below, and eastward of the city of Calcutta. I give J.'s spelling, with the correct form where necessary in brackets.

Anwarpúr, Bodhan (Búdhan), Báлиндá (Bálanda), Baliya, Phalká (Bhálúká), Baridhati, Suburban district (Haveli Shahr, nowadays generally corrupted into Hali-shahr: Bl. xlii, 216, note †), Dhaliyápur (Dhúliápur), Calcutta, Khárar (Khárá), Magorá (Magurá), Medni mal, Mundágachhá (Mundágachhi or Murágachhi), Mahihatti (on the maps Myehatty), Helki (Hilki).

The following are in the district of Nadiya, adjacent to the Twenty-four Parganahs on the north:—

Ukrá, Bagwán, Bangábári (Patkábári), Husaynpur, Kaláráá, Matiyári, Nadiyá, Sátanpúr (Sántipur). The two last are large, well-known towns; the parganahs have now been absorbed into Ukra, of which they constitute *tarafs* or subdivisions.

The following are in the district of Hughli, on the right or western bank of the river, opposite to the Twenty-four Parganahs:—

Ārsá, Panwán (in the maps Pownan) Salimpur, Purah (Boroh), Balia (a part of this parganah is in Hughli and two other parts in the Twenty-four Parganahs), Muzaffarpur, Háthikandhá.

For the remaining parganahs some explanations are necessary:—

Ārsá and Tawáli Sātgaón. Ārsá is the parganah in which are situated the towns of Hughli and Chinsurah. The town of Sātgaón was at Tribeni Ghát, about six miles north of Hughli. *توالی* means 'extremities,' 'remainders.' It will be observed that the greater part of the Haveli parganah of this Sarkár is on the opposite side of the river. Apparently those small portions of it which lay on the western side are here indicated by the term *tawáli*, in the sense of 'remaining portion' or 'the rest of—'.

Banwá, Kotwáli, and Farásatghar. These three items do not appear to be territorial divisions, but represent taxes levied on various quarters of the town of Sātgaón. The term "Kotwáli" or Police Station either meant fines levied in criminal cases, or more probably rents of the quarter of the town where the Kotwáli was situated. Farásatghar I should be disposed to read Farásighar, and interpret it as the town now called Chandernagore, occupied by European traders. Farási (*i.e.* Français) was the old name in Bengali for the French, while Firingi denoted the Portuguese. Banwá is probably a mistake for Bandar, the port of Sātgaón. *بندر* would easily be miscopied *بنوا* in Persian current hand.

Akbarpur has been absorbed into the large parganah of Sháh Ujjiál in Nadia.

Barmhattar should be Brahmuttar, more correctly Brahmottara, rent-free lands assigned to Brahmins, scattered in small patches over the country.

Mánikhatti is probably Páigháti in the Twenty-four Parganahs, *پایگہاٹی* for *مانک ہٹی*. In both I.O. MSS. the reading is *مانک* without dots.

Belgáon. Now dismembered and scattered in Bagwán and Plassí parganahs in Nadia.

Tortariya. No place of this name can be found; my local informants suggest with some probability that the place meant is Tárágúnia, now dismembered, in the northern portion of parganahs Rájpur and Sháh Ujyál of Nadia district (Bea. MS.).

Hájpúr and Bárbakpúr or Bárikpúr. Not found; both names are extremely common.

Ráuihát is a large parganah in the south of the Bardwan district.

Sadgháti has been absorbed into parganah Mahatpur of Nadia (Bea. MS.).

Sakota. Should be Sigúná. G. 432. I.O. 6 has distinctly *سکونا* and I.O. 1114 *سکونا*. Its position is not indicated.

Srirájpur. Should be Sarafrázpúr in Twenty-four Parganahs.

Sair dues from Bandarbán and Mandavi. For Bandarbán I would read *bandaríán*—rents levied from the bandarís or persons frequenting the port (bandar); and mandavi, I think, indicates the temporary booths erected during the dry season on the sandy bed of the river for trading purposes, and removed when the river rises in the rains. It is from *मण्डी* 'a market.'

Sákhát. Probably to be read *ság háť* 'vegetable market,' or as it would be in Bengali, *śāka háť*. I.O. 6 has *سال کات*, the *ل* probably repeated by mistake from the next word.

Kátsál. Properly Káthsál, or warehouse for storing timber. In my notes I find it stated that it was on the

Jabuna river, in parganah Máhihatti in Twenty-four Parganahs. It was, therefore, probably a station for taking toll on timber brought from the Sundarban forests.

Fathpur. Not traceable.

Kandaliá. Properly Kundaliá. Part of this mahal is in Sarkár Mahmúdábád. It is in Nadiya district.

Haiyágarh. Should be Hathiágarh, as pointed out by Bl. in a note to the Persian text. It lies in two parts, south of Calcutta, on the edge of the Sundarbans.

SARKÁR MADÁRAN.

A very long straggling strip of territory running from Birbhum in the north to the junction of the Hughli and Rúpnaráyan rivers in the south. As G. quaintly but truly expresses it, "forming a broken frontier on the west of the two last-mentioned circars (Sharifabad and Salímabad), and enclosing them in a semicircle from Beerbhoom to Mundleghat serving them as a barrier against the incursions of the neighbouring unsubdued Rajahs, sheltered in the jungles of Pachet and Bishenpoor or the low marshy lands of Hidgellee" (p. 242).

All but three of the mahals are still identifiable, and shown on the ordinary maps.

Anhatti. May perhaps be Hatia in the Bankura district south of the Damodar, but this is not certain, though rendered probable by the fact that it is written ان دتی as two words in both I.O. MSS. These words mean 'corn market.'

Bálgarhi. Now pronounced Báligarhiá; in Central Hughli.

Birbhúm. A parganah in the district of the same name, once much more extensive than now.

Bhawálbhum. My informants agree with me in holding that this is a mistake for Gwálbhum. The parganah of that name, now Sanskritized into Gopbhum = 'cowherd land,' is in Western Bardwan (Bea. MS.).

No trace can be found of there having ever been a parganah named Bhawálbhúm in this neighbourhood. G. 478 also calls it 'Gowalbhúm.' *G* has been mistaken for *B* by omission of the *markaz*, a common error in all MSS.

Chatwa. Should be Chitua, in Midnapur, near Ghattál.

Champánagari. In Bardwan, a short distance west from Bardwan town.

Suburban district of Madáran. Haveli Madáran, or, as the country people round about call it, Mandáran, lies near Goghát, five miles west of the Darkesar river. It was a large fortified place, and the ruins of the fortifications still exist. The place is now known as Bhitargarh Mandáran, or "Inner Fort," and the local pandits derive the name from Sanskrit मन्द 'bad' and अरण्य 'forest.' That the whole of that country-side was anciently and down to comparatively modern times a very evil forest—the wide-stretching legendary forest country of the Jhárkhand, where the Kali Yuga first began, and where mlechhas and wild beasts abounded—is undoubted. So the pandits may be right. See Bl. xlii, 223, and his identification of Madáran with Bhitargarh in Proc. A.S.B., April 1870. The parganah is no longer called Haveli, but Jahánabad. Bl. gives some of the legends of this strange, haunted, interesting neighbourhood, but a complete collection of them would fill a book.

Sainbhum. Now Senbhum. It lies on both sides of the Ajai river, partly in Bardwan and partly in Birbhum. The southern portion is now called Senpahári.

Samar Sánhas. Should be Samarsháhi. It is in the south of Bardwan, across the Damodar, opposite Bardwan town.

Shergarh, commonly called Sakharbhum. Should be Sikharbhúm, i.e. शिखरभूमि = 'peak-land,' a name the appropriateness of which must strike anyone who

has seen the numerous peaked hill-tops of Pachet from Raniganj or Asansol. It is an immense parganah, occupying the whole western angle of Bardwan between the Damodar and Ajai rivers—a land of coal-mines.

Sháhpúr. A detached parganah lying in the middle of the Midnapur district.

Ket. Should be Kait, or, as it is now pronounced, Kaití. It is now absorbed in Samarsháhi.

Mandalghát. A very large parganah forming the extreme south angle of the Hughli district, and occupying all the tongue of land between the Hughli and Rápnaráyan rivers, together with some lands on the western or Midnapur side of the latter river.

Nagor. The extensive ruins of the fortifications at this place on the western frontier of Birbhum show that it was once a place of great importance. It is the Lakhnor, *i.e.* Nagar Lakhnor, of the Muhammadan historians. Bl. xlii, 211, 212.

Minabák. Probably Mainapúr in East Bankura.

Hisuli. The variant Misduli suggests that this may be Maisadal in Midnapur, which lies only a little way from the western boundary of Mandalghát.

SARKÁR TÁJPUR.

This is a large but compact territory, stretching eastwards from the Mahananda river nearly to the Purnobhába. It includes all eastern Purniah and the western half of Dinájpur. The boundary to the north ran up into the sub-Himalayan forests, and is not susceptible of accurate definition. Probably several of the northern mahals, such as Surjápur, Debhatta, and Sálbári, were only partly under Muhammadan sway at the date of the *Aín*. Of the twenty-nine mahals one is the Zakát or Poor-tax, leaving twenty-eight territorial areas.

Bankaṭ. There is no trace of any mahal of this name, and as the revenue of this one mahal is more than half

that of the whole Sarkár, so large an area can hardly have disappeared without leaving any trace. The name, however, apparently gives a clue. Bankat means 'forest clearing,' and evidently points to the great forests of the Tarái which covered so much of the northern part of this Sarkár. In the present day this area is comprised in a very large parganah called Sálbári, or 'Sál-wood tract,' and G. 405 states that Sálbári was in Tájpur. As no such name occurs in the Áin, nor in G., it is reasonable to suppose that Bankat and Sálbári are identical.

Badokhar. Should be Badoghar.¹ This must, I think, be meant for the extensive parganah now known as Bador or Badaur. The present name is probably shortened from Badohar, a transitional form of Badoghar. It lies along the eastern side of the Mahánandá in Purniah. In its wide circuit are contained numerous detached portions of other parganahs.

Bandol. G. 410. It is absorbed in Haveli Tájpur.

Bobará. Probably Bhúpará in the north-west corner of Bador.

Bhonhará. Absorbed partly in Hatinda, partly in Dhanjar (Sarkár Lakhnauti), and partly in Bador. Scraps of Hatinda also lie within Bador, and bits of Bador in Hatinda, while lands of both are found in Kadba and Asjah (Sarkár Purniah)! It is spelt Bhooihará in the parganah map of Dhanjar.

Badgáon. There are hundreds of villages of this name in Bengal. There is not, as far as I know, any parganah of that name now extant. It is not in G.'s lists.

Básigáon. Absorbed in Hatinda (Bea. MS.).

Pangáon. Should be Bangáon. A dismembered parganah scattered over various parts of the Sarkár.

Bahádurpúr. In Hatinda.

¹ Report of enquiries made at my request by the Record Keeper of the Purniah Collectorate. I was also myself Collector of Purniah for four years, and have, therefore, personal knowledge of this neighbourhood.

Bahánagar. Should be Bháugar, now in Akbarpúr parganah in Maldah (Bea. MS.).

Baḍalká. Probably Baḍál in parganah Báisházari in Maldah.

Táldwár. In spite of its place in the alphabetical order, there is little doubt that Máldwár is meant. This is a large and well-known parganah on the west border of Dinajpur. No place named Taldwar is traceable.

Chhápartál. Now known as Jhápartoil and so spelt in S.M. and A. of I. It is in Central Dinajpur. I.O. 6 has جهاپار.

Suburban district and town of Tájpúr. There is not, as far as I know, any town of this name now, though it is shown on the old maps. It is not in S.M. or A. of I. The parganah is still extant on the west border of Dinajpur, adjacent to Máldwár on the south.

Diláwarpúr. In the south-west corner of Dinajpur.

Dabhat. Should be Dehattá or Debhattá, a parganah in the north-west of Dinajpur. Bl. gives the variant Dehat in a note on the Persian text.

Sesahrá. Probably Susihra, now included in Haveli Tajpur.

Sújápur. Should be Surjápur, the large parganah about sixty miles long which occupies the north-east corner of the modern district of Purniah. Probably the greater part of it was unconquered in the reign of Akbar.

Sháhpúr. A small parganah about ten miles north of the town of Purniah, separated from the rest of the Sarkár.

Kuwarpur. Now called Kumáripur (which is the same thing), in the south of Purniah, forming a small projecting strip between Sarkárs Purniah and Audambar.

Kasárgaon, Gopálnagar, Nílnagar, Nílún, Yúsuf. I have not been able to identify these. I.O. 6 has for Nílún نبلون with vowel points, reading Niblaun or Nibloun. Both MSS. have Yúsufpúr.

Goghra. Absorbed in Hatinda.

Mahon. Should be Mahasún. It is mixed up with Haveli Tájpur.

SARKĀR LAKHNAUTI.

Also known as Jannatabad, but this title, said to have been conferred by the Emperor Humáyūn, is only used in official documents, and does not seem to have come into common use among the people.

This Sarkār is divided into six subdivisions entitled Jawárs. The word *jawār* means originally 'neighbourhood,' and J. has therefore translated it 'neighbouring villages of.' But this translation is misleading, for the mahals in each Jawār are, as a matter of fact, by no means 'neighbouring,' being often widely scattered, and the term used obscures the fact that we have here official divisions of territory, each with its Haveli. It is somewhat surprising that so many mahals should be included in so small an area; but, in the first place, many of the entries refer not to territorial areas, but to taxes on markets, customs, transport duties, and the like; and in the second place an unusually large number of mahals belonging to this Sarkār are scattered amongst the lands of adjacent Sarkárs. Identification is peculiarly difficult owing to the creation of the large estate of Ruknpūr, which has absorbed many of the smaller estates, and to the devastations caused by the Ganges, which has washed away large tracts of land. The old names have in many cases perished with the places to which they belonged, and new towns and villages with new names have arisen in their stead. One searches the S.M. and A. of I., and even the parganah maps on the large scale of 1 inch=1 mile, in vain for these ancient names. It is only from old inhabitants who have preserved the traditions of the sites of these lost towns and estates that one can sometimes obtain a trace or a clue.

"Jannatabad, commonly known as Gaur. It has been a brick fort."—J. *Dārād* means 'it has,' not 'it has been.' The fort is still there, though in ruins. I translate *Jawār* by 'circle.'

CIRCLE OF AGRA.

- Ajor. Now usually written Ajhor. An extant parganah in North-east Maldah. The name is correctly given in S.M., but incorrectly as Aihour in A. of I.
- Bázhokhra. Not traceable. I.O. 1114 has بلنبر Balambar, also unknown.
- Baler. Probably Bikar in North-east Maldah: بلير for بیکر. A common type of error in Persian MSS. caused by omitting the sloping stroke or *markaz* of the *káf*.
- Haveli Akra. Probably Agra on the Púrnabhába river, now absorbed in the Shikárpúr parganah of Bárbakábad.
- Dhanpúr. Probably Dhanjar, a large parganah in South Dinájpúr, which is much intermixed with other mahals of this Sarkár.
- Deviya. Probably Deoriya, in parganah Kasimpur, in South Dinajpúr.
- Serhwar. The text should probably be read Sirhúr. Parganah Sirhur, spelt in S.M. and A. of I. Surhur, is in South Dinajpur, adjacent to Dhanjar.
- Madnawati. A scattered parganah in South Dinajpur; most of it is in Dhanjar. Spelt in S.M. Mudnabattee.
- Nábat. Now Naet. In parganah Dhanjar.

The other mahals of this circle I have been unable to trace.

CIRCLE OF DARSHTRAK.

Seven out of the sixteen mahals are cesses and imposts on markets; e.g.—

Ácháríkhánah is pickle-market.

Kátháchhápá means 'wood-stamp.' Probably a place by the river-side where timber floated down the Mahánandá from the forests of Nepal was taxed and stamped.

Modi Mahal. The market of grain and sweetmeat sellers.

Mewa Mahal. Market for dried fruit, such as is annually brought from Kabul: nuts, walnuts, pistachio nuts, dried apricots, etc.

Of the territorial areas I can identify only

Ráekamati, which should be Rángamáti, now in parganah Shikárpur.

Gangapat and neighbourhood of Hindui. I.O. 6 reads Gangábat; G. 374, 380, etc., has Gangánat. The place is not traceable. For Hindui both the I.O. MSS. have مندوی mandávi or 'market,' which is more intelligible.

G. spells Dar Sarak—Dershirak—a spelling which I have adopted; the area of this circle was probably nearly all within or close to the city of Gaur, and must have suffered great changes from the action of the river.

CIRCLE OF DEBIKOT.

Debikot is in both the I.O. MSS. the distinct reading of the word which J. reads as Dibikot, and seems to be the correct name. No place bearing the latter name can be traced, while on the other hand we have in the north of this Sarkár the celebrated ancient city and frontier fortress of Dbikot or Debkot, now known as Damdamah, on the Purnabhába river, in the south-west of Dinájpur. The identity of the ruins and remains known as Damdamah with Debikot has been fully established by Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Westmacott. The only identifiable names in this circle lie in the same neighbourhood.

Pakor. The correct reading is evidently that of both the I.O. MSS., viz. Nákor, which is in parganah Rájnagar, on the boundary between Dinsjpur and Maldah, sixteen miles south-west of Damdama. In the S.M. and A. of I. it is spelt Nokore.

Dahlgaon. Should be Dakhingaon. Four miles north-west of Damdama. S.M. and A. of I.

Maligaon. Now absorbed in Dhanjar.

Modipur. Probably Mahdipur. Two miles south of the last-named place.

CIRCLE OF RAMAUTI.

The only place I have been able to identify in this circle is

Máhinagar. A small parganah in the north of the Maldah district.

Saugdwár may perhaps be the ancient city of Panduah, which is sometimes mentioned as Bardwár.

CIRCLE OF SARSÁBÁD.

The name of this circle suggests a curious bit of diplomacy. The full name is Shersháhábád, so called from the famous Afghan Sher Khán, who drove the Emperor Humáyun from the throne of Delhi and ruled in his stead. On the restoration of the Moghul dynasty Sher *Sháh*, as he was called during his reign, was of course regarded as an usurper, and his regal title was not acknowledged; he is always mentioned as Sher *Khán*. When Todar Mal, a courtier and trusted councillor of Humáyun's son, came to draw up the financial account of the empire, such a name as Shersháhábád would present a difficulty. As the name of a large fiscal division of the country it could not be ignored, while it would be disrespect, if not treason, to speak of Sher *Sháh*. He would get over the difficulty by using the popular corruption of the name Sarsábád, which conveyed no meaning, and was therefore unobjectionable. This is merely a conjecture, but, I think, a probable one. All the mahals of this circle are still extant and shown on the maps.

Akbarpur. A large parganah in the north-west of Maldah lying along the Ganges.

Párdiyár. Now absorbed in Shersháhábád in the extreme south of Maldah.

Khizrpur. Shown on the maps as Khidurpoor on the Kalindri River in Akbarpur, north of the large town of Hayatpur.

Sarsábád. Now restored to its proper form, and shown in S.M. and A. of I. as Shersháhabad. It is an extensive parganah covering all the south-west of Maldah, and including the ruins of the ancient capital, Gaur, as well as the modern capital, Angrezabad, or English Bazar.

Kotwáli. In Akbarpur, close to Hayatpur.

Garhand. A parganah in the north-west of Maldah. Spelt Gorhund in S.M. and A. of I.

Garhi. The small parganah south of the Ganges, now in the Sonthal Parganahs district, in which was the celebrated frontier fortress of Teliagarhi, the key of Bengal. It lies a long way from the rest of the Sarkár, but its importance perhaps led to its being attached to the headquarters Sarkár.

Makráin. A parganah in N.W. Maldah, adjacent to Akbarpúr.

Mánikpur and Hatanda. These two constitute the large parganah of Hatinda in the north of Maldah.

CIRCLE OF MALDAH.

The eleven mahals of this circle are given without any revenue, and are mostly unrecognizable from the materials at my disposal. This part of the list is probably corrupt, but the means of correcting it are not available. The following are still recognizable:—

Haveli Máldah is the town of Old Máldah at the junction of the Kalindri and Mahánandá rivers.

Sarbadahlpur is probably Sarbadhikpur in Shikárpur, six miles north-east of Old Maldah.

Sháhmandawi is on the Mahanandá, two miles south of Old Maldah.

Fattihpur is four miles north of the same place.

The general distribution of the circles is shown by the identified places:—

Debikot occupied the north-eastern part of the Sarkár.

Agra to the south and west of Debikot.

Ramauti the north centre.

Darshirak the city of Gaur and its neighbourhood.

Sarsábád the west and south.

Máldáh the environs of the town of that name.

SARKÁR BÁRBAKÁBÁD.

Called after Bárbak Sháh, king of Bengal A.D. 1460-1474 (Bl. xlv, 289). It comprises the greater part of the modern district of Rájsháhi (officially spelt Rajeshahye!), and parts of Maldah, Dinajpur, and Murshidabad. Most of the mahals are still extant and shown on the S.M. and A. of I. A list of them is given by Bl. xlv, 290, which J. has apparently not seen. The two large estates of Lashkarpur and Bhatúriá have absorbed many of the smaller ones, as usual.

Amrol. In N. Rajshahi. S.M. and A. of I.

City of above-mentioned (Barbakabad). There is no evidence that there ever was any city of this name,¹ and the amount of revenue shows that we are dealing here not with a town, but a large tract of country. As mentioned before, *baldah* in Indian revenue phraseology more usually designates a district than a town. This *baldah* probably indicates the unassigned portion of the Haveli, which will be discussed later on.

Basdol. } These two mahals are now combined; the latter
Báltápur. } name is properly Páltápur. In N.E. Maldah.
Polárhár. } I have not found these.
Barbariá. }

Bastol. } Now united; the former word is Pastúl. In S.
Chaurá. } Dinajpur.

Bangáon. Absorbed in Chandlai. W. Rajshahi. S.M.

Chhandiyá Bázú. So Bl. *loc. cit.*, but the correct name is Chhedia: G. 451. Now absorbed in Bhatúriá.

Jahásand and Joká. Correct names Jíásindh and Changáon. The latter is given as a variant in the Persian text.

¹ See, however, Bl. xlv, 291 and my remarks on the Haveli below.

Jiasindh is in North-west Rajshahi, Chaugāon in Bhaturiá. S.M. and A. of I.; G. 459 under the head of *Zamindari parganah-e mutafarrakāt*.

Jandlai. Correct name Chandlái; partly in Rajshahi, partly in Maldah.

Janású. Correctly given as Chinású by Bl. *loc. cit.*, and by G. 376, 381 as Chinasun. Absorbed in Bhaturiá.

Suburban district of Síkh Shabar. This being the Haveli, we must look for the capital of the Sarkár in it. The word here rendered Síkh occurs again in Ghorághat, in both places with numerous variants, as Sabtakh, etc. In both the I.O. MSS., though the dots are rather wildly placed, there is a distinct dot above the line making a reading Sankh, and in Sarkár Ghorághát the entry looks very like Santakh. The place meant is, I have no doubt, the celebrated old city and fortress of Santosh, so often mentioned by the Muhammadan historians. It is written in Sanskrit सन्तोष, and ष in Hindi and all the western Indian languages is invariably rendered by *kh*. To Todar Mal and his up-country clerks the natural transliteration would be سنٚتوگه, which would easily be corrupted into Santukh سنٚتوگه.¹ The parganah still exists in South Dinajpur, adjacent to the other mahals of this Sarkár, and the *baldah* above mentioned must have formed part of it. The site of the city is still traceable by extensive ruins at the village of Mábinagar on the Atrái (Maenuggur in S.M. and A. of I. See Westmacott in J.A.S.B. xlv, 190; Bl. *ibid.* 290). The place is still known locally as Mahi Santosh. On a line between the one frontier post of Ghorágbát and the other of Debikot, it would be a suitable place for the capital of one of the northern Sarkárs, and at one time must have been almost a frontier

¹ It is noticeable throughout the Ain that Abul Fazl always transliterates the Sanskrit ष by *kh*, as in mekh मेष, birkhab वृषभ, etc.

post itself. This identification, if correct, explains how the inscription given by Bl. xliv, 291 came to be found at Mahi Santosh, and the inscription itself confirms my view.

Dhárman. Probably the Dhaurim of G. 383. It has been dismembered.

Daúdpur, Sankárdal *alias* Nizampur, Sherpur, Bahrapur, and Kázibhatti. I have not identified these.

Shikárpúr. In East Maldah; has absorbed several mahals from Sarkár Lakhnauti.

Táhirpur. Absorbed in Lashkarpur.

Kardabá and Kharál (now Kharáel). Combined together in South Dinajpur.

Guzrhát. Along the Ganges in Maldah and Rajshahi. Wrongly spelt Gururhat in S.M. and A. of I.

Khás. Correctly Guhás. Now spelt Goás. South of the Ganges in Murshidabad.

Ganj Jakdal. Jagdal in North-east Maldah.

Gobindpur and Lashkarpur. These two parganahs occupy all the centre of Rajshahi district.

Káligái and Káligáo Kothia. There is only one parganah called Káligái; it is in Central Rajshahi.

Kodánagar. Should be Godánagar. Probably Godágari on the Ganges in Guzrhát.

Máljipur. Should be Málanchi (Bl. xliv, 292) in Bhaturiá.

Masqhá. Should be Masidha in South Dinajpur adjoining Santosh.

Mansamala. G. 467 writes Malsemanny. It seems to have been absorbed in Jahangirpur.

Mahmúdpur. Now called Muhammadpur. It lies north of Rampur Boaliyá. Bl. *loc. cit.*, S.M., and A. of I.

Wazirpur. In South-east Maldah.

The parganah of Jahangirpur, intermingled with Masidha, is not mentioned in the Ain. Its name shows it to be a later creation, but I cannot find to which mahal of the Ain the area covered by this name belonged. G. 467 ascribes it to this Sarkár.

SARKÁR MAHMÚDÁBÁD.

This very extensive Sarkár includes one parganah of the Murshidabad district, all the northern part of Nadia and Jessore, and a portion of Pabna and Farídpur. The headquarters may still be traced at the ruined fort of Mahmúdábád on the Madhumati river on the eastern frontier of Jessore (see Westland's Jessore, p. 25). The number of mahals is very large—eighty-four; but a great majority of them appears to have been absorbed in the larger parganahs, especially Naldi. As these smaller, and for the most part now extinct, parganahs are not shown on the S.M. or A. of I., it is impossible for me to assign them their proper position. In this, and several other Sarkárs in this part of Bengal, all I am able to do, even after consulting local revenue officials, is to indicate the positions of such of the mahals of the *Áin* as I am able to identify. The identification of the rest I must leave to more favourably situated enquirers.

Indarkalli. Probably Andarkotha, now absorbed in parganah Rajpur in North-west Nadia (Bea. MS.).¹

Bázu Rást } *i.e.* "Right and left wing." By the name
Bázu Chap } these ought properly to belong to Sarkár
Bazúhá, by which, indeed, they are almost surrounded. They are in the Pabna district north of the Podda or Ganges. The town of Pabna is in Bázu Chap: S.M. and A. of I. I.O. 6 has بازدراست and I.O. 1114 بازدراست for the first, and for the second بازوجب and بازوجب respectively. This instance shows how blindly the copyists erred, not taking the trouble to understand what they wrote, even when the words are pure Persian.

Betbariya. Bítbariya in Rajpur on the Kumár river.

¹ Report of enquiries made at my request by the Record Keeper of the Nadia Collector's Office. It is surprising how few places this local official can identify. This shows how completely the parganah as a local unit has fallen out of use in Central Bengal.

Bandwál. Probably Báonwál; بانووال not باندوال. In Rajpur near the last-named.

Pátikámára. Pátikábári in parganah Ghaznabipur in North-east Nadia.

Barmahpur. Now written Brahimpúr. In North Nadia on the Podda, a large extant parganah. S.M. and A. of I.

Patkámári. This is probably Patkábári. Though the greater portion of this parganah is in northern Satgáon, the scrap given here (only Rs. 88 revenue) was apparently in this Sarkár. As we go on we shall find several other instances of mahals partly in one Sarkár and partly in another.

Belkasi. It has been suggested that the correct reading is Palási, and this is not improbable. G., indeed (pp. 375, 431, 432), places Palási (or Plassey, to use the historically famous name) in Satgáon, but in this, as in the last-mentioned mahal, a portion may have been in this Sarkár. In both I.O. MSS. the dots are so loosely placed that no reading can be made out.

Tarákina. Bl. text reads Tárakania. The place meant is probably Tárágunia, which has already been mentioned under Satgáon, another case of a mahal in two Sarkárs. I.O. 6 reads Tárakanía or Tárákíná—the word may be read either way; so also in I.O. 1114.

Jediya. Probably Jháodiya, in parganah Ghaznavípur, in Nadiya (Bea. MS.).

Haveli. Haveli Mahmúdabad, now corrupted to Muhammaḍabad (see on this point Bl. xlii, 216 *et seqq.*), is on the Madhumati in North-east Jessore. Near it is the village of Bhúsna, the name of which was often used for the whole Sarkár, being the residence of the powerful Zamindars, who owned the greater part of the country round about.

Dakási. Probably Dugáchhí, now absorbed in Rájpur (Bea. MS.).

- Dahlat Jalálpur. The variant Dahkat suggests that we have here Dháká Jalálpur, the old name of Faridpur. If so, one would have expected to find it in Sarkár Fathábad, which joins this Sarkár on the east.
- Sator. Now written Shatoir and mixed up with the Haveli parganah of Fathabad in Faridpur. S.M. and A. of I.
- Shah Ujiyal. A very large parganah in North-east Nadia and West Jessore. S.M.
- Sherpurbari. Probably Shahrbári, now absorbed in Rajpur.
- Ghaznipur. Now known as Ghaznavipur, which was probably always the real name. It is an extant parganah in North-east Nadia.
- Kandaliya. Should be Kundalia, a part of which is also in Sátgáon.
- Kolbariya. Should be Kulberia, in South Murshidabad.
- Mihmán Shahi. The parganah of this name is far away north of the Ganges, and belongs to Sarkár Bázúhá. Unless this is an instance of an erroneous double entry some portion of that extensive parganah may have lain south of the Ganges, or from some other reason may have belonged to this Sarkár.
- Mahmúdshahi. A very extensive parganah in Nadia and Jessore.
- Naldai. Now known as Naldi, in Jessore. It covers an immense area, and as it was one of the large Zamindáris created in the Nawábi period (G. 259, 320) it has probably swallowed up a large number of smaller mahals, whose names have in consequence been consigned to oblivion.
- Nasrat Sháhi. Another very large parganah, now in N. Faridpúr.
- Haldá. Still extant in E. Nadiya.

The remaining mahals of this Sarkár I am unable to identify.

SARKÁR KHALÍFATÁBÁD.

Not a very large Sarkár; bounded on the north by Mahmudabad, on the east by Fathabad, on the west by Satgáon, and on the south by the Sundarban. Identification is here also rendered difficult by the Nawábi creation of the extensive Zamindári of Jessore, divided into two estates, Yusufpúr and Saidpúr, both of which were made up of numerous tracts of land, which, on being thus absorbed, appear to a great extent to have lost their ancient names (G. 447). The Sarkár comprises the modern district of Khulna, with portions of Bakirganj, Nadia, and Twenty-four Parganahs. The following are still identifiable:—

Bhálká. Should be Bháluká, a portion of the still extant parganah, the rest of which is in Twenty-four Parganahs.

Bágh Márá. Written as one word, Bághmárá; in the Nadia district, on the Kobádak river.

Tálá. A town on the Kobádak, in Khulna, with parganah now included in Ramehandrapúr. S.M.

Jesar, *alias* Rasúlpúr. A very large parganah, but it is doubtful whether it corresponds to the mahal of the Ain, and the modern town of Jessore was not founded till a century later. (Bl. xlii, 217; Westland's "Jessore," p. 23.)

Charaula. Now Charulia, in S. Khulna.

Suburban district of Khalifatabad. The Haveli town was near the town of Bagerhát, on the Bhairab river. It is now in ruins (Bl. xlii, 227).

Khalispur and Sáhas. Both intermingled. In Khulna. Sáhas is spelt Shahosh in S.M.

Dániyá. Probably Datiya, in Twenty-four Parganahs. Spelt Datteah in S.M. and A. of I.

Imádpur. Should be Itimádpur اعتماديپور. It is now in Aurangpúr in the Bakarganj district. See Bev. Bak. 155.

Rangdia. In S. Khulna. Wrongly spelt Sangdia in S.M. and A. of I (Bl. xlii, 227). It lies just above Morellganj.

Sulaimanabad. In E. Jessore and W. Backerganj, on both sides of the Madhumati river. In S.M. spelt Selimabad.

Mundágáchhá. A portion of this parganah is in Satgáon. How much of it belonged to Khalifatabad and where that portion was situated is not known.

SARKÁR PANJRA.

We now again return to the northern end of the province, where we find the small Sarkár of Panjra occupying the eastern half of the modern district of Dinajpúr.

The proper name of this Sarkár is Panjra—not Pinjarah, as J. gives it. It is true that G. writes it Pinjra, but his spelling is no guide; the first Europeans in India had a curious habit of changing the short *a* into *i*, as in Chittagong for Chatgáon, Chinsurah for Chanchurá, and the like. Mr. Westmacott's suggestion in J.A.S.B. xliv, 8 that the word represents the old Hindu local name Paundra is, at any rate, highly probable, if not actually proved. Nearly all the mahals of this Sarkár can be identified. It comprises the western half of Dinajpur, with some outlying mahals further south. How far it extended to the north into the wild, half-conquered, submontane tracts cannot be ascertained with any certainty.

Anbel. The variants give Ambíl and Ampol. I.O. 6 has Ambíl very distinct. I.O. 1114 is indistinct. G. 405 calls it Appol. No parganah of any of these names seems traceable, though Appol existed down to British rule, and is probably still extant in some part of the immense area of Dinajpur and Rangpur, such as Salbári.

Aubári. Misprint for Anbári, *i.e.* Ambári. The ruined fort of Amrábári, now in parganah Sarúppur in S.E. Dinajpur, probably represents it.

Augochah. Misprint for Angocha (G. 405). Situation not known to me.

Bárangpúr. Should be Bárbakpúr, a parganah in Rajshahye divided between Sarkárs Panjra, Bárbakábad, and Ghorághát.

Bijánagar. { All still extant in Central Dinajpur. Shown
Báyázidpúr. { in S.M. and A. of I. under the names of
Baharnagar. { Bejoynuggur, Bajitpoor, and Behinuggur
respectively. The town of Dinajpur is in
the first-named.

Barigher. Not identified. G. 405 has Cheparypoor. Both I.O. MSS. have the word inverted, Gherbári, which is more like a Bengali place-name than Barigher.

Badúghar. Probably part of Bador in Tájpur.

Takasi. Should be Tegáchhi, just as Dukasi stands for Dugáchhi in Sarkár Mahmúdabad. In many parts of Bengal *chh* is pronounced *s*. It is a detached parganah in the Rajshahye district. G. 376 writes Teggachee, at 381 Teygachee, and at 383 Teygachy.

Hálon. This cannot be right, as there is no *ح* in Hindi words. G. 405 has Chipalun, and there is Chalan in parganah Sashbír, which I suspect is the place meant.

Suburban district. Haveli Panjra is a large parganah still extant on the north-east frontier of Dinajpur. Panjra was for a long time used for the whole province of Dinajpur. G. 320 and 402.

Dekha. More probably Díkha or Dhíka, which is the reading of both I.O. MSS. G. 376 writes it Dhíha. It is not now traceable.

Deora. A large parganah south of the Haveli. S.M. and A. of I.

Sadbarbári. Not found. I.O. 1114 has سیدیاری, which, if read Sibdiári, is a very likely name for an island in a river.

Sankutá. Probably Saguná, a parganah in North-west Bogra, which G. places in this Sarkár, p. 467. S.M. and A. of I. I.O. 6 has سگوتا Sagatá; I.O. 1114 سگوتا, which may be Saguná.

Sultanpúr. South-east of Dinajpur. A portion is also in Sarkár Ghoraghat.

Sasber. South of Dinajpur.

Sulaimanabad. Not found.

Khattá. A large detached parganah surrounded by mahals of Sarkár Bazuhá, in south of Bogra.

Kedábari. Should be Gilábári, a parganah in South-east Dinajpur.

SARKÁR GHORÁGHÁT.

At first sight this appears a very large Sarkár, having no less than eighty-four mahals. But on closer inspection it will be seen that twenty-three of these are very small, having a revenue of less than 300 rupees each, which would, roughly speaking, represent an area of 100 acres. Then there are four ta'alluks, which would be merged in parganahs. So that, these deductions made, there are only fifty-seven mahals to account for, and many even of these are very small. The country lying to the north-east of the Karatoya river, and comprised in the modern district of Rangpur, was not fully conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb (Bl. xlii, 235). At the time of the compilation of the lists in the *Ain*, it was for the most part independent, and when conquered was settled under different names from those in our lists. The area really under Musulman rule must have been comparatively small, and a large number of the entries in the lists must be nominal merely. G., indeed, p. 454, speaks of the Zamindári of "Edrackpoor," which comprised the greater part of this Sarkár, as "this little territorial trust." It contained sixty parganahs, nearly the same number as those of this Sarkár after the deductions above made. It lies in the Rangpur, Dinajpur, Pabna, and Maimansingh districts.

I have identified, either certainly or conjecturally, the following, which, from their situation, suffice to fix the boundaries of the Sarkár, and from their extent very nearly fill up the whole of the area included within those boundaries.

Anwarbán. I would read Anwrián or Aonrián, and identify it with Aonrá in North Bogra.

Algaon. G. 454, "Alygaon." Áligaon is in North-west Bogra.

Bázú Zafar Shahi (two mahals). A large parganah still extant on both sides of the Brahmaputra, which in Akbar's reign was much smaller at this point than it is now. The two mahals probably mean the two portions one on each side of the river.

Bázú Faulád Sháhi. In North Bogra. The Persian word for 'steel' is generally pronounced *fúlád* in India (as it is also in Persia) and *púlád*. In Bengal the latter would be the more natural pronunciation, as there is no *f* in Bengali. The name got corrupted very early. G. writes it Folad-dessy, p. 454, and in S.M. and A. of I. it appears as Pulladassee.

Págdwár. There is a ta'alluk Bágdwár in parganah Boda in North Rangpur, but this seems to be too far north, unless it were an outlying tract, an *enclave* in Panjra. There are many such tracts, as we have seen already.

Bárbakpúr. Part of the parganah in North Rajshahi, other parts of which belong to Panjra and Barbakabad.

Town of Nasratábád. Baldah here, again, must mean a district; the revenue is too large for a town. Bl. xliii, 293 says Nusrat (not *nasrat*) -ábád is a synonym for Ghoraghat itself. In the Royal Asiatic Society's beautiful MS. of the Ain, this Sarkár is entered as Sarkár Nusratábád. This Baldah will, therefore, be the country adjacent to that town.

Barsalá. Should probably be Barbillá, a parganah adjacent to Ghoraghat, on the opposite or north-east side of the Karatoya.

Bari Sábakbálá. G. 454 writes this "Bery Shanurkfallah," perhaps in modern spelling Sánkphalá. The position is not indicated. Both I.O. MSS. read سامك Sámuk.

Bari Ghorághát. The town of this name is still existing on the Karatoya in South-east Dinajpúr.

Báyázipur. The parganah of this name has already been noticed under Panjra. A portion of it appears under this Sarkár also.

Pátáldeh. North of Zafar Shahi, on both sides of the Brahmaputra. In S.M. and A. of I. it is spelt Pateeladoba.

Báلكá. In South Rangpur. Spelt in S.M. Palika; in A. of I. wrongly Paieka.

Bajpatári. G. 454 writes Taji-puttary, but does not say where it is. The dots are vague in both I.O. MSS.

Hámilá. Cannot be right, there being no ح in Hindi words, and the Arabic حامله is not to be thought of. I suspect this is Chápilá, a parganah in East Bogra south of Zafarshahi. All the MSS. have Hámilá, blindly copying one another.

Khásbári. Probably the parganah now known as Khas Ta'alluk, near the town of Ghoraghát.

Sultanpur. In South-east Dinajpur.

Sikhshahr. A portion of Santosh, as explained under Sarkár Barbakabad, *supra*.

Sírhatá. Sarhatá in South-east Dinajpur.

Siriyá Kandi. In East Bogra, on the Bangáli river, between Zafarshahi and Chapila.

Fathpur. Fathjangpúr in Bogra.

Kandibari. Probably Kandi in North-west Rangpur.

Kának Sakhar. I suspect this is a copyist's error for Kángor, though the I.O. MSS. read كاك صبر. This was a well-known place in ancient times, and from its situation must have been either in Panjra or Ghoraghat, most probably the latter. Yet the name does not appear in the Aín lists at all, unless this be it. كانگور is not very unlike كانكسوبر. The second stroke of the *markaz* of the *gáf* was probably taken for another *káf*.

Magatpur. Should be Mukutpúr. A parganah in South Rangpur. In A. of I. Mukuteepoor. The three words beginning with *w* are rather puzzling; as there is no *w* in Bengali they must be Persian or Arabic. The second of the three Wachhi is probably the Aunchi of G. 454, which seems to be Uchai in parganah Kangor in North Bogra. In A. of I. Kasbah Oochai.

SARKÁR BAZÚHÁ.

The name of this Sarkár is wrongly written by J. Bázobá. It is surprising that he did not recognize the well-known Persian plural of *Bázu*, 'an arm or wing,' which is added as a termination to almost all the mahals of this very extensive Sarkár. It comprises nearly all the very large district of Maimansingh, parts of Dacca, Pabna, Bogra, and Rajshahi. The immense area of this Sarkár is to a great extent accounted for by the fact that much of it—as, for instance, the great Bhowal jungle—was uninhabited. A majority of the mahals are still known under the names they bear in the Ain, and are shown in the S.M. and A. of I. maps.

Alápscháhi (Alapsingh in the maps), Bakhariá Bázu (should be Pukhariá), Husain Shahi, Das Khádia (should be Daskaháoniá), Manmani Singh (should be Maiman Singh), Husain Singh, Nusrat Ujial—are all in the Maimansingh district.

Badmár (should be Barbázú), Sonabázú, Katármal, Khatábázu—are in the Pabna district.

Bhoriya Bázu (should be Bhatúria) is in Rajshahi district.¹

Bahwál Bázu (should be Bhawál—the great 'Bhowal jungle'), Dhaká Bázu, Chándpartáb Bázu—are in the Dacca district.

¹ This identification is due to Mr. Beveridge, J.A.S.B. lxi, 129. There can be little doubt as to its correctness. Bhaturiya was too important a place to have been omitted from the Ain, and there is no name but this which can indicate it. There is no place called Bhoriya Baru, and Bhaturiya is just in the right place at the western extremity of the Sarkár.

Partáb Bázú, Soná Bázú, Silharas, Yúsufsháhi (in the maps Esupshahee), and Mihmáns háhi—are in the Bogra district.

The other names are probably the older names of several modern parganahs which do not appear in the list of the Aín.

Daskaháonia is the old name of Sherpur (BL xliii, 283). Shushang, the parganah which occupies the north-east of Maimansingh, does not appear to have been conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb (G. 444).

SARKÁR FATHÁBÁD.

Is adjacent to Bazúhá on the south, and includes parts of the Dacca, Faridpúr, and Bakirganj districts. It is fairly identifiable, though the extent of many of the mahals appears to have altered considerably, owing chiefly to the action of the great rivers by which it is everywhere intersected. The Record Keeper¹ writes: "Sarkar Fathábád included a larger area before, and at present the portion of land bounded by the rivers Kumár, Padma (Ganges), and Ariál Khán is called Fathábád. Several places have lost their former names in full or partly, and are known by new names." For the southern portion of this Sarkár and for Sarkár Báklá we have the valuable aid of Mr. Beveridge's work on Backergange² (Bákarganj).

Bholiya Bel. Bel should everywhere be read Bíl. It is the Bengali for 'a swamp.' A great part of the Faridpur and Bakarganj districts consists of vast morasses, or *bils*. The Bholia Bil is in the north of Faridpur.

¹ Report of enquiry made at my request by the Record Keeper of the Faridpúr Collector's Office, 1885. Referred to as Bea. MS.

² "The District of Bákarganj: its History and Statistics," by H. Beveridge, B.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of Bákarganj. London: Trübner, 1876. Referred to as Bev. Bák.

Bhágalpúr was in the north-west of Faridpur; it has now been washed away by the Ganges (Bea. MS.).

Belor. Should be Bálíor. It is in Faridpúr, but its precise position is not stated by my informant.

Bádhadiya. Bárhádiá, *alias* Bháṭḍi, is now included in the Shatoir parganah of Sarkár Mahmúdabad.

Telhaṭi. A parganah in S.W. Faridabad.

Suburban district, etc. There is no town of Fathabad. The Haveli parganah lies round the civil station of Faridpúr.

Hazratpur. On the north side of the Ganges, in the Dacca district.

Rasúlpúr. Also on the north of the same river, adjoining Bikrampur.

Súndíp. A large island far away from the rest of this Sarkár, being the easternmost island in the Gangetic Delta. The name is Sanskrit *शून्यद्वीप* 'empty island.' It was uninhabited till the reign of Shah Jahan, when it was peopled by Afghans, whose descendants still live there.

Sarhárkal. Should be Sundárkul, or bank of the Sundá, a river which formerly existed in W. Bakarganj, near Nalchiti; it has now dried up (Bea. MS. and Bev. Bak. 24, 43).

Sadhwá. Should be Sidhuá. I suspect, however, that we have here two words run into one, Sídhí and Bidu, two islands separated from each other by a very shallow channel, and lying close to the northern end of Súndíp.

Sawáíl, *alias* Jalálpúr. A large parganah in Central Faridpur. The whole district was formerly known as Dacca Jelalpoor.

Shahbázpúr. A portion of the large island of that name, the greater part of which belongs to Sarkár Sonárgaon.

Khatakpur. Now known as Kharakpur, a small parganah absorbed in Haveli.

Kasodiya. A village in Thana Bhángá, in Faridpur. My informant does not state what parganah it has been included in (Bea. MS.).

Hazárhattí. Now called Hazráhattí, in Thana Bhanga; the parganah is not mentioned.

Yúsufpúr. A large parganah in the Jessore district, detached from the rest of this Sarkár.

I have not succeeded in identifying the remaining parganahs. Nawábi changes have been particularly active in this part of Bengal. (See Bev. Bak., pp. 51-158, for a history of all the parganahs at present existing.)

SARKÁR BÁKLÁ.

J. erroneously writes Bogla. The references to this Sarkár by Blochmann in the three articles in J.A.S.B. so often referred to, are so numerous that I cannot give them all. The place is constantly mentioned by the Muhammadan historians and by early European travellers. It had a curious and interesting history, which it would lead me beyond the limits of my subject to go into.

The Sarkár had only four mahals. It lay along the eastern side of the present Bakarganj district—the mainland, that is to say.

Ismáílpur, alias Báklá. Is identified by Bev. Bak. 50, 70, *et passim*, with the ancient estate of Chandradvíp, the name of which still survives, and in this view Bl. and my informant also agree. The identification seems to me unassailable. If there ever were a town called Bakla, which seems doubtful, it was probably at Kachúa, on the Titulia river, near Bauphal.

Srirámpur. A small parganah, very little of which now remains, most of it having been washed away by the Meghná river (Bev. Bak. 147).

Shábzádahpúr. A small parganah near Nalchiti (Bev. Bak. 153).

Aádilpúr, عادلپور. Now corrupted into Idilpur (on the maps 'Edilpur'), a large parganah occupying the north-east corner of Bakarganj and adjacent portions of Farídpúr (Bev. Bak. 125).

SARKÁR SILHAT.

This frontier Sarkár lay very far to the north-east, beyond the furthest limits even of the great Sarkár of Bazúha. In Akbar's time it was probably not under Muhammadan sway, and probably at no time prior to that had there been more than temporary occupation of outposts. In the Nawábi period its dense forest supplied timber for the royal navy or *Nawára*, and its revenues were devoted (*minus* peculations) to the support of that arm. The eight mahals of the Aín were increased to 146, and a crowd of petty landholders arose, whose existence forms a peculiar feature in the revenue administration of the district. G. 444.

After such violent changes it is hardly to be expected that much of the original division into mahals should still be identifiable. The following is all I can identify:—

Partábgarh, also called Pánehkhand. Is probably the country round Pánehgaon fort in Sushang, in Mymensingh.

Banián Chang. A large parganah still extant in the south-west of Silhat.

Jesá. The reading Jaintiya suggested by both Bl. and J. is probably the correct one. The town of Jaintiya is in the north-east corner of Silhat, just at the foot of the Jaintiya hills.

Suburban district. Lies round the town and civil station of Silhat.

Sarkhandal. Saíd by Bl., xlii, 236, to be a misprint for Satarkhandal, but he does not say where it is, and I cannot find it on the maps.

Ládú, *var.* Látú, which latter is correct. It is a very large tract of country occupying all the south-east part of the Silhat district. Bl., *loc. cit.*, confuses it with Láur, which is a different place in the north-west of the district.

Harnagar. I cannot find this place.

SARKÁR SONÁRGÀON.

By the situation of the identifiable mahals, this Sarkár is shown to be a long straggling stretch of territory extending from the north of the Dacca district to the Phani (Fenny) river and the large islands at the mouth of the Ganges. How far it extended to the east is not known. Most of the present district of Tipperah was under independent Rajas (Bl. xlii, 236). To the west it approached within a few miles of the town of Dacca, which had not yet risen to its subsequent importance. The Survey maps of the districts comprised in this Sarkár do not, unfortunately, indicate the parganahs, and I am, therefore, unable to identify much of it. This and Ghoraghat remain the most obscure of all the Sarkárs to me. There is an interesting article by Dr. J. Wise on Sonargaon in J.A.S.B. xliii, 82.

Uttar Sháhpúr. Should be Shabbázpúr. A well-known island in the Bakarganj district. Uttar (or northern) Shabbázpúr is smaller than Dakhin (or southern) Shabbázpúr, from which it is separated by the Ilshá river.

Uttar and Dakhin Usmanpúr. In Tipperah.

Bikrampur. A large and well-known parganah occupying the eastern end of the island formed by the Ganges (here called Podda and Kirtinásá) and Dhaleswari. It is a place famous in history, and now celebrated for the learning of its pandits.

Bhalwá jowár (two words, not one as J. writes it). Bhalúá circle. In Noakhalli district, which was formerly

known as the Bhalúá district. In S.M. and A. of I. wrongly spelt Bullooh, omitting the *h*. See also Bl. xli, 49.

Baldákh and Bardia, both in West Tipperah.

Tora. Probably Thorla on the Gumti, in Central Tipperah.

Jogidiya. In the east of the Noákhalli district, near the little Phani (Fenny) river. Bl. xlii, 232. Once a celebrated frontier post, now a large and an important estate.

Environ's of port. The port of Sonargaon, the town itself being situated a little way back from the river. See Wise, *loc. cit.*, and his map.

Chand Yáhar. This entry only wants three dots below the τ to make it quite intelligible. It reads Chandíá Char, as it is distinctly written in both I.O. MSS. A *char*, as most people familiar with India know, is a sandy island in a river. There are several hundreds, not to say thousands, of them in the Brahmaputra and Ganges. This particular one seems no longer to exist, which is not surprising, for chars are perpetually being swept away and new ones formed in the vast estuary known as the Meghná.

Chandpur. On the east bank of the Meghná, in South-west Tipperah.

Suburban district. The Haveli of Sonárgaon lies about twelve miles east of Dacca. See Dr. Wise's article above quoted.

Khizrpúr. About one mile north of Naráyanganj, at the mouth of the Lakhya; nine miles or so east of Dacca. There is a description of the fort and ruins by Dr. Wise in J.A.S.B. xliii, 211.

Dándrá. In Tipperah.

Dakhin Shahbázpúr. The large island on the western side of the estuary of the Ganges. It belongs to the Bakarganj district.

Ráipur. On the Megna, at the extreme western point of the Noakhally district.

Sálisari. This name occurs also in Sarkárs Jannatabad and Khalifatabad. I do not think it is the name of a territory. It seems to me to be a term, under some copyist's corruption, indicative of *yearly* assessments or assignments of revenue, such as were made to officials or employés. *Sáliánah*, or *sálmah*, is what one would expect, but the variants are so numerous that it is difficult to guess what is the actual word meant.

Sakhwá. In West Tipperah, near Tubkibogra.

Shamshpúr. Probably Shampúr, in Northern Tipperah.

Mu'azzimpur. Between the Brahmaputra and Lakhia rivers, fifteen miles north-west of the village of Sonargáon. Bl. xlii, 236; Wise, xliii, 85.

Mahár. In South Tipperah, a short distance from the Dakatia river. On S.M. shown as Mehar Nij.

Manoharpur. Now known as Manohardihi, about ten miles north of Sonargáon, on the western side of the Meghna.

Naráenpur. This must be the flourishing port of Naráyananj, nine miles east of Dacca, on the Lakhyá.

Nawakot. Probably Nawákháli (*vulgo* Noakholly), the present capital of the district of that name. It was a fortified place in Akbar's reign, though very far from being so now. Bl. xlii, 232. I.O. 6, however, reads نلواكوت *Nalwákot*, and I.O. 1114 ملواكوت *Malwákot*, both of which seem wrong.

Hátgháti. Probably the large island of Hatiyá, east of Dakhin Shahbazpúr, which, unless meant by this entry, is not mentioned in the Aín.

SARKÁR CHÁTOÁON.

This Sarkár was not conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb (Bl. xli, 49), about the year A.D. 1665 (G. 494). The present names of the parganahs, dating from the conquest only, do not in any way correspond with those given in the

Ain, and to those, like myself, familiar with the district do not recall any of the local names now current. Grant is therefore probably correct in his opinion that it was "very imperfectly conquered under Akbar from the state of Arakan or Mogg (*sic*), to which it was adjoining and tributary, therefore probably rated only by estimation, not from any certain knowledge of the country" (p. 242). It is impossible, therefore, to identify any of the mahals. I have roughly indicated on the map the northern and western boundaries. As much of the country, even close down to the sea, is still covered by dense forests, and as we know that a large portion of the cultivated area was only brought under cultivation at the beginning of British rule, Todar Mal's names and figures must be regarded as almost entirely imaginary, and the eastern and southern boundaries cannot be indicated. A large proportion of the inhabitants are still Maghs, of the same race as the people of Arakan, but they are slowly receding before enterprising Bengali cultivators.

In order to bring these notes within reasonable limits, I have purposely omitted all but the most summary references to the numerous interesting legendary, mythical, antiquarian, and historical associations that cluster round many of these ancient names. "What shall be said for the obscurer roll of names which the above list preserves?" asks Colonel Jarrett in a note on p. 129. A large proportion of these names are far from being obscure to those who know the province of Bengal. If I had allowed myself to put down only a selection of the interesting facts connected with these places my notes might easily have been expanded into a bulky volume.

Note.—I have inserted accents wherever I think them necessary. My practice is to spell the words on the usual Jonesian (or Hunterian) system, but where the name of a place is very well known—as *e.g.* Bengal, Calcutta, Murshidabad, Bardwan, etc.—I do not put any dots or accents, but follow the popular method of spelling. So also in the very common terminations -abad, -pur, -gaon, -ghat, -nagar, I have not always inserted accents.

THE MAP.

The Map has been compiled by taking careful tracings from the District S.M., and occasionally also from the 1 inch=1 mile parganah maps of all identifiable parganahs of the Afn. These were then joined together into one large map for the whole province, and reduced to the scale of 1 inch=16 miles. It was impossible to insert the names of all the parganahs on a map of this size without overcrowding it, but most of the large parganahs have been given. The blank spaces here and there represent tracts from which the ancient names appear to have died out altogether. The names and boundaries of modern British districts, with the rivers and some of the principal towns, have been inserted to facilitate identification.

ART. V.—*Arabic Inscriptions in Egypt.* By HENRY
C. KAY, M.R.A.S.

II.

A PUBLIC mosque and the tomb of the founder represent at the present day what was once a *khanka*, or, as it may be described, a conventual establishment for the use of Sūfis, erected at Cairo in the early years of the fourteenth century, by Sultan Baybars, second of the name. An earlier foundation of the same character, the first seen in Egypt, owed its existence to Saladin, who adapted to his purpose a house or mansion built in the days of the Fatimites, and known as the house of Sa'īd as-Su'ada, a designation which the existing mosque bears to the present day. Both foundations have for a long period ceased to serve the purposes for which they were erected, and, as has likewise happened to the numerous *madāris* or colleges founded by the Egyptian Sultans and nobles, their original destination is well-nigh forgotten. They are now simply classed among the public mosques of Cairo, a change from their original purpose largely due to their impoverishment, and not unlike that which has befallen many old abbey churches in England.

The Khanka of Baybars, as well as a *madrasah* adjoining it on the south, founded some years later by the Amīr Kara Sungur (the Black Falcon) surnamed *al-Chugādar* (Bearer of the Sultan's Polo Clubs), stood on part of the extensive site of the old Dār al-Wizārah, of which Baybars's Khanka

and Ribāt alone occupied an area of upwards of an acre and a third.¹

The erection of the Khanka was commenced in A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7), and it was completed after the Amīr's accession to the throne in A.H. 708. The Sufite brotherhood installed by the Sultan numbered no less than 400, for all of whom ample accommodation was provided. Adjoining the Khanka, and with access from the interior, a Ribāt, or Refuge, was built with quarters for 100 persons, members of the civil and military classes whom the vicissitudes of fortune had reduced to a state of want.

Besides free lodging, the occupants of the Khanka and Ribāt received ample supplies of food and raiment. The foundation was richly endowed with the rents of property situated at Cairo, at old Miṣr, in Upper and Lower Egypt, and even at Damascus and Ḥamāh. Lectures on the religious traditions were delivered under the dome, which surmounts, as customary, the tomb of the founder, and the *Kur'ān* was there perpetually chanted throughout both day and night. The mosque was devoted to the exclusive use of the occupants of the Khanka and Ribāt, the outer public being rigidly excluded.

The mosque and tomb form one building, which faces the thoroughfare leading to the city gate, the Bāb au-Naṣr.

¹ The Dār al-Wizārah was the official residence of the Wazīr, who during the later years of the Fatimite dynasty were the real and irresponsible rulers of the empire. It stood close to the north side of the Great Palace in which the Khalīfahs lived completely secluded from the world, treated, it is true, with every outward mark of veneration, but none the less in a state of virtual though splendid captivity. The description handed down to us by William of Tyre of the interview with the young Khalīfah al-'Ādil, which the blunt-mannered Latin envoy of King Amauri compelled the shocked Wazīr Shāwar to agree to, is not only an exceedingly curious account of the incident and of its surroundings, but one also in complete accord with the information we derive from the native historians on the conditions under which the Fatimite dynasty was then hastening to its fall.

The Dār al-Wizārah consisted of numerous buildings, and it included a large garden. It was built by Malik al-Afdal Shāhinsbāh (A.H. 487-515), son of Badr al-Jamālī.

The house of Sa'īd as-Su'ada was shortly before the advent of Saladin occupied by the Wazīr al-'Ādil Ruzzayk (A.H. 556-558), who built an underground passage communicating with the Dār al-Wizārah immediately opposite. Remains of the passage, of more or less importance, are, it may be, still in existence.

A frieze adorned with a long decorative inscription is carried along the entire front of the building. It commences with a passage from the *Kur'ān* (S. xxiv, v. 36-38) which frequently occupies a conspicuous position in places of worship—

In temples which God hath commanded to be raised, and His name therein to be extolled, men will therein praise Him in the early morning and at eve, whom neither trading nor selling will divert from the celebration of His name, from the practice of prayer, and from bestowing alms, (men) who dread the day when hearts and eyes shall be overwhelmed with terror, that God may requite them with a reward (measured by) their best works and add thereto out of His bountifulness. And (verily) God bestoweth His gifts without reckoning.

The inscription continues as follows:—

أمر بإنشاء هذه الخانقا السعيدة وفقاً موبّداً على جماعة الصوفية من
فيض فضل الله تعالى وجزيل احسانه راجياً بذلك عفوه و غفرانه
العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى ركن الدين بيبرس المنصورى
عبد الله والفقير اليه الراجى رحمته يوم القدوم عليه شاعف اليه
ثوابه وزكى اعماله ويسر له اسباب ما بسط اليه من المعروف
اماله بمنه وكرمه وافضاله صلى الله على سيدنا

The erection of this auspicious Khanka, to be a perpetual foundation for the use of the brotherhood of Sūfis, (and provided for) out of the great abundance of the gifts of God, the Most High, and of His ample favours, was ordered, hoping thereby to obtain His pardon and forgiveness, by the servant of God and needer of His help Rukn ad-dīn Baybars al-Manṣūry, the servant of God and dependent upon Him, who hopeth for His mercy on the day when he shall come before Him. May God enhance his reward and cause his pious works to abound, and facilitate unto him the attainment of the things productive of the

divine benefits which his hopes have spread forth before Him, through His goodness and beneficence and bountifulness. And may God bless our Lord (Muhammad, etc.).

The concluding words are concealed by the walls of a neighbouring building.

A few words at the precise point where the regal titles of the Sultan ought to be found have been roughly but thoroughly obliterated, a thing common enough under the Pharaohs of old, but of exceeding rarity under Muhammadan rule.

Baybars was originally a mamluk slave of Sultan al-Manṣūr Ḳalā'ūn, by whom he was raised step by step until he was numbered among the high dignitaries of the State, and who bestowed upon him the honorary office of Jāshnikīr (*Chāshnigīr*, the King's Taster), to which was attached a military command of 100 men.

When the youthful Sultan Muḥammad, son of Ḳalā'ūn, abdicated in A.H. 708, and for the second time sought refuge in the fortress of Karak (the Montreal of the Crusaders), Baybars, who then held the rank of Atabek or Commander-in-Chief, was elected to succeed him, and he ascended the throne with the honorific titles of al-Muẓaffar, Rukn ad-dīn, *the Triumphant, the Pillar of the Faith*.

Before his elevation to the throne, Baybars was exceedingly popular among all classes. In the building of his Khanka he won general approval by his scrupulous abstention from all acts of oppression, carefully providing for the payment of his artificers and labourers and for the acquisition of materials by honest purchase. But a complete change in public feeling took place soon after his accession, and to his great misfortune, there occurred immediately afterwards an insufficient rise of the Nile. Prices of provisions rose, and great distress soon prevailed. Disorderly crowds assembled in the streets, and lines of doggerel were sung, in which the Sultan and his wazīr, Sayf ad-dīn Salār, were denounced under insulting nicknames. "Give us back the Cripple," was the burden of the song, "and the Nile

flood will come down in torrents.”¹ The Sultan’s anger was raised to the highest pitch, and by his orders some 300 persons were seized and punished with utmost cruelty.

An-Nāṣir recovered the throne before the end of the year. Baybars was captured, under circumstances, it must be said, far from creditable to the young king, and after a reign which had lasted not quite twelve months, the bow-string put an end to his life. The body was not allowed to be buried in the tomb which Baybars had prepared for himself in his Khanka, to which, however, his remains were eventually carried. The Khanka itself was closed, and the words of the inscription attributing to Baybars the honorific titles and designation of Sultan were obliterated. The rents of the foundation were confiscated and it continued to be disused until A.H. 726, when it was re-opened and its endowments restored. It was also probably at that time that the body of the founder was allowed to be laid in its destined resting-place.

Malik an-Nāṣir retained possession of the throne until his death in A.H. 741. During the greater part of his

¹ Al-A’raj was the nickname of Malik an-Nāṣir, derived from his lameness. Ibn Baṭūṭah mentions another instance in which it was publicly applied to the Sultan, on that occasion in a hostile spirit (“Defremery,” i, p. 86). The lines referred to in the text have been preserved by Ibn Iyās, and are as follows:—

سلطاننا ركين * و نائبو دقين * يجينا الماء من عين
هاتوا لنا الاعرج * يجي الماء يدحرج *

The unflattering epithet *Rukayn* may be rendered *wretched little mouse*, and is a play upon the Sultan’s title, *Rukn ad-din*. The nickname *Duḡayn* or *Scant-beard* is derisively applied to the Wazīr Salār, who was a Tartar and, like most of his race, almost beardless. ركن is for ركنه, and *Duḡayn* is written as vulgarly pronounced in Egypt, with *Dal*.

reign he had to deal with the arduous duty, bequeathed to him by his predecessors, of defending his dominions against the aggressive designs of his powerful neighbours, the descendants of Hulagu. The task of the Egyptian Sultans had, it is true, been gradually lightened by the jealousies and dissensions between the Ilkhanian princes and their kinsmen, the Kipchak Khans of the Golden Horde, and Malik an-Nāṣir neglected no means of cultivating the good will and friendship of the great northern Rulers and of their nobles. Envoys frequently passed to and fro between the two Courts, charged with complimentary messages; and in the mutual exchange of presents, the wealth and profuse liberality of the Egyptian Sultans were always conspicuous. In A.H. 716 a mission was despatched from Cairo to Uzbek Khan, but entrusted on this occasion with a somewhat delicate duty, that of soliciting on behalf of Malik an-Nāṣir the hand of a Tartar princess, of the illustrious house of Jingiz Khan.

Sir Henry Howorth has included in his valuable work on the history of the Mongols an account of the singular negotiations that ensued, as recorded by the contemporary Egyptian writer Nuwayri, who, it is almost needless to say, treats the subject with becoming gravity. The story, which is reproduced in Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭāṭ*, may also be read in D'Ohsson and in Von Hammer—how the Tartar nobles professed to be utterly startled, and declared that such a thing could not be; how, “having received their presents,” they somewhat relented, but still raised interminable difficulties, culminating in a demand for the payment by the Sultan of an enormous sum as dowry; how, finally, but only at the end of four years' time, everything was satisfactorily settled.

The Princess, a great-grand-daughter of Baraka, son of Jūshi, son of Jingiz Khan, started on her journey from the banks of the Volga, attended by a brilliant retinue of Tartar nobles. They were detained, so Maḳrīzī tells us, for five months by contrary winds at *Minā Ibn Miṣḥa* (?), where they abode as the guests of the Byzantine emperor,

who is said to have expended 60,000 dinars on the entertainment of the Princess and her followers.¹ They finally arrived at Cairo in the month of Rabī' Awwal, A.H. 720. Here the Princess met with a splendid reception, and the wedding was celebrated on a scale of corresponding magnificence.

Of the Princess's subsequent life little or nothing is known. She appears to have had no children. She survived her husband for twenty-four years, during which time no less than ten of his sons and grandsons succeeded one another on the throne.

The tomb built by the Princess for herself near Bāb al-Barkīyah (which now bears the name of Bāb al-Gharāyib), though little known, still exists;² but it retains little or nothing in its appearance to attract the attention of a passer-by. The Princess's remains lie under a lofty dome, from which every trace of decoration has disappeared. The entrance appears to have been from a small mosque, of which absolutely nothing remains, and the open space is occupied by a few modern tombs. The grave under the dome is surmounted by the usual stone-built cenotaph. Running along three of its sides, beginning on the western, is inscribed in ornamental Cufic characters, a verse from the *Qur'ān* (S. iii, v. 16)—

God beareth witness that there is no God but He, and (so also) the angels and the possessors of knowledge. (And that) He ruleth with righteousness. There is no God but He, the Mighty, the All-wise.

¹ I have failed in my attempts to identify the port of Ibn Miskā. Professor De Goeje has, with his habitual kindness, looked up for me the MS. of *Nuwayri* preserved in the library of the University of Leiden; but it makes no mention of the place, nor does it give any information on the Princess's route. Ibn Miskā must have been a contemporary, since Makrizi tells us that he bore his part in showing hospitality to the Princess, and the words used by Makrizi indicate, as Professor De Goeje points out, that the port must have been very distant relatively, from the Bosphorus. It may, indeed, be understood to have been the place of embarkation.

² It stands close to the tomb of Khuanda Tughāy, the favourite wife of an-Nāṣir, and mother of his favourite son, Anūk, who died eight months before the Sultan. The tomb of Tughāy is in even a worse condition than its neighbour: only fragments of its mosque are visible. The cenotaph has disappeared from below the dome, and with it every trace of a mortuary inscription. The Princess Tughāy died in A.H. 749.

The word العزيز has been omitted. On the south end is the following inscription in the Naskhī character:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بتاريخ وفاه (sic) خوند طولبيه تعمدها الله
برحمته توفيت في يوم الجمعة سابع و عشرين ربيع الآخر (sic)
سنة خمس وستين وسبعماية

of which the following is, I think, as near a translation as the sentence will admit:—

On the date of the death of the Lady Tūlbīyah may God surround her with His mercy. She died on Friday, twenty-seventh Rabi' Ākhir of the year 765.

An outer doorway, leading from the road into the open space already mentioned, and from which entrance is obtained into the tomb, is still in existence, though now walled up and in a dilapidated condition. It has been roughly rebuilt, and two stones, as is shown by the inscriptions, have been misplaced. The inscriptions in question are engraved in the usual manner on a broad band which crosses the jambs on either side. On the right is the passage from the Kūr'ān (S. xxiv, v. 36) which I have already had occasion to mention (*supra*, p. 139). It begins with the words اذن الله (which) God hath commanded, and ends with and at eve. On the left are the following words:—

انشاء هذا (sic) التربة المباركة الارار؟) الكريمه خوند طولبيه تعمدها
الله سنة خمس وستين وسبعماية

This auspicious tomb was erected by the noble lady the Princess (Khuanda) Tūlbīyah. May God surround her the year 765.

It is not difficult to imagine the position in which the Princess was placed during the latter period of her life. She had outlived the friends of her early years. Her husband's descendants were but distantly connected with her, and when she died their chief, or indeed only concern would

be in the division of her property. The arrangements for her funeral would be very much left to the care of her eunuchs and slaves, and so no doubt it would come about that no proper person was employed to draw up, or at least to revise, the inscriptions on her tomb.

There is considerable uncertainty as to the Princess's precise name. The form in which it appears upon her tomb is probably not more correct than the numerous other versions. Nuwayri, according to the information Professor De Goeje has been good enough to give me, offers us, among other alternatives, *وَلَيْمِيَه* (probably for *دَلَيْمِيَه*) and *طُولُونِيَه*. Makrizi gives us the choice of *طُولُبَاي* or *دَلِيمِيَه* or *طَلُونِيَه* or *طَلْنُبَاي*, and elsewhere, speaking of the house she inhabited (vol. i, pp. 376 and 439), *طُولُونَاي*. He there calls her wife of an-Nāṣir Ḥasan, son of Muḥammad, clearly an error.

The Maḥkamah or Kadi's Court at Cairo stands almost exactly in the centre of the space once occupied by the Great Palace of the Fatimites. It is generally described as a remnant of the old buildings, or again, by other writers, as part of a palace built and inhabited by Saladin. Both these statements are erroneous, as indeed may be shown by the architecture of the existing building, as well as by its inscriptions.

On the deposition of the Fatimites the numerous members of the Imperial family were removed from the Palace and kept closely confined in a house or mansion near the smaller or Western Palace. The Great Palace was made over to the use of Saladin's Amīrs, and he himself established his residence in the Dār al-Wizārah. The latter continued to be occupied after him by his successors until his nephew, al-Kāmil Muḥammad, removed to the citadel, which then became also the place of confinement of the Fatimite family.

In A.H. 660 (A.D. 1261-2) Sultan Baybars I compelled its then existing members to execute, in binding and legal form, a transfer of the family property, including the buildings which composed the Great Palace, to the *Bayt al-Māl* (the Public Treasury), by whom the property was put up for sale and gradually but soon disposed of. The buyers demolished the old buildings, which had by this time fallen into a state of general disrepair, and the arrangements of which, we may easily conceive, could not be well suited to private occupation. New buildings, consisting chiefly of ordinary dwelling-houses, took the place of the old ones, and, we are expressly told (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 385), were of an entirely different description. In Maḳrīzī's time (end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries) only a few odd fragments of the old buildings were still in existence, and nothing is to be seen of them at the present day.

The existing court of the Maḥkamah stands on one side of a square, or of what was perhaps once an extensive courtyard, and it consists chiefly of a large and lofty *Maḳ'ad*, that is to say, a spacious apartment, of which the open front, which faces the north, is a stately arcade of columns and pointed arches. On a level with the ground is a door, whence a staircase gives access to the *Maḳ'ad*. Across the two jambs of the door runs a broad band, on which is carved an inscription in interlaced characters. The stone is somewhat worn and otherwise defaced, but the essential parts of the inscription, and indeed the greater portion, can be deciphered without much difficulty:—

..... إل المقر الكريم العالی السیفی مامای عین مقدمین (sic)
 الالف بالديار المصرية الملكى (الشر) ف..... احد (احدى) (or)
 و تسعماه

We have here, therefore, the name of the builder, *Māmāy*, described as chief among the military Commanders of a Thousand in the Egyptian dominion, and the date, A.H. 901,

or A.D. 1495-6. The remainder of the inscription consists of high-sounding titles, of which it is unnecessary to say more than that the words *al-Ashrafy* and *as-Sayfy* indicate that Māmāy was originally a mamlūk of Sultan al-Ashraf Sayf ad-dīn Kāit-Bay.

On the cornice in the interior of the Maḳ'ad is an inscription to all intents the same as the preceding, but it expressly tells us that the hall was built by command of the Amīr Māmāy—

..... العالی العظیم * امر بانشا هذا المقعد المبارك المقر
الاشرف العالی المولوی الامیری السیفی مامای عین مقدمین الالف
الملکی الاشرفی

On the front of the building, above the arcade, is sculptured a circular shield, bearing the *renk* or armorial badge of the Amīr, borrowed, according to a not uncommon practice, from his old master, Kāit-Bay,¹ namely, on a Fess, a cup between two cornucopie (?). Above, a rectangular lozenge; below, a cup.

The house, as built or designed by Māmāy, must have covered a large extent of ground. Some forty yards west of the Maḥkamah, bordering on the new street recently opened out from the main thoroughfare, is a ruined Kā'ah, or saloon, which for many years was occupied, and is perhaps still occupied, by a corn-mill and as stabling for the cattle that work it. The *liwāns* are separated from the central portion of the saloon by lofty pointed arches of solid masonry. On the base of the arches the following inscription is carved:—

عمل المقر.....ی العالی الامیری السیدی السیفی مامای
(الدوادار؟)..... لانا اعز الله نصره

Shortly after copying these inscriptions, chance unexpectedly led me to the tomb of the Amīr in the *Karāfah*—a square building of moderate size surmounted by a cupola.

¹ Cf. S. Lane-Poole, "The Arts of the Saracens," p. 230.

The inscriptions, following the *Āyat al-Kursy*, are similar to the preceding, and the same renk is represented.

The name *Māmāy* is met with in the History of the Mongols; but I am informed by my friend His Excellency Yacoub Artin Pasha, that it is also in use in Circassia. Ibn Iyās calls the Amīr *Māmāy* son of *Khudād*, and I am indebted to Artin Pasha for the further information that this last word is an Arab corruption of *خوتات* *Khutāt*, the name of a subdivision of the Circassian tribe of *قبرطاي*, *Kabarṭay*.

Māmāy was originally a mamlūk of *Kāit-Bay*. In A.H. 899 he was sent as envoy to the Sultan of the Ottoman Turks, an office he is stated to have fulfilled once or twice before.

Kāit-Bay died towards the latter end of A.H. 901 (A.D. 1496), and was succeeded by his son an-Nāṣir. Within six months an insurrection broke out, headed by the powerful Amīr *Ḳansūh*, surnamed *Khamṣu-mi'ah*, with a numerous following of nobles, among whom was the Amīr *Māmāy*. The rebels met at the outset with complete success, and *Ḳansūh* was proclaimed Sultan. But in a few days fortune turned against him, and he had to fly for his life. Soon afterwards he was defeated and killed near Gaza. *Māmāy* was taken prisoner, and there and then beheaded. His head and the heads of thirty-three other Amīrs were brought to Cairo, where they arrived on the fourth of Rajab, A.H. 902. They were borne through the streets of the city on lances and carried to the Zuwaylah Gate and Bab an-Naṣr, upon which they remained exposed to public view. We are not told whether the body of *Māmāy* was ever brought to Cairo and buried in the tomb he had prepared for himself.

ART. VI.—*The Sward of Moses. An ancient book of Magic, published for the first time, from an unique Manuscript (Cod. Heb., Gaster 178), with Introduction and Translation.*
By M. GASTER, Ph.D.

I. *Introduction.*

MAGIC has exercised the deepest influence upon mankind from remote antiquity unto our own days. It either formed part of the religion of the country, as it was the case in ancient Egypt and Babylon and as it is now in some forms of Buddhism (Tibet), or lived an independent life side by side with the recognized religion. In some instances it was tolerated, or rendered less obnoxious, by a peculiar subdivision into white or beneficial and black or evil magic, or was downright persecuted. Wherever we go, however, and especially if we turn to the popular beliefs that rule the so-called civilized nations, we shall always and everywhere find a complete system of magical formulas and incantations. The belief in the witch and wizard, and their powerful filters and charms, holds still stronger sway upon human imagination than appears at first sight.

It is remarkable that we do not possess a good work, or exhaustive study, on the history and development of Magic. It is true that we find allusions to it, and sometimes special chapters devoted to the charms and incantations and other superstitious customs prevailing among various nations in books dealing with such nations. But a comprehensive study of Magic is still a pious (or impious) wish. One cannot gainsay that such an undertaking would present extreme difficulties. The material is far too vast, and is scattered over numberless nations and numerous literatures. Besides, much of ancient

times has disappeared; in fact, there is a profound gap between antiquity and modern times which is not by any means bridged over by the literature of the Middle Ages. In these times magical art and practice were ruthlessly persecuted by the Church, and the Councils teem with denunciations against the work of the Evil One. Moreover, it was connected in a certain degree with the teachings and practices of the various heretical sects, and the pursuit was anything but harmless. Thus it comes about that an exhaustive study of the origin and development of Magic is still a wish for the future, and the full influence which it has exercised upon mankind cannot be investigated in such a manner as to have a scientific value until at least a portion of the ancient literature will again have come to light.

The syncretistic character of the Gnostic teachings shows itself also in the adoption of Magic, and in the spiritual interpretation with which they invested the forms and formulas of Magic. The adherents of the various teachings of the Gnostics, and especially those that lived in Egypt and Palestine, adopted all the ideas that were floating about and transferred them into their system of superior Gnosis.

If anything of the teachings of the Gnostics has survived, it is the thaumaturgical portion of it. This has always been popular with the masses, as it afforded them those means which they wanted to defend themselves against the attacks of unseen evil spirits, and to the more speculative minds it afforded a clue to the mystery of the universe. It gave them the means to subdue and to put to their service the unknown forces of nature. This lies at the root of the general acceptance of magic formulas and enchantments, and gives to this practice the popularity which it still retains.

Being the most formidable sects that assumed an anti-Christian character, although some are anterior to Christianity, the Gnostics were the first to be attacked by the Fathers of the Church. Most of the ancient writings of the Fathers are filled with polemics against heretics, of

which these are the foremost. The result of this campaign, which lasted for centuries, has been the absolute destruction of all the writings of the Gnostics. Sparse and incoherent fragments only have come down to us, and we are now compelled to study their systems and superstitions, if we may call them so, from the writings of their antagonists, Irenæus and Hippolytus, Tertullian and Epiphanius. A single exception is the work known as "*Pistis Sophia*," the date of whose composition is variously assigned to the second or fourth century. It certainly seems to belong to a later stage in the development of the Gnosis, as it contains some of the later ideas. It has come down to us in a very bad state of preservation.

Within the last few years the soil of Egypt has rendered some more fragments of this kind of literature, and magic Papyri have now enriched our hitherto very scanty stock of genuine ancient literature. These belong to the second and third century, and, being exclusively of Egyptian origin, throw an unexpected light upon the form which Magic assumed under the influence of the new order of ideas. It is a fact that nothing is so stable and constant than this kind of mystical literature. The very nature of a mystic formula prevents it from ever being radically changed. As there is no other reason for its efficacy than the form in which it is pretended to have been fixed or revealed to the Select by the Divinity itself, any change of *that* form would immediately destroy its efficacy. Dread preserved the form intact, at least as long as the practitioner stood under the influence of those divinities whose power he invoked for protection, or as long as he believed in the power of those demons whose malignant influence he tried to avert by means of that form of enchantment. This explains the uniformity of a number of such charms in whatever language we find them and almost to whatever time they may belong; as long as they are the outcome of one and the same set of religious ideas, which is the determining factor. But with the change of religion the charms also undergo changes, not in the *form* but

in the *names* of the divinities invoked, and these bring other changes with them. To take a modern example, the charm against the Evil Eye will contain the name of Christ or of a Saint in a Christian charm, the name of Muhammed in the Muhammedan, and that of an angel or a mysterious name of God in the Jewish formula, though all the rest would be identical. The same process happened also in ancient times, and the Papyri mentioned above assist us in tracing the change which the new order of ideas had introduced in the magical formulas of the Christian era.

If we trace the first impulse of these changes to the Gnostics, we must at once associate it with the sects of Essenes and Therapeutæ that swarmed in Egypt and Palestine, and with the most important sect of Gnostics which produced the greatest impression, *i.e.* that represented by Valentin. His is the one against whom most of the polemics of the Fathers of the Church were directed. He is the author of the most profound and luxuriant, as well as the most influential and the best known, of the Gnostic systems. He was probably of Egyptian-Jewish descent; and he derived his material from his own fertile imagination, from Oriental and Greek speculations, and from Christian ideas.¹ In his system entered also the mystical combinations of letters and signs known under the name of cabbalistic formulas, and he moreover favoured the permutations and combinations of letters to express divine names and attributes. To him we owe the theory of *Æons* and the *Syzygies*, or divine creative pairs, of which the two first form together the sacred "Tetraktys." I believe this to be the Gnostic counterpart of the sacred "Tetragrammaton," and not, as has hitherto been assumed by others, the Tetraktys of the Pythagoreans. For one can see in his system, and more so in the mystical part of it, the direct influence of the Jewish mystical speculations of the time. Valentin lived, moreover, in Palestine, and nothing would suit him better than to

¹ P. Schaß, "Anti-Nicene Christianity," II, Edinburgh, p. 472 ff.

manipulate that mystical, Ineffable Name of God, round which a whole system had been evolved in the service of the Temple. Angelology and mysterious names of God and His angels are, moreover, intimately connected with the above-mentioned sects.

The mysterious Ineffable Name of the divinity which is invoked seems to be the centre of most of the ancient and even modern Magic. By knowing that Name, which is assumed to be the name by means of which the world was created, the man or exorciser in Egypt pretended to constrain the god to obey his wishes and to give effect to his invocation if called by his true name; whilst in Chaldea the mysterious Name was considered a real and divine being, who had a personal existence, and therefore exclusive power over the other gods of a less elevated rank, over nature, and the world of spirits. In Egyptian magic, even if the exorcisers did not understand the language from which the Name was borrowed, they considered it necessary to retain it in its primitive form, as another word would not have the same virtue. The author of the treatise on the Egyptian mysteries attributed to Jamblichus maintains that the barbarous names taken from the dialects of Egypt and Assyria have a mysterious and ineffable virtue on account of the great antiquity of these languages. The use of such unintelligible words can be traced in Egypt to a very great antiquity.¹

It is necessary to point out these things in order to understand the character of the new formulas which take now the place of the old. To the old and in time utterly unintelligible names, new names were either added or substituted, and the common source of many of these names is Jewish mystical speculation. The Ineffable Name of God and the fear of pronouncing it can be traced to a comparatively remote antiquity. We find in those ancient writings that have retained the traditions of the centuries before the common era, the idea of a form of the

¹ Lenormant, "Chaldean Magic," p. 104 ff.

Ineffable Name composed of 22, 42, or 72 parts, or words, or letters, of which that consisting of 72 was the most sacred. It is still doubtful what those 22, 42, and 72 were—either different *words* expressing the various attributes of God, or *letters* in a mystical combination; but whatever these may have been they took the place of the Ineffable mystical name and were credited with the selfsame astounding powers. By means of these every miracle could be done and everything could be achieved. All the powers of nature, all the spirits and demons could be subdued, and in fact there was no barrier to human aspiration. The heavens were moreover peopled at a very early age with numberless angels arranged in a hierarchical order and each endowed with a special Name, the knowledge of which was no less desirable for working miracles. I need only allude to Dionysius Areopagita to have mentioned a complete treatise of such a divine economy recognized by the Church, but we can go much higher up and find these divisions and subdivisions of the celestial hosts recorded in books that belong to the second era before Christ. In the Book of Enoch (ch. vi) we have a long list of such names of angels, and in a book, the date of which has been differently put, the names of angels are still more numerous, to which there are added also various names of God. The book in question pretends to be a vision of the High Priest Ismael, and is a description of the heavenly Halls. Modern scholars who knew nothing of the Gnostic and other heretic literature put it as late as the ninth century, simply and solely because they could not find early traces of it in the old literature, and because it seemed to appear first in those times. A comparison of it with the *Ascensio Iesaiæ*, and still more with a chapter in the "*Pistis Sophia*," easily convinces us, however, of the fact that absolutely similar treatises were known as early as the first centuries after Christ, if they were not, in fact, later remakings of still more ancient texts. The Greek Papyri already alluded to have also this peculiarity in common with these texts, that they abound in similar

lists of names of angels and demons borrowed from Egyptian, Christian, and Jewish sources. Among these we find also numerous forms of the *Name* of God consisting also of a number of letters, 7, 27, and others,¹ and also most curious combinations of letters.

The Jewish idea of a mystical Name of God rests thus upon the interpretation of the Tetragrammaton, or the word *JHVH*, that stands for God in the Hebrew text, which from very ancient times the priests first and then the whole people refrained from pronouncing in the way it was written. A substitute was found for it, so as to avoid a possible profanation of the sacred Name. But it is an object of millenary speculation what that substitute really was. As already remarked, it is represented by a changing number of elements, letters or words. The original miraculous, powerful Name, however, was the Tetragrammaton known as the "Shem ha-meforash." This word has presented great difficulties to the following generations. It can be translated either as meaning *explicit*, the "explicit" Name of God, whilst the others are merely substitutes, or *separate*, the name which is used exclusively for the designation of the Divinity. These two are the best known and most widely accepted interpretations of the "Shem ha-meforash." In the light, however, of our study it will appear that another translation will henceforth be found to be the only true one, at any rate for ancient times. Later on the true meaning of this expression was lost, and one or the other of the first-mentioned philological translations was adopted. So we find in the Testament of Solomon, *e.g.*, "the angel called Aphoph, which is *interpreted* as Rafael." [This expression proves that it is based upon a Hebrew original, and that the word "perush" was taken to mean "interpretation."] Considering that this name was believed to be the only *true* Name of God, the all-powerful name which was never pronounced, "Shem ha-meforash" can only mean the *Ineffable*, as we find it also in the "Pistis Sophia," and all

¹ A. Dieterich, "Abraxas," p. 185 (Papyrus Leyden).

throughout the ancient tradition. It is an euphemism; instead of saying: it is the "Ineffable" unutterable name, they used the word which meant: it is the "explicit" name, just as they said for a "blind" man—he is "full of light"; other examples can be easily adduced. In this way an ancient mystery and a stumbling-block for the translator of such texts disappears.

As the Tetragrammaton, or "Shem ha-meforash," was the Ineffable Name, and could by no means ever be uttered, others were substituted and were used by the priest when blessing the people. These also were endowed with a special sanctity, and were revealed only to the initiated. These substitutes were considered to be no less effective for miracles, and the knowledge of these mysterious Names was no less desirable than that of the true Tetragrammaton, for they were believed to represent the exact pronunciation of the forbidden word, and thus to contain part, if not the whole, of the power with which the Tetragrammaton itself was invested. Rab, a scholar who had studied in Palestine towards the end of the second century, says of these substituted names, and more especially of that of forty-two elements (Tr. Kiddushin, fol. 71a): "That this Name is to be revealed only to a man who stands in the middle of his life, who is pious and modest, who never gives way to anger and to drink, who is not obstinate. Whoever knows that Name and preserves it in purity is beloved in heaven and beloved upon earth; is well considered by man and inherits both worlds."¹ What these forty-two may have been has thus far been the object of speculation. When comparing the ancient tradition with the new texts in the Papyri, and in the mystical texts of Hebrew literature, there can no longer be any doubt that the Name of forty-two, or more or less, elements could not have been originally anything else but *words* consisting of that *number of letters*, which were substituted in the public pronunciation for the Ineffable Name consisting of *one word* and only *four letters*—the Tetragrammaton! In time these

¹ Cf. Bacher, "Agada d. Babylonischen Amoräer," pp. 17, 18.

substitutes were also forgotten, or not divulged, and thus arose a series of new substitutes and variations for the divine Name. There was also the fear of profaning the name of God when writing it down in the way it occurred in the Bible, and therefore they resorted to manifold devices on the one hand to avoid a possible profanation, and on the other to obtain sacred or mysterious substitutes for the Ineffable Name.

Another element that came within the purview of this activity of coining new names was the new and greatly developed angelology that flourished at that time in Palestine and Egypt. The angels had to be provided with appropriate and powerful names, and the authors resorted to the same devices, of which I mention the most prominent, and which are the cause of many of the barbarous forms and names that abound in the magical rites and formulas and in the so-called practical Cabbalah. The biblical names of Michael, Gabriel, and others with the termination *-el*=God, served as a model for some of the new angels, such as in the Book of Enoch and in other similar writings. The first part was, as a rule, taken from the characteristic attribute connected with the activity of that new angel: so *Raphael*=the healing angel, in the Book of Tobit; *Raziel*=the angel of the mysteries; and in the same manner a host of similar names. Then came into requisition the system of permutation of the letters of the divine name: one standing first was placed at the end, and so on. Much more extensively were the change in the order or the substitution of other letters resorted to. In the Alphabet of R. Akiba no less than five different systems of this kind of substitutions are enumerated; either the last letter of the alphabet stands for the first (A-t; b-š, א'ת ב'ש, etc.), or one letter stands for the one immediately preceding such, as *b* for *a*; or the eighth and fifteenth stand for the first, and so on (A-h-s; b-t'-a, אהס בטע), or first and twelfth are interchangeable (A-l; b-m, א'ל ב'מ). One can easily see how differently the same name could be written and employed in the same amulet, and all these

various forms representing only *one* and the same name. The Tetragrammaton appears, therefore, either as מַצְפֵּן, or כּוּז, or בְּקֶרֶק, or שֶׁעָפֵע, etc. The number of such permutations and substitutions is not limited, however, to these four systems enumerated; they are innumerable, and it is almost impossible to find the key for all met with in these mystical writings, and especially on the amulets.

Other means employed for the purpose of devising new variations and protections for the sacred name, belonging to the very oldest times, were the combination of *two* words into *one*, of which one is a sacred name and the other an attribute, but the letters of these two words are intermingled in such a manner that it is not always easy to decipher them. An example, which has hitherto not been understood, we have already in the Talmud. The High Priest Ismael is said to have seen Iah אַכְתְּרִיאל *Akriel* in the Temple. This word, which stands for the mysterious name of God, is nothing else than the combination of the two words כֶּתֶר *Ktr*=Crown and אֲרִיֶּל, from Isaiah xxix, 1. In the text, which I publish here, we have the name שְׁקֶרְחִי *Shkshzi*=שְׂרִי *Saddai* and חֹזֶק *Hsk*=mighty, powerful. Names were further formed by leaving out one or two letters from the Tetragrammaton or from other sacred names of the Bible, the primary reason always being to avoid the possibility of profanation, as the profane utterance of the divine name brought heavy penalty upon the culprit. In this manner is the obscure exclamation in the Temple to be understood, אֲנִי וְהוֹ *Ani chu*, instead of the usual "O Lord" (help us): in each of these two words *one* letter has been left out—the *d* in the first, *Adni*, and the second *h* in the second word. On other occasions strange letters were inserted between those of the divine name, and thus we get the puzzling form (Tr. Synhedrin, 56a=vii, 5) which is mentioned when the blasphemer who had blasphemed God was brought before the judges. The judges ask the witnesses to repeat the

blasphemy uttered by the accused, and they say, instead of mentioning the Divine Name, the words יִכֶּה יוֹסֵהָאֵת יוֹסֵי, which may have obtained this form in our printed texts through popular etymology, meaning "Jose beat Jose!" But originally we have here clearly the Tetragrammaton יהוה, and a strange letter inserted after each letter of that word, viz כ, י, ס, and נ.

This process continues still unto our very days, but from the thirteenth or fourteenth century onwards a change has taken place in the system of the formation of these mysterious words, considered to be so efficacious in amulets. The initials of the words of a biblical verse are combined into a new word without any meaning, or the letters of a verse are so arranged as to form uniform words of three letters without meaning, the commencement of each of these words being the letters of the Hebrew words arranged consecutively. The most celebrated example is the use to which Exodus xiv, 19-21 has been put for many a century. But these are a mark of more recent origin, and not a trace is to be found throughout the whole ancient mystical literature, and also not in our text.

If we should apply these principles to the Greek Papyri, there is no doubt that a key might be found for the innumerable curious names which crowd these fragments of a literature that at one time must have been very rich. Traces of it we find also in the "Pistis Sophia," where special stress is laid upon that Ineffable Name, communicated only to the initiated. The knowledge which a man acquires through the "Nomen Ineffabile" is described at some length (pp. 131-153). In another place we read that Jesus spoke the Great Name over the disciples whilst preaching to them, and blew afterwards into their eyes, by which they were made to see a great light (p. 233). The mysterious names of God and of the Powers are enumerated on pp. 223 and 234-5, whilst the following passage explains the power of that Name:—"There is no greater mystery than this. It leads your soul to the light of lights, to the places of truth and goodness, to the region of the most holy, to

the place where there is neither man nor woman nor any definite shape, but a constant and inexpressible light. Nothing higher exists than these mysteries after which ye seek. These are the mysteries of the seven voices, and their forty-nine Powers, and their numbers, and no name is superior to that Name in which all the other names are contained, and all the Lights, and all the Powers. If anyone knows that Name when he goes out of the material body, neither smoke nor darkness, neither Archon, angel, or archangel, would be able to hurt the soul which knows that Name. And if it be spoken by anyone going out from the world and said to the fire, it will be extinguished; and to the darkness, and it will disappear; and if it be said to the demons and to the satellites of the external darkness, to its Archons, and to its lords and powers, they will all perish, and their flame will burn them so that they exclaim: 'Thou art holy, Thou art holy, the Holy of all the Holy.' And if that Name is said to the judges of the wicked, and to their lords and all their powers, and to Barbelo and the invisible God, and to the three Gods of triple power, as soon as that Name is uttered in those regions they will fall one upon the other, so that being destroyed they perish and exclaim: 'Light of all the Lights, who art in the infinite lights, have mercy upon us and purify us.'"¹ This is almost identical with the saying of Rab, with the difference that in the "*Pistis Sophia*" the Egyptian influence is not yet wholly obliterated. These examples suffice to show the character of the central point in the new Magic adopted by the Gnostics, viz., the mysterious Divine Name and its substitutes derived from the mystical speculations of Palestine, and also the general tendency of syncretism and absorption of various forms and invocations in that form of Magic which henceforth will have the deepest influence upon the imagination and belief of the nations of the West.

From that period, then, up to the twelfth or thirteenth century there is a gap which neither Psellus nor the Testament of Solomon fill sufficiently. All those ancient

¹ "*Pistis Sophia*," ed. Schwartze, p. 236.

magical books, being declared the work of the evil spirit, were successfully haunted up and destroyed. The link which binds the literature of the second half of the Middle Ages with the past is missing, and we find ourselves often face to face with the problem whether a book that appears after that period is of recent origin, or is an ancient book more or less modified? Such a book is, for instance, the so-called *Sefer Raziel*, or the book delivered to Adam by the angel Raziel shortly after he had left Paradise. It is of a composite character, but there is no criterion for the age of the component parts. The result of this uncertainty is that it has been ascribed to R. Eleazar, of Worms, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. One cannot, however, say which portion is due to his own ingenuity and which may be due to ancient texts utilized by him. I am speaking more particularly of this book as it seems to be the primary source for many a magical or, as it is called now, a cabbalistical book of the Middle Ages. Trithemius, the author of "*Faust's Hoellenzwang*," Agrippa, and many more, are deeply indebted to this book for many of their invocations and conjurations, although they must have had besides similar books at their disposal, probably also the *Clavicula Solomonis*, the *Great Grimoyre*, etc.

I must still mention one more fragmentary relic of that literature, viz. the inscribed cups and bowls from ancient Babylon with Aramaic inscriptions. These belong partly to the *Lecanomantia*, and are another example of the constancy of these formulas; for centuries these remain almost unchanged, and even in their latest form have retained a good number of elements from the ancient prototype.

It so happened, then, that some inquisitive men living in Kairouan, in the north of Africa, should address a letter to the then head of the great school in Babylon, Haya Gaon (d. 1037), asking him for information on various topics connected with magic rites and the miraculous powers ascribed to the Ineffable Name. I give here the gist of some of their questions, which date therefore from the second half of the tenth or the commencement of the

eleventh century. They ask first, what it is about that Ineffable Name and other similar mysterious Names of angels through the means of which people can make themselves invisible, or tie the hand of robbers, as they had heard from pious men from Palestine and Byzantium that if written upon leaves of reeds (Papyri!) or of olive trees and thrown in the face of robbers would produce that effect; and if written on a potsherd and thrown into the sea, calms it; or placed upon a corpse, quickens it to life; and, further, that it shortens the way so that man can travel immense distances in no time. They have also books with these terrible, awe-inspiring Names, and with the *seals* of those celestial powers of which they are terrified; as they know that the use of these mysterious Names, without due and careful preparation, brings with it calamity and premature death. To these and other questions the Gaon gives a sensible and philosophic reply, warning them, in the first instance, not to place too much credence on the statements of people who pretend to have seen, but to try and see with their own eyes. Then he goes on to tell them that such books with mystical names are also to be found in his college, and that one of his predecessors was known to have been addicted to these studies, and to the writing of amulets and the knowledge of incantations, but, he adds, "only a fool believes everything." As for the books with formulas, he goes on to say: "We have a number of them, such as the book called '*Sefer ha-Yashar*,' and the book called '*The Sword of Moses*,' which commences with the words, 'Four angels are appointed to the Sword,' and there are in it exalted and miraculous things; there is, further, the book called '*The Great Mystery*,' besides the minor treatises, which are innumerable. And many have laboured in vain to find out the truth of these things." In the course of his reply Haya touches also upon the Ineffable Name and the name of seventy-two (elements), which, according to him, was the result of the combination of three biblical verses (*cf.* above, p. 159, where reference is made to Exodus xiv, 19-21), but he neither knows which

they are nor how they were uttered; as to the other of forty-two, he says that it consisted of forty-two *letters*, the pronunciation of which was, however, doubtful, resting merely upon tradition. This name commenced, according to him, with the letters אבגיתז *Abgitz*, and finished with שקוצית *Skuzit*. He mentions further the books—"The Great and the Small Heavenly Halls" and "The Lord of the Law," full of such terrifying names and *seals* which have had that dreaded effect upon the uncalled, and from the use of which those before them had shrunk, lest they be punished for incautious use.¹

These abstracts suffice to show that the mystical literature had not come to an end with the third or fourth century, but had continued to grow and to exercise its influence throughout the whole intervening period. The reasons why so little is mentioned in the contemporary literature is, that each period has its own predilections, subjects which absorb almost exclusively the general interest, and are therefore prominently represented by the literature of the time, whilst other things, though in existence, are relegated to an obscure place. The best example we have is the modern folklore literature, that has assumed such large proportions, no one pretending that the subject did not exist throughout the centuries, although neglected by scholars. It must also not be forgotten that we have only *fragments* of the literature that flourished in Palestine and among the Jews in the Byzantine empire, to which countries this mystical literature belongs. Christian literature leaves us also in the dark for this period, for the reasons stated above; only Syriac might assist us somehow to fill up that gap, but as far as I am aware very little is to be expected from that quarter, as in the whole magnificent collection of the British Museum I have not found a single MS. of charms or magical recipes, except one single, rather modern, Mandaic text. Two very small, and also rather modern, Syriac MSS. of charms are in the possession of the Rev. H. Gollancz.

Of those books now mentioned by Haya Gaon in his

¹ Tzamm Zekenim, i. 54b ff.

reply—all of which, by the way, seem to have been irretrievably lost—I have had the good fortune to discover one, viz. that called "*The Sword of Moses*," of which he gives us the first words. From the answer of Haya it is evident that he considered this book to be old and to be the most important, for he is not satisfied with merely giving the title as he does with the other books, but he makes an exception for this to indicate the commencement and to add that it contained "exalted and wonderful things." A glance at the contents of the newly-discovered text will justify the judgment of Haya, for it is a complete encyclopædia of mystical names, of eschatological teachings, and of magical recipes.

Before stating the contents I must first give a short description of this MS., now Cod. Hebr., Gaster, 178. This text has come to me with a mass of other leaves full of magical formulas, all in a very bad state of preservation and apparently hopelessly mixed up. Happily there were custodes at the ends of the leaves, and by their means I was enabled, after a long toil and careful handling of leaves falling to pieces on account of old age and decayed through dampness, to recover a good portion of the original MS. and the whole of this text, which occupies twelve small quarto leaves. The number of lines varies. The writing belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and is in Syrian Rabbinical characters. It is evidently a copy from a more ancient text, and the copyist has not been very careful in the transcript he made. Many a letter is written wrongly, having been mistaken for another similar, such as 𐤂 (*D*) for 𐤂 (*R*) and 𐤌 (*M*) for 𐤎 (*S*). In many a place there are evident lacunæ, and the copyist has often not understood the text. The language is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic, Hebrew prevailing in the first part, which I call the Introductory or historical, as it gives the explanation of the heavenly origin of this text, and deals with all the preliminary incidents connected with the mode of using the text in a proper and efficacious manner. In the last, which I call the theurgical or magical

part, Aramaic prevails. All the diseases are mentioned in the language of the *vulgar*, and so also all the plants and herbs, and the other directions are also in the same language. To no language, if I may say so, belongs the middle part, which is the real text of the "Sword." This consists of a number of divine and mysterious Names, a good number of which are the outcome of all those modes of manipulations with the letters briefly indicated above. It would be a hopeless task to try and decipher these names, and to transliterate them into the original forms of which they are the transformations and mystical equivalents. In this section we can recognize besides the unchangeable character of some of the magic formulas. What I said before of the Egyptians, who would not change any sacred Name, however barbarous it may sound, for fear of destroying its efficacy, holds good also for another number of Names found here in a bewildering variety. Almost every religion must have contributed to the list that makes up the "Sword." Eclecticism would be a mild word for this process of general absorption, that has made the "Sword" thus far the most complete text of magical mysterious Names which has come down to us. A small encyclopædia of a similar character is the Greek Papyrus of the British Museum, No. cxxi, and the Leyden Papyrus (J. 395), with which our text shows great similarity, but these Papyri mark as it were the first stages of this process of growth by the assimilation of various elements and combination into one single complete *vade-mecum* for the magician or conjurer. In the "Sword" we have the full development of that process, which must have run its course at a very early period.

Nothing is more fallacious than to try etymologies of proper names. The omission or addition of one letter by a careless copyist suffices to lead us completely astray. It is, therefore, difficult to advance any interpretation of even a few of the names found in this text that have a familiar appearance. If we were sure of the reading, we might recognize among those in No. 6, Isis (Apraxia,

Veronica), Osiris, Abraxas, and others; but, as already remarked, such an identification might easily lead us astray, and the coincidences might only be the result of mere chance. No doubt can, however, be entertained as to the complex character of this text, and to the astounding form of many of the names which it contains. It is a systematically arranged collection; in the apparent disorder there is order; and the names are placed according to certain leading features which they have in common. Thus we have a long string of names that are composed with the word Sabaoth (Nos. 24-37); others that are the components of the divine *-el* (Nos. 102-34). More startling still is a list of supposed names of heavenly powers that are represented as *sons of* other powers. These are undoubtedly derived from many sources, the author welding smaller texts and lists into one comprehensive list. The third part contains the directions for the application of these various Names. These are also arranged according to a certain system. The diseases follow, at any rate in the first portion, the order of the members in the human body, commencing with the head and its parts, then descending to the lower members; after which follow recipes for ailments of a different nature, to be followed by the directions for performing miracles and other remarkable feats.

Each of these 136 items (numbered by me) corresponds with a certain portion of Part II, the words or the mystical Names of those portions in Part II being the mysterious words that alone were the proper to have the expected magical result. In order to facilitate research, I have subdivided Part II into such corresponding portions to which I give the same number. There is thus an absolute parallelism between the two parts—one the text and the other its magical application. We see that the book has been very methodically arranged by one who intended to prepare as complete a magical book as possible. By this parallelism, and by the partial repetition of the mysterious words in Part III, we have the means to satisfy ourselves as to the accuracy of the copyist, who does not

come out very satisfactorily from this test. It may be that the original from which he copied was already partly corrupt, and the fear which such books inspired prevented him from attempting to correct what are obvious mistakes in the spelling of those Names. It not seldom happens that the same Name is written in two or three different forms in one and the same recipe. I have also not attempted any correction, as we have no means to decide which of these *variae lectiones* is the true and which the corrupt. Another reason why the copyist may be exonerated from at least some of these inconsistencies, is the fact that he gives in many places what are intended to be different readings. He starts his copy with the marginal note, unfortunately half gone, the paper being destroyed in that place, that "there are differences of opinion as to the readings of the text and of the Names," or, as I would interpret this mutilated glosse, "the marginal readings are *variae lectiones*." For, in fact, there are a good number of marginal glosses throughout Parts I and II.

There also are some in Part III, but these are of a totally different character. They are purely philological, and furnish one powerful proof more both for the antiquity of the text with which we are dealing and for the country where the MS. has been copied. Most, if not all, these glosses are, namely, *Arabic* translations of the *Aramaic* words of the original. By the mistakes that have crept into these Arabic glosses, it is evident that they have not been added by the copyist, who surely would have known how to write his own translation, but who would make mistakes when copying another MS., especially if it were in any way badly written or had suffered in consequence of age. The translation further proves that the original was written at a time when Aramaic was the language of the people, and that at a certain time when the copy was made from which this MS. is a transcript the language of the original had begun to be forgotten and required a translation, which, by the way, is not always exact. The Aramaic of this text is, in fact, not easy to understand; there occur in it many words

of plants and diseases which I have not found in any dictionary in existence, and many of the grammatical forms present peculiar dialectical variations, which point to Palestine as the original home of our text, and deserve a special study. Here again we have to lament the fact that we deal with an unique manuscript and have no means to test the accuracy of the text. But even as it is, this text will prove an extremely valuable contribution to Semitic philology, and would enrich even Löw's book on Aramaic names of plants, where I have in vain searched for the names and words occurring in our text. I have therefore added a translation, which, however, in some places, does not pretend to be more than an attempt to grapple with a very recalcitrant text.

The title of the book seems to be derived from the last words spoken by Moses before his death. He concludes his blessing of the Children of Israel with these words (Deuter. xxxiii, 29): "Who is like unto thee, a people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and that is the Sword of thy excellency," or "thy excellent Sword." The figurative "Sword" spoken of here must have been taken at a later time to signify more than a figure of speech. Under the influence of the mystical interpretation of Scripture flourishing at a very early period, it was taken to denote a peculiar form of the divine Name, excellent and all-powerful, which served as a shield and protection. It therefore could be made to serve this purpose in magical incantations, which did not appeal to the assistance of demons but to the heavenly hosts obeying the command of the Master of that "Sword." There is no wonder, then, that it came to be connected with the name of Moses, the very man who spoke of it, and whose last words were of that "Sword." In the Greek Papyri, Moses is mentioned as one who keeps divine mysteries (Brit. Mus., Pap. xlvi, of the fourth century, lines 109 ff., ed. Kenyon, in Catalogue, 1893, p. 68, and note to it); and again, in another Papyrus, cxxi, of the third century (*ibid.* p. 104, l. 619 and note), a reference to one of the magical books ascribed to Moses, called "The Crown of Moses." But what is

more important still, the Leyden Papyrus calls itself the eighth Book of Moses. It resembles very much our text, which has thus preserved the old name by which many of these magical books went. Dieterich, who published the Leyden Papyrus (Abraxas, Leipzig, 1891), looks to Orphic origins for that magical composition and lays too great stress on the Cosmogony in it. In the light of our text it will become evident that these go all back to one common source, viz. to the mystical speculations of those sects, which he himself enumerates (pp. 136 ff.); and the "Logos ebraikos" quoted by him from the Paris Papyrus (*ibid* pp. 138-141) shows more clearly still the same sources for all these compositions. The overwhelming importance assigned in these texts to the "holy Name" consisting of a number of *letters*, and the book calling itself "The Work of Moses on the Holy Name," justify us in seeing in it an exact parallel to the Hebrew text, recovered now by me. There is much internal similarity between the Hebrew "Sword" and the Greek Papyri. The order of subjects is similar; all commence with an eschatological part, which in the Greek is more in the nature of a Cosmogony, in the Hebrew that of the description of the heavenly hierarchy. In both follows the "Name," and after that a list of magical recipes which refer back to that Name. The constant refrain of the Leyden Papyrus after each recipe is: "Say the Name!" Here the Name is still simple; in the Hebrew text it is represented by the rich variety which I have pointed out, but an intimate connection between these various texts cannot be doubted.

There exists besides another small treatise (B), also unique, that goes under the same name as "The Sword of Moses" (Cod. Oxford, 1531, 6). It is a short fragment of a different recension, and has only a remote resemblance with the first text (A). It consists of a list of mystic Names, different in their form from the other text, and has only sixteen recipes, which do not correspond with *portions* only of the first part, but, as in the Leyden Papyrus, the *whole* of this was to be repeated

after each recipe. Immediately upon this short text follows an invocation of the heavenly Chiefs, attributed to Ismael, the High Priest, the reputed author of the "Heavenly Halls." This addition corresponds to a certain extent with the first part of the "Sword" (A). In none, but very few exceptions, of B is there any trace of Aramaic, and a totally different spirit pervades the whole text. It is in the first place doubtful whether we have here the whole of it or merely a fragment. In two places we find the letters 𐤒 (NG) and 𐤓 (ND), which taken as numerals mean 53 and 54. If they stand for such, then we have here only the last two or three portions of a long text, of which the preceding 52 are missing. Again, on the other hand, as it is regularly recommended to repeat the *whole* of the "Name" after each recipe, an operation that would be well-nigh impossible for the inordinate length of that text, those NG and ND may not stand as numbers of paragraphs. This text presents besides many more peculiar traits that make it rather remarkable. We find here thus far the only trace in Hebrew literature of the "Twins" or "Didymoi" which appear in the Gnostic hymns of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Thomas,¹ and are brought into connection with the system of Bardesanes. The heavenly Powers mentioned in the "Sword" (A) under the form of *sons* of other Powers, point also to the same system of Bardesanes, of whom Ephraem Syrus said: "He invented male and female beings, gods and their children."² He may have taken these ideas from older sources. However it may be, this coincidence is none the less remarkable. We find further angels with double names, the one of which I translated "Kunya," i.e. the proper name, and the other the *explicit*, i.e. *Ineffable* unutterable name, corresponding entirely with that of the Testament of Solomon, where we find "the angel called Apharoph interpreted Raphael" (τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀφάρῳφ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Ῥαφαήλ.—Orient, 1844, col. 747).

¹ Ed. Bouquet, pp. 36-38. Cf. Lipsius, "Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten," i, pp. 313 and 318 ff.

² Lipsius, *l.c.*, p. 310.

In the Gnostic prayer from the Acts of the Apostle Thomas, the Sophia is spoken of as the one "who knows the mysteries of the Chosen," or, according to the Syriac version, "revealer of the mysteries of the Chosen among the Prophets." With this the passage in the Hebrew text (B) may be compared, where the same idea is enunciated; and one feels almost tempted to see in the inexplicable word קִינ ("Kinn") the Greek "Koinon," the companion or partaker of the mystery; although it seems rather strange to find the very word in the Hebrew text. But there are many words that have a peculiar appearance in this text, and they look like transliterations of Greek words in Hebrew characters, such as "Chartis Hieratikon," etc. I have added, therefore, this second text also, making thus the publication of the "Sword" as complete as possible.

As a second Appendix I have added two conjurations found in the MS. of the "Sword" (A), both in Aramaic, and extremely interesting also for their similarity with the inscriptions inside the bowls brought from Assyria and Babylon. A detailed study of some of these magic bowls and their inscriptions has been published by M. Schwab.¹

I have reproduced all these texts as closely and accurately as possible, without attempting any corrections or emendations, except in the case of obvious mistakes, which are pointed out by me as corrections. The glosses are given as notes, and the few corrections of obvious mistakes. I have refrained from referring to inscriptions on Gnostic gems and amulets, where we find "Ephesia grammata" similar to those of Part II of the "Sword" (A) and to some of Appendix I, and to the magical formulas in the terra-cotta bowls, which present a striking similarity with some portions of "The Sword." One cannot exhaust a subject of this kind, and the utmost one can attempt to do is to place as ample a material as possible at the disposal of those who make the study of Magic and theurgy and of the so-called practical Cabbalah the object of special enquiry. I have limited myself to

¹ Proc. Bibl. Archaeology, 1890, pp. 292-342.

draw attention to the relation that exists between these, the Greek Papyri, and the Hebrew texts which I publish here for the first time, and to point out the important fact that we have now at least one fixed date from which to start in the enquiry of a subject in which dates and times have thus far been very doubtful. It is, moreover, a contribution to Semitic philology, and by the addition of a facsimile of the first page a contribution to Semitic palaeography.

The origin of the "Sword" is none the less somewhat difficult to fix. From the letter of Haya Gaon it is evident that it must have been at least a few centuries older than his time (tenth century). But it must be much older still. As the Leyden Papyrus belongs at the latest to the third century, and those of the British Museum to the third or fourth century, we are justified in assigning to the first four centuries of the Christian era the origin of our Hebrew text, which throws so vivid a light upon those remnants of Greek Magic buried hitherto in the soil of Egypt. Herein lies also one side of the importance of our text, that it shows how the connection between antiquity and the later ages was maintained. The Greek texts had become inaccessible and practically lost to the world, whilst the Hebrew text, written in a language which was considered sacred, the knowledge of which was never allowed to be extinguished, preserved the ancient magical texts, with their curious mystical names and formulas, and carried them across the centuries, keeping up the old tradition, and affording us now a glimpse into a peculiar state of the popular mind of those remarkable times. The careful study of those Greek fragments side by side with the Hebrew will assist very materially in the understanding also of those often very obscure texts, and lift the study from the narrow groove in which it has hitherto been kept by the classical scholars who have devoted their attention recently to them. It will also help us in laying bare the fountains from which flowed the whole of the magical arts of the Middle Ages.

II. TRANSLATION.

I. *The SWORD of Moses.*

In the name of the mighty and holy God!

Four angels are appointed to the "Sword" given by the Lord, the Master of mysteries, and they are appointed to the Law, and they see with penetration the mysteries from above and below; and these are their names—SKD HUZL, MRGIOIAL, VHDRZIOLO, TOTRISL. And over these are five others, holy and mighty, who meditate on the mysteries of God in the world for seven hours every day, and they are appointed to thousands of thousands, and to myriads of thousands of Chariots, ready to do the will of their Creator, X,¹ the Lord of Lords and the honoured God; these are their names—X. And the Master of each Chariot upon which they are appointed wonders and says: "Is there any number of his armies?" And the least of these Chariots is lord and master over those (above) four. And over these are three chiefs of the hosts of the Lord, who make every day tremble and shake His eight halls, and they have the power over every creature. Under them stand a double number of Chariots, and the least of them is lord and master over all the above Chiefs (rulers); and these are their names—X. And the name of the Lord and king is X, who sits, and all the heavenly hosts kneel, and prostrate themselves before Him daily before leaving X, who is the Lord over all.

And when thou conjure him he will attach himself to thee, and cause the other five Chiefs and their Chariots, and the lords that stand under them, to attach themselves to thee just as they were ordered to attach themselves to Moses, son of Amram, and to attach to him all the lords that stand under them; and they will not tarry in their obeisance, and will not withhold from giving authority to

¹ X stands for the mysterious names, which have not been transliterated. N for the name of the person who conjures.

the man who utters the conjuration over this "Sword," its mysteries and hidden powers, its glory and might, and they will not refuse to do it, as it is the command of God X saying: "Ye shall not refuse to obey a mortal who conjures you, nor should you be different to him from what you were to Moses, son of Amram, when you were commanded to do so, for he is conjuring you with My Ineffable names, and you render honour to My name and not to him. If you should refuse I will burn you, for you have not honoured Me."

Each of these angels had communicated to him (Moses) a propitious thing for the proper time. These things (words) are all words of the living God and King of the Universe, and they said to him:—

"If thou wishest to use this 'Sword' and to transmit it to the following generations, (then know) that the man who decides to use it must first free himself three days previously from accidental pollution and from everything unclean, eat and drink once every evening, and must eat the bread from a pure man or wash his hands first in salt (?), and drink only water; and no one is to know that he intends using this 'Sword,' as therein are the mysteries of the Universe, and they are practised only in secret, and are not communicated but to the chaste and pure. On the first day when you retire from (the world) bathe once and no more, and pray three times daily, and after each prayer recite the following Blessing:—

"Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who openest the gates of the East and cleavest the windows of the firmament of the Orient, and givest light to the whole world and its inhabitants, with the multitude of His mercies, with His mysteries and secrets, and teachest Thy people Israel Thy secrets and mysteries, and hast revealed unto them the "Sword" used by the world; and Thou sayest unto them: "If anyone is desirous of using this 'Sword,' by which every wish is fulfilled and every secret revealed, and every miracle, marvel, and prodigy are performed, then speak to Me in the following manner, read before Me this

and that, and conjure in such and such a wise, and I will instantly be prevailed upon and be well disposed towards you, and I will give you authority over this Sword, by which to fulfil all that you desire, and the Chiefs will be prevailed upon by you, and my holy ones will be well disposed towards you and they will fulfil instantly your wishes, and will deliver to you my secrets and reveal to you my mysteries, and my words they will teach you and my wonders they will manifest to you, and they will listen and serve you as a pupil his master, and your eyes will be illuminated and your heart will see and behold all that is hidden, and your size will be increased." Unto Thee I call, X, Lord of the Universe. Thou art He who is called X, King of the Universe. Thou art called X, merciful king. Thou art called X, gracious king. Thou art called X, living king. Thou art called X, humble king. Thou art called X, righteous king. Thou art called X, lofty king. Thou art called X, perfect king. Thou art called X, upright king. Thou art called X, glorious king. Thou art called X, youthful king. Thou art called X, pleasant king. Thou art called X, and thou listenest to my prayer, for Thou hearkenest unto prayer; and attach unto me Thy servants the lords of the "Sword," for Thou art their king, and fulfil my desire, for everything is in Thy hands, as it is written: "Thou openest thine hand and satisfiest every living being with favour."

"I conjure you, Azriel called X; I conjure you, Arel called X, Ta'aniel called X, Tafel called X, and the most glorious of these Yofiel Mittron called X, the glory from above. With the permission of my king (I conjure) Yadiel called X, Ra'asiel called X, Haniel called X, Haniel called X, Asrael called X, Yisriel called X, A'shael called X, Amubael called X, and Aşrael called X, that you attach yourselves to me and surrender the "Sword" to me, so that I may use it according to my desire, and that I find shelter under the shadow of our Lord in heaven in the glorious Name, the mighty and awe-inspiring X, the twenty-four letters from the Crown; that you deliver unto me with this

"Sword" the secrets from above and below, the mysteries from above and below, and my wish be fulfilled and my words hearkened unto, and my prayer (supplication) received through the conjuration with the Ineffable name of God which is glorified in the world, through which all the heavenly hosts are tied and bound; and this is the Ineffable Name—X, blessed be he! (I conjure you) that you shall not refuse me nor hurt me, nor frighten and alarm me, in the tremendous Name of your king, the terror of whom rests upon you, and who is called X. Fulfil for me everything that I have been conjuring you for, and serve me, for I have conjured you not with the name of one who is great among you but with that of the Lord over all, whose name ties and binds and keeps and fastens all the heavenly hosts. And if you should refuse me, I will hand you over to the Lord God and to his Ineffable name, whose wrath and anger and fire are kindled, who honours his creatures with one letter of his name, and is called X; so that if you refuse he will destroy you, and you will not be found when searched after. And you preserve me from shortness of spirit and weakness of body in the name of X, the guardian of Israel. Blessed art Thou, who understandest the secrets and revealest the mysteries, and art king of the Universe."

A voice was heard in the heavens, the voice of the Lord of heavens, saying: "I want a light (swift) messenger (to go) to man, and if he fulfils my message my sons will become proud of the 'Sword' which I hand over to them, which is the head of all the mysteries of which also my seers have spoken, that thus will my word be, as it is said: 'Is not my word like as fire? saith the Lord'" (Jer. xxiii, 29). Thus spoke X, the lord of heaven and earth; and I, Assi Asisih and Apragsih, the light (swift) messenger, who am pleased with my messages and delighted with my sending, ascended before Him, and the Lord over all commanded me: "Go and make this known to men who are pious and good and pure and righteous and faithful, whose heart is not divided and in whose mouth is no duplicity, who do not lie with their tongues and do not deceive with

their lips, who do not grasp with their hands and are not lustful with their eyes, who do not run after evil, keep aloof from every uncleanness, depart from every defilement, keep themselves holy from contamination, and do not approach woman." When the Lord over all commanded me thus, I, X, the swift messenger, went down to earth, and I said on my way: "Where is the man who possesses all these that I should go to him and place this with him?" And I asked myself, and thought in my heart that there is no man who would do all this that I wished; and I found none, and it was heavy unto me. And the Lord over all conjured me by His mighty right arm, and by the lustre of His glory and His glorious crown, with an oath of His mighty right arm, and He conjured me, and the Lord over all strengthened me and I did not fall. I thus stood up, I, X, to put NN in the possession of the desired covenant, in the name of X."

"This is the great and glorious Name which has been given as a tradition to man—X, holy, glorious, glorious, Selah. Recite it after thy prayers.—And these are the names of the angels that minister to the son of man—Mittro, Sgrdtsih, Mqttro, Sngotiqtel, etc., etc., etc. (28 names)." "In a similar manner shall you serve me NN; and receive my prayer and my orisons, and bring them to God X, blessed be He! for I adjure you in His name, and I extol you (to ascend), like unto the bird that flies from its nest, and remember my meritorious deeds before Him and (make Him) forgive now my sins on account of my words of supplication, and you may not refuse me in the name of X, blessed be He! Sabaoth, Sabaoth, Selah. His servants sanctify Him and praise Him with sweet melody, and say: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of holy name; the whole earth is full of His glory"; and do not refuse me, in the name of X, who lives for ever, and in the name of Ditimon, etc., X, and in the name X of the great One from whom nothing is hidden, who sees and is not seen, and in the name of Him who is the chief over the heavens and is called X. And the King of the

Universe utters (this name) also in a different manner, thus—X. You swift messenger, do not tarry and do not frighten me, but come and do all my wants in the name of X, the great One, who sees and is not seen, AHVH, whose Ineffable Name is revealed to the heavenly hosts; and I conjure you by this Ineffable Name, such as it was revealed to Moses by the mouth of the Lord over all, X, the Lord Sabaoth is His name. Blessed art thou, O God, lord of mighty acts, who knowest all the mysteries."

And which are the letters which X communicated to Moses? He said to him: "If thou wishest to get wise and to use the 'Sword,' call me, and conjure me, and strengthen me, and fortify me, and say: 'X, with the great, holy, wonderful, pure, precious, glorious, and awe-inspiring secret Name X, with these letters I conjure thee to surrender to me and make me wise and attach to me the angels which minister to the "Sword," in the name of the Revealer of mysteries. Amen.'"

Write with ink on leather and carry about with you during those three days of purification, and invoke before and after prayer the following Names communicated to Moses by Mrgiël, X, by Trotrosi, X, etc. (the 13 Chiefs mentioned at the beginning, and a long string of other mysterious names which are said to have been communicated to Moses). "And they have not hidden from him any of these sacred Ineffable names or letters, and have not given him instead the Substitutes of any of these sacred letters, for thus were they ordered by the Lord of all mysteries to communicate to him this 'Sword,' with these Names which constitute the mysteries of this 'Sword'; and they said to him: 'Command the generations which will come after thee to say the following blessing prior to their prayer, lest they be swept away by the fire': 'Blessed art Thou, X, who wast with Moses; be also with me, Thou, whose name is X. Send me X, who is the cover of the Cherubim, to help me. Blessed art Thou, Lord of the Sword.'"

Whoever is desirous of using this 'Sword' must recite his

usual prayers, and at the passage "Thou hearkenest to prayer" say: "I conjure you four princes, X, servants of Hadirion, X, that you receive my invocation before I pray, and my supplication before I entreat, and fulfil all my wishes through this 'Sword,' as you have done to Moses, in the glorious and wonderful name of the Lord of wonders, which is interpreted thus—X." He must then call the five superior Chiefs and say: "I conjure you, X, that you accept my conjuration as soon as I conjure you, and you attach to me those four princes and all the hosts of Chariots over which you preside, to fulfil all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this beloved name X." He must then call the three angels that are superior to these, and say: "I conjure you, X, the beloved of X, who is Hadirion, that you attach yourselves to me and attach to me X, who are standing under your rule, to fulfil all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this unique name X." And then he must lay hold of the highest Chief over all and say: "I conjure thee, X, strong and powerful Chief over all the heavenly hosts, that thou attacheest thyself to me, thou and not thy messenger, and attach to me all the Chiefs that are with thee, to fulfil my wishes through this 'Sword,' by the name X, which has no substitute, for thou art beloved and he is beloved, and I am from the seed of Abraham called the beloved. Blessed art thou, King of the mysteries, Lord of the secrets, who hearkenest unto prayer."

And he is not to touch this "Sword" ere he has done all these things; afterwards he will be able to do whatever he likes, everything being written here following in its proper order.

II. *This is the "Sword."*

[It consists of a series of mysterious names of God or angels, to which the recipes in Part III refer. The first list commences with Tobat, Təbr, etc. (1-5). These numbers are added by me to make the formulas run parallel with their magical applications in Part III, as already explained in the Introduction. I refer to them as they break up this

part in convenient smaller portions, and are easily discernible. After these follow the words]: "With these your Names, and with the powers you possess, to which there is nowhere anything like (I conjure you) to show me and to search for me, and to bring me X to do all my bidding in the name of X," and, again, a list of names, that have no special characteristic in common. Nos. 20-24 are all names commencing with *JJ*; some of these finish with *JH*. 24-36 all these names have the word *Sabaoth* attached to them. To 41-47 *HVH* is added. From Nos. 51-93 all the names are composite; they appear as names of *sons*, the name of the father being added to each of these, close upon 160 names, *e.g.*: Sagnis, son of Srgia; Sagn, son of 'Arggis; Atumi, son of Batumi; Ahsuti, son of Kkthus; Agupi, son of Abkmi, etc. Every name from 102 on to the end of this part finishes with *-el*, after which follow varying syllables and words: some are only *JH* or *JV* (Nos. 102-105), or a word commencing with 'A- and finishing with *-JH* (Nos. 106-111). Nos. 112-121 are followed by *AHVH*, whilst 122-127=*JHVHH*, and Nos. 128-134=*HVJH*. They conclude with the following words: "Ye sacred angels, princes of the hosts of X, who stand upon the thrones prepared for them before Him to watch over and to minister to the 'Sword,' to fulfil by it all the wants by the name of the Master over all; you Chiefs of all the angels in the world, X, in the name of X the seal of heaven and earth, ministers of X the most high God; through you I see X in the world; you are lording over me in all the place of the Master over all: I pray of you to do everything that I am asking of you, as you have the power to do everything in heaven and upon earth in the name of X, as it is written in the Law, 'I am the Lord, this is My name!'"

III.

1. If at full moon (?) a man wishes to unite a woman with a man that they should be as one to one another,

to destroy winds (spirits), demons, and satans, and to stop a ship, and to free a man from prison, and for every other thing, write on a red bowl from Tobar, etc. (No. 1).—2. To break mountains and hills, to pass dryshod through the water, to enter the fire, to appoint and to depose kings, to blind the eyes, to stop the mouth, and to speak to the dead, and to kill the living, to bring down and to send up and to conjure angels to hearken unto thee, and to see all the mysteries of the world, write Nos. 1 and 2 upon the saucer of a cup and put in it the root of genip-tree (*genipa*).—3. Against a spirit that moves in the body write on a plate No. 3.—4. Against a spirit that burns write No. 4.—5. Against a spirit in the whole body write No. 5.—6. Against a demon (*shidda*) write No. 6.—7. Against shingles write No. 7.—8. Against quinsy (erysipelas?) say the words of No. 8 over oil of roses and put it over his face.—9. For pains in the ear whisper in the painful ear No. 9.—10. For aches in the eye say the words No. 10 over water three days running in the morning, and wash the eye with it.—11. For cataract say the words of No. 11 over oil of sesame, and anoint the eye with it during seven mornings.—12. For grit in the eye say over Kohl No. 12, and fill the eye with it for three mornings.—13. For blood that runs from the head whisper No. 13 over the head early in the morning for three days, when you wash your hands before getting out of bed.—14. For paralysis say seven times over a vessel full of water and seven times over sesame-oil the words No. 14, "that it should move away and leave NN, Amen, Amen, Selah"; and throw the pail of water over his head and anoint him with the oil, and do this for three days; then write an amulet with the words from, "I conjure you" till "Amen, Selah," and hang it round his neck.—15. For pains in one half of the head (neuralgia?) and for bad singing in the ear, write No. 15 and hang it round the neck.—16. For the bad deafening (of the ear) write No. 16 and hang it round the neck.—17. For pains in the ear say into the left ear the words No. 17 backwards.—18. For deafness say over hemp water, whilst mixing it

with oil of "Idi" (sesame?), the words of No. 18, and put it into his ear as soon as it has become a little dissolved (or warm).—19. For scabs, ulcers, itches, mange, shingles, etc., that befall mankind, say over olive oil No. 19 and anoint with the left hand.—20. For jaundice say the words No. 20 over water in which radish has been soaked, and let him drink it.—21. For pains in the nose and for the spirit in the nose say No. 21 over oil of "Idi" (sesame?) and put it into his nostrils.—22. For pains in the stomach (*tit*, heart) and in the bowels say No. 22 over water, and drink it.—23. For hot fever say No. 23 over water in which rose-laurels are soaked, and he is to bathe in it.—24. For tumors, etc., say No. 24 once over them and once over olive oil, and anoint them for three days, but do not let any water come near them.—25. For an evil occurrence (?) say No. 25 over seven white cups of water, filled from the river, and throw them over the head.—26. For ulcer (diphtheria?) spit out before him, and say over his mouth, and over a cup of strong drink, No. 26, and make him drink, and watch what is coming out of his mouth.—27. For a man bitten by a snake or by another (!) poisonous insect, he must say over the place of the bite or over the painful spot No. 27 and drink it; the same he is to do whenever hurt by any creeping thing.—28. For a woman who has seen blood before the time say No. 28 over an ostrich egg, then burn it, and she be smoked with it.—29. For pains in the mouth say No. 29 over risen flour, and put it upon his mouth.—30. For quinsy (croup) and for pains in the shoulder, say No. 30 over wine and drink.—31. For a painful nerve write No. 31 on a scroll and speak these words over olive oil, and rub some of it on the scroll and smear it over the painful spot and hang the amulet round his neck.—32. For stone say over a cup of wine No. 32, and drink it.—33. For hemorrhoids take tow and put salt on it and mix it with oil, saying over it No. 33, and sit on it.—34. For a man who suffers from swelling and from venereal disease (?), he is to say No. 34 over water in which radishes are soaked, and drink.—35. For sprains, either

you take a plate and write upon it No. 35 and put it upon the place, and all around it will be healed; or you take a ball of wool and dip it in oil of (sesame?), and say those words upon it and put it upon the sprain.—36. When injured or hurt by iron, and for every blow that it should not fester, say No. 36 over white naphtha and rub it over the place of the blow.—37. For (cramps?) and for pains of heart say over spinach and oil No. 37, and drink it.—38. For the gall and the bowels take the water in which raisins have been soaked, saying over it No. 38, and drink it.—39. For the spoiled liver take (a drink) a sixth measure of water-lentils and say No. 39, and swallow it slowly (?).—40. For the milt say No. 40 over wine-lees and drink it, and repeat it for three days.—41. For the spirit who rests on the womb, say No. 41 on camphor oil and put it on it with a ball of wool.—42. For a woman who has a miscarriage, say No. 42 on a cup of wine, or strong drink, or water, and let her drink it for seven days; and even if she should see blood and she repeats it over a cup of wine, the child will live.—43. For a man who is bald, say No. 43 over nut-oil and anoint with it.—44. To conjure a spirit write on a laurel-leaf: "I conjure thee, prince whose name is Abraksas, in the name of (No. 44) that thou comest to me and revealest to me all that I ask of thee, and thou shalt not tarry." And the one bound by thee will come down and reveal himself to thee.—45. To remove a rich man from his riches, say No. 45 upon the dust of an ant-hill and throw it into his face.—46. To heal leprosy, take the patient to the side of the river and say to him: "I conjure thee, leprosy, in the name of (No. 46) to disappear and to vanish, and to pass away from NN. Amen, Amen, Selah"; and he is to go down and dip seven times in the river, and when he comes out write an amulet with the words "I conjure—Selah," and hang it round his neck.—47. For diarrhœa write No. 47 on a red copper plate and hang it round his neck.—48. If thou wishest that the rain should not fall upon thy garden, write out No. 48.—49. If thou wishest to see the sun (!) take . . . from a male tree and stand in front of the sun and say . . . which art called

on the . . . called . . . and the ears of barley (?) the words of No. 49;¹ and he will appear unto thee in the form of a man dressed in white and he will answer thee upon everything that thou askest him, and he will even bring a woman after thee.—50. Whosoever wishes to enter a furnace is to write No. 50 on a silver plate and hang it upon his haunch.—51. If thou seest a king or a ruler and thou wishest that he follow thee, take a basin of water and put into it the root of genip-tree, and the root of purslane, and the root of (*Artilochia*), and say No. 51, and place it on fiery coals in a white earthen vessel and throw upon them leaves of olive-tree, and whatever thou decreest he will bring unto thee, even a woman thou canst command.—52. If you wish to overawe them, take water from the fountain and say upon it No. 52 and throw it into their faces.—53. For loosening (any charm) say over water No. 53 and throw it over him and write it as an amulet and hang it round his neck, and also for freeing a man from prison.—54. To catch fish, take a white potsherd, and putting into it leaves of olive-tree say over them No. 54 at the side of the river.—55. If thou wishest a woman to follow thee, take thy blood and write her name upon a newly-laid egg and say towards her No. 55.—56. If a man is to follow thee, take a new potsherd and dip it in black myrrh (gall) and pronounce over his name the words of No. 56, and walk on without looking backwards.—57. For a tree that does not produce fruits, write the words No. 57 upon a new potsherd and bury it under the root of the fruitless tree, and water all the trees and these also which do not produce the fruit.—58. For illness (dog) in the fruit write on a new potsherd No. 58 and bury it in the cistern (watering-place), and say these words also over water, ashes, and salt, and water the earth with it.—59. For a suckling babe write on an onyx slab No. 59 and whisper it into its ears three times, spitting out after the whispering; then repeat them over a cupful of water 70 times and give it the child to drink.—60. For one bitten by a rabid dog,

¹ There is something probably missing here.

write No. 60 on the halter of an ass and let the ass go; then repeat these words over sesame oil and let him anoint himself with it and put on new clothes and hang that halter (?) round him.—61. For fever and small fever, write on the skin of the brains of a ram or a goat No. 61, and hang it round his neck.—62. If anyone lose his way he is to say No. 62 over the four corners of his belt (?).—63. If thou wishest to ask anything of thy neighbour, say No. 63 over oil of sesame or of . . . or of . . . —64. If thou wishest that a woman is to follow thee write thy name and her name with thy blood upon her door, and the same upon thy door, and repeat the words of No. 64.—65. If thou wishest to know whether thy journey will be lucky, take a field lettuce with open leaves, and standing before the sun say the words of No. 65 and watch the lettuce: if the leaves close and shut, then do not go; but if they remain in their natural state, proceed, and thou wilt prosper.—66. If thou wishest to deliver a man from prison (?) say No. 66 once to him, and once to the sun, and once to the prison (?) house.—67. To conquer (collect ?), take dust from thy house and say over it seven times in the road of the town the words of No. 67, and then take dust from the road and do likewise and throw it into thy house.—68. If you wish to kill a man, take mud from the two sides of the river and form it into the shape of a figure, and write upon it the name of the person, and take seven branches from seven strong palm-trees and make a bow from reed (?) with the string of horse-sinew, and place the image in a hollow, and stretch the bow and shoot with it, and at each branch (shot) say the words of No. 68; and may NN be destroyed . . .—69. To send plagues, take (parings ?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd, and go out to the cemetery and say there No. 69, and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses, and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house.—70. To send dreams to your neighbours, write No. 70 upon a plate of silver and place it in the mouth (?) of a cock and kill it when it has gone

down its mouth, and take it out from the mouth and put it between its legs and bury it at the end of a wall, and put thy foot upon that spot and say thus: "In the name of X, a swift messenger is to go and torment NN in his dreams until he will fulfil my wish."—71. If a snake follows thee say No. 71, and it will dry up.—72. To stop a boat in the sea, say No. 72 over a potsherd or on a rounded flintstone and throw it against it into the sea.—73. To loosen it (from the charm), say No. 73 over dust or a clod of earth and throw it into the water, and as this dissolves the boat gets free to go.—74. If thou wishest to prevent an oven or furnace or pot from becoming destroyed (unclean?), say No. 74 over dust and throw it over them.—75. If thou wishest them to be hot, spit in front of them and say No. 75, and they will boil.—76. If thou wishest to pass dryshod through the sea, say upon the four corners of the head-dress (turban) No. 76, and take one corner in thy hand and the other is (?) to precede thee.—77. If thou wishest to curse anyone, say in the 'Eighteen benedictions' No. 77, in the name of X.—78. To speak with the dead, whisper No. 71 into his left ear and throw into their holes(?).—79. To kill a lion, bear, an adder, or any other hurtful animal, take the dust from under the right foot, say over it No. 79, and throw it into their faces.—80. To catch them, take the dust from under your left foot, saying No. 80, and throw it into their faces.—81. To open a door, take the root of lotos reed and place it under the tongue and say No. 81 against the door.—82. To kill an ox or another beast, say into its ear No. 82.—83. To inflame his heart, say No. 83 over a piece of raw meat, and give it to him to eat.—84. To make a fool of one, say No. 84 over an egg and place it in his hands.—85. To destroy the house of thy neighbour, say No. 85 over a new potsherd and throw it into his house.—86. To expose (?) your neighbour, say No. 86 over oil of . . . and smear it at the bottom of his jug(?).—87. To make your neighbour disliked, take blood from phlebotomy, say upon it No. 87, and throw it upon his lintel.—88. To

make a woman have a miscarriage, say No. 88 over a cup of water and throw it over her lintel.—89. To make a man ill, say No. 89 over olive oil and let him anoint himself with it.—90. To know whether a sick person will die or live, say before him No. 90: if he turns his face towards you he will live; if away, he will die.—91. To catch a lion by the ear, say No. 91 and make seven knots in the fringes of thy girdle and repeat these words with each knot, and you will catch him.—92. To make thy renown go throughout the world, write No. 92 as an amulet and bury it in thy house.—93. To shorten the way, say No. 93 over a single lotos reed.—94. To cure hemorrhoids, take kernels of dates . . . and burn them in fire and say No. 94, and mix it with oil of olives and place it as an amulet over it, and it will be good.—95. For every spirit write upon a bowl No. 95 and hang it round the neck.—96. For subtle poison, as cumin-seed and calamint, write No. 96 upon an egg and put it into wine, and repeat over it the same words and then drink it.—97. For the thunder that comes from heaven, take a ring (round piece) of iron and lead, and hang it on the spot you wish (to protect), and say over it No. 97.—98. To go before king or lord, say No. 98 over a piece of lion's skin dipped in black hemp(?) and pure wine, and take it with thee.—99. For blight, if it happen, take a sinew and soak it in turnip-juice in the night from Wednesday to Thursday, and say No. 99 over it; on the morrow sprinkle that water over the field.—100. If the fruit gets worm-eaten, take a worm from the mud and put it into a tube and say No. 100 over it; then close the tube and bury it in that place.—101. To free a man from prison (? shame), say over the grounds of Kappa(?) and unripe dates No. 101, and give it to him to eat.—102. For a field that does not produce fruits, take eight cups from eight houses and fill them with water from eight rivers, and put salt into them from eight houses, and say over them No. 102 eight times, and pour out two cups at each corner, and break them on eight paths.—103. If one does not know what a man is ailing

from, soak mullein (*verbascum*) in water, and say over it No. 103, and let him drink it when he is thirsty.—104. To make war, take the dust from under the left foot, say over it No. 104, and throw it into the (enemies') face, and there will appear knights with weapons in their hands who will fight for thee.—105. To throw thy fear upon mankind, write No. 105 upon a leaden plate and bury it on the west side of the Synagogue.—106. To have always light in the darkness, write No. 106 upon a chart (paper) and carry it always with thee.—107. To catch (blind) the eye, write No. 107 upon a scroll and expose it in a wicker-basket to the stars, but you must not speak when writing.—108. To send a sword which should fight for thee, say No. 108 over a new knife wholly of iron, and throw it into their face.—109. If thou wishest that they kill one another, say No. 109 over a new knife wholly of iron and bury it with your heel into the earth, and keep the heel upon it in the earth, and they will kill one another, until you take it out from the earth.—110. To make them pause, take the dust from under the right foot, and, saying the same words again backwards, throw it into their face, and they will stop.—111. If an enemy has got hold of thee and wishes to kill thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 111, and he will run away from thee like one who runs away from his murderer.—112. To catch the eye (blind), say No. 112 over the skin of a lion and carry it with thee, and no one will be able to see thee.—113. If thou fallest into a (?) and wishest to come out, say No. 113, and thou wilt come out in peace.—114. If thou fallest into a deep pit, say in thy fall No. 114, and nothing will hurt thee.—115. When thou fallest into a deep river say No. 115, and thou wilt come out in peace.—116. If any burden or weight falls upon thee, say No. 116, and thou wilt be saved.—117. If the king's servants lay hold on thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 117 before king or judge, and he will kill these people who have laid hands on thee.—118. If a host has surrounded thee, turn thy face towards the west and say

No. 118 before king or judge, and they will be like unto stones and will not move.—119. If thou wishest to release them, turn thy face towards the east and repeat these words backwards.—120. If thou walkest in vales or on the mountains and hast no water to drink, lift thine eyes to Heaven and say No. 120, and a fountain of water will be opened unto thee.—121. If thou hungerest, lift thine eyes to Heaven and spread out thine arms and say No. 121, and a spirit will stand before thee and bring thee bread and meat.—122. If thou wishest to call the angel (prince) of man, say over thy mantle (?) No. 122, and the angel bound by thee will come to thee and will tell thee whatever thou wishest (to know).—123. If thou wishest to let him go (depart), say before him the same words backward, and he will depart.—124. If thou wishest that any heavenly prince is to come to thee and teach thee, say No. 124 and conjure him in the third hour of the night from: "in the name of the Lord over the holy ones (No. 136) to the end of the 'Sword,'" and "Send him to me that he reveal unto me and teach me all that is in his power," and he will then disappear (1).—125. To walk upon the water without wetting the feet, take a leaden plate and write upon it No. 125 and place it in thy girdle, and then you can walk.—126. To become wise, remember for three months running, from the new moon of Nissan onwards, the words of No. 126, and add in the 'Eighteen benedictions': "May the gates of wisdom be opened to me so that I should meditate in them."—127. To remember immediately all thou learnest, write on a new-laid egg No. 127, then wash it off with strong wine early in the morning and drink it, and do not eat anything for three hours.—128. To make another forget what he has learned, write No. 128 in his name on laurel-leaves and bury them under his lintel.—129. To send an evil spirit against thy neighbour, take a green grasshopper and say over it No. 129, and bury it in an earth-hill and jump over it.—130. To send a plague, take the bone of a dead man and dust from under him in a pot and tie it up in a woven rag with saliva, and say upon it

No. 130 in his name, and bury it in the cemetery.—131. To tie and to fasten thieves and robbers, say No. 131, and whilst saying it put your little finger in the ear.—132. To release them, say No. 132, and take thy finger out of the ear.—133. To guard thy house from thieves, say No. 133 over a cup of water and pour it out round thy roof. Thus also to guard a house.—134. To guard a house from hosts (robbers), take earth from an ant-hill and strew it round the roof, repeating the words of No. 134.—135. To guard thyself from Mazikim, say: "In the name of 'Nos. 1-5' may I, NN, pass in peace and not in hurt." The same must be done to excommunicate them when you meet them.—136. For every other thing that has not been mentioned say, No. 136 to the end of the "Sword."

And upon every amulet that you write from this "Sword" write first: "In the name of the Lord of all the holy ones, may this 'Sword' be effectual to do my services, and may the lord of it approach to serve me, and may all these powers be delivered over to me so that I be able to use them, as they were delivered to Moses, the son of Amram, perfect from his God and no harm befalling him!" If he will not act accordingly the angels of wrath, ire, fury, and rage will come near him to minister to him, and they will lord over him, and strangle him, and plague him all over. And these are the names of their leaders: the leader of the angels of wrath is Mxpopiasiel; the name of the leader of the angels of ire is Zkzoromtiel; the name of the leader of the angels of fury is Kso'ppghiel; the name of the leader of the angels of rage is N'mosniktiel. And the angels that stand under them are numberless, and these all will have power over him, and will make his body like unto a dunghill.

May the Lord preserve you from every evil. Amen!

End of the "Sword," with the assistance of God feared in the council of the holy ones. End, end.

APPENDIX I.

In the name of the Lord. The Sword of Moses.

I. [A long list of mystical names; then follows:] and the angel over the animals, whose name is Ittalaïmma; and the angel over the wild beasts, Mtniel; and the angel over the wild fowls and over the creeping things, Trgiaob; and the angel over the deep waters and over the mountains, Rampel; and the angel over the trees, Maktiel; and the angel over the sweet-smelling herbs, Arias; and the angel over the garden fruits (vegetables), Sofiel; and the angel over the rivers, Trsiel; and the angel over the winds, Mbriel; and over man, X.—. . . hours are proper for man to pray and to ask for mercy upon man, be it for good or evil; and it is said that every hour is proper for man to pray, but during the three first hours in the morning man is to pray and to mention the hundred sacred names and the mighty ones, whose sum amounts to three hundred and four. Amen. Selah!

. X give me healing

Which is the great light? All the X, I conjure you, mother of the (whether?) male and mother of the (or?) female, you, the "Twins," I conjure you, the hard (strong) spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, the living one [Michael], in the name of God [Gabriel], . . Raphael (save) me from the Lions, the powerful ones (Archons?), and the Twins. I conjure you, strong spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, IH, IHVH, IHVH, I, N, son of N . .

II. Verily, this is the ("Sword of Moses") with which he accomplished his miracles and mighty deeds, and destroyed all kind of witchcraft; it had been revealed to Moses in the bush, when the great and glorious Name was delivered to him. Take care of it and it will take care of thee. If thou approachest fire, it will not burn thee, and it will preserve thee from every evil in the world.—
1. If thou wishest to try it take a thick (green) branch and

utter this "Sword" over it five times at sunrise, and it will dry up.—2. To catch fish, take sand from the sea and the root of the date (tree) (or the kernel of the date), and repeat this "Sword" over them, and the fish will come to the spot where thou throwest the sand.—3. To walk on the waters of the sea take the wooden helve of an axe, bore a hole through it, pass a red thread through it, and tie it on to thy heel, then repeat the words of the "Sword," and then you may go in and out in peace.—4. To run quickly (?), write the "Sword" on "Chartis hieratikou," then put water into a new earthenware pot, and let them drink it and wash their faces, and they will be victorious!—5. To break it (?), write the "Sword" on a plate of copper (*kyprinou*) and put it in . . and they will be broken.—6. To subdue a woman, write with the blood of thy hand thy (?) name upon thy gate, and write thy name upon a scroll of leather of a hart with the blood of thy finger, and say this "Sword," and she will come to thee.—7. To make thyself praised in the community, take in thy left hand porret-seed and utter over it the "Sword," and throw it between them,¹ and descend (?) until the sun sets, and he will carry thee wherever thou wishest, and fast for three days, and burn incense and the smoke of white flower, and repeat the "Sword" in the morning and the evening, and he will come instantly and speak to thee and do thy bidding.—8. To get information through a dream, take balm and write upon "Chartis hieratikou," and repeat the "Sword" in front of a light, and put out the light with a stick of olive-wood, and lie down.—9. If thou wishest to go to a great man, take rose-oil and repeat the "Sword" over the oil and anoint thy hands and face with it, and he will hearken unto thee.—10. To make strife in the community, take the left hand full of mustard, speak the "Sword" over it, and throw it amongst them, and they will kill one another.—11. To separate a man from his wife, take ass's meat in thy hand and say over it the "Sword," and no harm will befall thee (?).—12. To destroy

¹ There is something probably missing here.

thy enemy, take a leaden plate and some of his hair and clothes, and say the "Sword" over them, and bury them in a deserted house, and he will fall down.—13. To walk in the street and not to be recognized by anyone, take wormwood, perfumes, and soot, and smoke thyself with it, and take the heart of a fox, and say the "Sword," and go out in the street.—14. If you are on the sea and the storm rages, stand up against the waves and say the "Sword" to them, and they will go down; then write on a plate, or potsherd, or a piece of wood, and hang it in front of the ship, and it will not founder.—15. To break an enemy, write the "Sword" upon a potsherd that has not yet been burned, and plaster it over, and throw it into his house.—16. To obtain anything thou likest, take into thy right hand wormwood, and say over it the "Sword" facing the sun, and everything will be fulfilled, and purify thyself for seven days, and thou wilt prosper in everything. Do kind deeds to thy friends, take heed not to take an oath, and walk modestly, and thus thou wilt prosper.

Write X upon the palm of thy left hand, take then a new lamp and fill it with olive-oil and naphtha, and put on new clean clothes, and sleep in a clean house, and the angel will come at once and wake thee, and reveal unto thee everything that thou wishest.

III. R. Akiba asked R. Eliezer the great: "How can one make the Angel of the Presence descend upon earth to reveal to man the mysteries from above and beneath, and the speculations of the foundations of heavenly and earthly things, and the treasures of wisdom, cunning, and help?" He said thereupon to me: "My son! I once made him come down, and he nearly destroyed the whole world, for he is a mighty prince and greater than any in the heavenly cohort, and he ministers continually before the King of the Universe, with purity and separation, and with fear and dread of the glory of his Master, because the Shekinah is always with him." And he said to him: "My master, by the glory which thou hast bestowed upon me, I conjure thee to instruct me how to attach him to me." (And he

replied): "In that hour when I wish to attach him to me and to employ him, I sit and fast on that very day; but prior to it one must keep oneself free for seven days from any nocturnal impurity, and must bathe in the fountain of water, and not speak at all during those seven days, and at the end of this purification, on the day of the fast, he must sit in the water up to his throat, and before he utters the conjuration he must first say: 'I conjure you, angels of dread, fear, and shaking, who are appointed to hurt those who are not pure and clean and desire the services of my heavenly servants—I conjure you in the name of X, who is mighty over all, and rules over all, and everything is in His hands, that you do not hurt me, nor terrify me, nor frighten me; verily, in the name of the powerful, the head of . . . ' After this he may commence his conjuration, for now he has fortified himself and has sealed himself with the name of God of 42 letters, before which all who hear it tremble and are frightened, and the heavenly hosts are terror-struck. He must then again conjure, and say: 'X, chief, who of all the destroying angels is the most hurtful and burning, with this Name and in this way I call thee AVZHIA, angel of the Presence, youthful minister before the King of the Universe, who art a prince and chief of the heavenly hosts; I conjure thee and decree upon thee that thou attachest thyself to me to fulfil my wish and to accept the decree of my conjuration and to accomplish my desires and fulfil my wishes, and do not frighten me, nor terrify me, nor overawe me, and do not make my frame shake and my feet vacillate, nor cause my speech to be perverted; but may I be fortified and strengthened, and may the conjuration be effective and the (sacred) Name uttered properly by my throat, and may no vacillation take hold of me and no trembling of the feet by thy ministering angels confuse me and overawe me, and weaken my hands, and may I not be overcome by the fire and flame of the storm and whirlwind which precedes thee, O wonderful and exalted one, whose Ineffable name is X, of whose wrath the earth trembles, and nothing can

withstand his anger, twice blessed. Again I conjure thee by thy 14 (!) names by which thou didst reveal thyself to thy prophets and seers, to place in their mouths sweet words of prophecy and to utter pleasant words; and these are the Ineffable names and their surnames (Kunya): Spirit Piskonnit, kunya, X; Atimon, kunya, X; Piskon (?), Hugron, kunya, X; Sanigron, kunya, X; Msi, kunya, X; Mokon, kunya, X; Astm, kunya, X; Sktm, kunya, X; Ihoaiel, kunya, X; Iofiel, kunya, X; Ssnialiah, kunya, X; Kngieliah, kunya, X; Zabdiel, kunya, X. I conjure thee with these fourteen names, by which all the secrets and mysteries and signs are sealed and accomplished, and which are the foundations of heaven and earth. Four of these are engraved upon the heads of the Hayoth (Holy Creatures), namely—X, the lord of powers; X, master of miracles; X, master of purity; and X, master of the yoke. And four are engraved upon the four sides of the Throne, namely—X, three times holy; X, Adir, Adiri, Adiron, etc., the king of kings. And four are engraved upon the four crowns of the Ofanim (wheels) that stand against the Holy Creatures, as it is said: "When those went, these went; and when those stood, these stood" (Ezek. i, 21); and these they are—X, who is the mightiest over all; X, who rules over all the inhabitants of the heights (?), and in whose hands everything is. And two are engraved upon the crown of the most exalted and high King, and these they are—X, before whom every knee bends and every mouth utters praises; X, besides him there is no God and helper. With these names I conjure thee, and firmly decree upon thee to descend quickly to me, N, son of N, thou and not thy messenger. And when thou comest down do not turn my mind, but reveal unto me all the secret mysteries from above and beneath, and the hidden secrets from above and beneath, and all the secrets of wisdom and the cunning of helpfulness, just as a man speaks to his neighbour. For I have conjured thee with these Names, that are great and mighty and wonderful and awe-inspiring, and proved and arranged in proper order, through which the glorious

throne has been established and the beautiful seat of the Most High, which has been wonderfully wrought, long before thou and the heavenly hosts had been created, "While as yet He had not made the earth nor the fields, and the inhabitants of the earth and the creatures therein" (Prov. viii, 26).

"I call thee further by (the power) of the five selected Names, to which only one is superior, and this is their form—X. I conjure thee by these five Names, which correspond to the five names of God, whose letters are written on burning fire, and they circle round the throne of glory, one ascending and the other descending, so that the angels of the Presence should not behold them, and this is their equivalent and form and glory—X. I conjure thee by these, as thou knowest their praise and greatness, which no mouth can utter, and no ear can hear, no, not even one of them. Thou hast been commanded and ordered by the Most High: "as soon as thou hearest anyone conjuring thee with these names, to do honour to My Name, and to descend quickly and fulfil the wish of the man who makes thee hear them; but if thou tarriest I will push thee into the fiery river Rigayon and place another in thy stead." Do it, therefore, for His Name, and come quickly to me, N, son of N, not in a terror, and not in fear, not with fiery coals, not with hailstone, and not with the sleet and treasures of snow, and not with the howling of the storm, and not with the provinces of the whirlwind that usually accompany thee, and do my bidding and fulfil my desire, for everything is in thy hand; by the permission of thy God, the master over all and thy lord, and with His Names I conjure thee to attach thyself quickly to me; come and fulfil my wish, and do not tarry.

"I further call thee with the greatest of thy Names, the pleasant and beloved one, which is the same as that of thy Master, save one letter, with which He created and formed everything, and which He placed as a seal upon all the work of His hand; and this is its equivalent—X, and the

other in the language of purity (permutations of the letters Yod, He) is read so—X. I conjure thee with the right hand of sanctity and with His beloved Name, in whose honour everything has been created, and all are terror-struck by His mighty arm, and all the sons of the internal heavenly cohort (servants) tremble and shake of His fear, which is X, and its equivalent by means of JHVVH is X. Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever. And all praise and extol thy Name, for they love thee. I conjure thee, and decree upon thee firmly, not to disobey my words, and not to alter my decree and my decision with which I conjured thee, and decreed upon thee, and established in peace. In the Name X, blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever, depart in peace, and do not frighten me in the hour of thy departure; in the name X, Lord, most high and holy, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel's battalions; in the name of the holy living Creatures, and in the name of the Wheels of the Chariot, and in the name of the river of fire, Ih, Zii, Ziin, and all His ministers, and in the name of IH, Ziin, Sabaoth, Z, El Z, Shaddai Z, X revealed Himself on Mount Sinai in the glory of His majesty.

“With these Names, terrible and mighty, which darken the sun, and obscure the moon, and turn the sea, and break the rocks, and extinguish the light, I conjure you, spirits, and . . . and Shiddim, and Satanim, that you depart and disappear from N, son of N.”

APPENDIX II.

I. *Against an enemy.*—I call thee, evil spirit, cruel spirit, merciless spirit. I call thee, bad spirit, who sittest in the cemetery and takes away healing from man. Go and place a knot in NN's head, in his eyes, in his mouth, in his tongue, in his throat, in his windpipe; put poisonous water in his belly. If you do not go and put water in his belly, I will send against you the evil angels Puziel, Guziel,

Psdiel, Prziel. I call thee and those six knots that you go quickly to NN and put poisonous water in his belly and kill NN whom I mean (or, because I wish it). Amen, Amen. Selah.

II. *Against an enemy.*—Write upon a new-laid egg on a Nazarene cemetery: "I conjure you, luminaries of heaven and earth, as the heavens are separated from the earth, so separate and divide NN from his wife NN, and separate them from one another, as life is separated from death, and sea from dry land, and water from fire, and mountain from vale, and night from day, and light from darkness, and the sun from the moon; thus separate NN from NN his wife, and separate them from one another in the name of the twelve hours of the day and the three watches (?) of the night, and the seven days of the week, and the thirty days of the month, and the seven years of Shemittah, and the fifty years of Jubilee, on every day, in the name of the evil angel Tmsmael, and in the name of the angel Iabel, and in the name of the angel Drsmiel, and in the name of the angel Zabbuk, and in the name of the angel Ataf, and in the name of the angel Zhsmael, and in the name of the angel Zsniel, who preside over pains, sharp pains, inflammation, and dropsy, and separate NN from his wife NN, make them depart from one another, and that they should not comfort one another, swiftly and quickly."

10, 19	שרים ב' תהלוכאי	1, 15	שמים	9, 15, 14, 29, 30	קתק
11, 25	שרקתאיל א'	7, 16	שמים	8, 33	קתמניה
11, 35	ששכרתיאל יהוה	9, 33	שמים	6, 31	קתציה
12, 16	ששנודתי	6, 12	שית	2, 28	קתתו נתתי
8, 17	שחית	10, 19	שיתם ב' ברקין	10, 19	רנני ב' צקתי
8, 10	תנמיקום	11, 33	שילתיאסתיאל יהוה	3, 1	רנו פנמית
6, 31	תנמסציה	10, 21	שיתפן ב' פנים	8, 31	רנני
10, 15	תנמססי ב' סרפמי	12, 3	שירותתיאל יהוה	8, 22, 13, 15, 16	רום
11, 5	תרו	10, 30	שירסמי ב' אשמי	8, 14	רוסא
10, 20	תרעום	1, 9	שיתניחום	3, 3	רופניניה וססיה
7, 22	תתווי	6, 6	שיתניחום	8, 14	רימאם
3, 1	תתמותיהיה	7, 11?	שיתניחום	2, 27	רעק ציוהיה
7, 33, 12, 32	תובר	7, 18	שיתניחום	2, 36	רעשי אל
	תוכר הסבר	10, 34	שיתמוהה ב' מהסות	8, 16	רמא
12, 28, 31, 19, 30		11, 31	שלאמאיל א'	6, 29	רמאותי'ה
8, 19	תוהות	11, 29	שלאמאיל א'	6, 29	רמאותיה
9, 6	תומי צ'	10, 24	שלושנמא ב' אסרומים	6, 32	רמנות
9, 11	תומי זוה	7, 2	שלה לי	6, 32	רמרמר
14, 21, 22	תומי	11, 25	שלושניאיל א'	2, 1	רקרמין צ'
4, 32	תמא	10, 30	שלתתתון ב' סהמי	8, 33	רמבו צ'
11, 5	תיון	6, 3	שמניהה	14, 2, 3	רמבין
4, 18, 19	תיורת נמי אל	12, 2	שסכרתיאל יהוה	8, 31	רמבי צ'
8, 30	תיומאם	10, 18	שמעם ב' שעריאם	17, 8, 9	שאילם
6, 31	תישמניהיה		שמתיא ב' אתתיו		שאילם ב' שאילסיון
17, 4, 5	תיומם	10, 27—8		10, 24—5	
10, 21	תיומם ב' תהלן	11, 32	שמתיאיל א'	12, 1	שבתתוהיאל יהוה
7, 21	תם	11, 8	שמתיא הוה	11, 22	שבקתניאיל אתוה
5, 2	תסקיה	6, 13	שמי		שבדוסיא בר פתננהום אראם
14, 6, 8	תפסמא	11, 25	שניקצאיל א'	9, 23	
9, 12	תפסנני הוה	8, 23	שסרסמאיל	11, 24	שנחמאיל א'
9, 1	תפסמא צ'	10, 13	שעסמתיאל	12, 3	שדחקתיאל יהוה
9, 12	תונקנאם הוה	11, 15	שפציאל קומיה	6, 19	שרי
18, 14, 16	תשהואיל	11, 28	שפסמאיל א'	13, 13, 14	שרי
11, 18	תשהואיל עצביה	11, 14	שפתיאל קא	6, 30	שריה
	תתתוסיוזא ב' רמחותיא		שצרי ב' רב קסום	5, 3	שהננו תניהה
9, 38		10, 34—5		8, 34	שהוהם צ'
11, 9	תתליוהי	14, 23, 25	שקבם	7, 15	שהוסתה
4, 32	תתמנאם	9, 12	שקבם הוה	8, 10	שהוננ
8, 17	תתמסית	1, 4, 7, 5, 18	שקד תווי	2, 24	שהרו כנהורי
10, 12	תתמציא ב' שסנות	7, 19	שקדר השא	17, 28, 30	שהרומי
		11, 10	שריאל	11, 19	שורסמאל עצויה

18, 29. 30	קניאסאיאל	10, 16	קהודיהוט ב' אבגיר	8, 10	פרנוניה
12, 5	קניסנהואל הויה	11, 7—8	קהתמי אתה	3, 15	פרוסותניה
19, 15. 17	קניסנהואל	6, 18	קהיה	8, 10	פרוקא
3, 2	קניתי פציה	17, 31. 32	קהתמי	11, 10	פרינג
6, 15	קנסהיה	9, 18	קז	10, 13	פרמיתת
9, 32	קנתאות ב' איהומנס	8, 17	קובי	9, 14	פרסמ הוה
19, 19	קסנהנהואל	8, 9	קונמאו	11, 9	פרנגי
19, 22	קסנהנהואל	8, 9	קונסוו	10, 14	פרנסוס
11, 29	קסניאיאל א'	8, 9	קונסו	16, 12. 14	פרסוסי
20, 6	קסועפנהואל	9, 4	קוס	10, 6	פרסוסי ב' פיבל
	קסמא ב' קלודאי	8, 15	קוסאה	8, 10	פרונגיא
10, 8—9		8, 15	קוסאו	8, 17	פרויתו
8, 8	קסמרוס	9, 12—13	קוסב שניא הוה	10, 2	פרומס ב' אניהוס
11, 32	קסותנאיאל א'	8, 15	קוססאה	9, 17	פרוספיה
9, 16	קעקת יה ביה	2, 9	קוסים	7, 1	פרקוטת
6, 32	קפהווי	4, 31	קוסמס	8, 29	פרשנתי צ'
12, 7	קפלונהואל הויה	8, 1	קוסמוסיה	10, 11	משמנת כ' אפמונג
3, 22	קצופצחתיה אתה	10, 8	קוסמי הוה ב' קסמלית	7, 20	סתננהו
11, 6	קצסמתי	10, 6	קוסן	8, 28	פתנס צבאות
4, 12	קצי	5, 10	קוססיה	2, 26	פתרים תופיתו
8, 28	קצפת צבאות	5, 10	קוססיה אהוניה	11, 6	צגרוס
3, 26	קקתה בקקתה		קוקתס בר סהוהוס	3, 18	צניה
8, 19	קקוססתו	9, 23—24		10, 32	צהומתתי ב' כאסי
8, 20	קקוחסוציה	8, 16	קורוסאי	12, 7	צהמקנהואל הויה
11, 27	קקסאיאל א'	13, 7. 8	קורי	2, 22	צהפרוהו הוה
7, 9	קק"ס הוה	8, 16	קורידאוס	4, 12	ציהן יתן יתן
10, 1	קקתריאס ב' כלתית	9, 10	קוטנמא הוה	5, 21	ציקעץ
	קקתת ב' סהריני	8, 15	קותרית		צפניאי ב' רכסוס מתיא
10, 14—15		9, 23	קיואס בר אנתס	10, 13	
9, 11	קרסמרגי הוה	4, 32	קסם	20, 5	צקצורוסתיאל
9, 9	קרבת	8, 8	קסתהא	15, 32	קאותנ
9, 15	קרינגנס הוה	8, 16	קידא	10, 29	קבלהס ב' קתרותי
3, 15	קרוסתהו	9, 4. 14. 15. 16	קיסא	11, 13	קבצקאל אח
9, 18	קריפו	10, 8. 16. 17. 21	קיריואס	18, 6. 8	קבקציאל
8, 20	קרנס	12, 15	קלוחמי	6, 33	קברסיה
	קרסנהואל	4, 31	קליקס	8, 8	קנסרא
11, 32. 19, 3 (41)		3, 23	קלצנ	2, 24	קניויהו הו
9, 5	קריש צ'	12, 13	קלתיריא	6, 34	קניצתה
3, 29	קשניץ צ'	4, 11	קמבבל עקמה וז	9, 35	קדוסיא ב' אקותנ
6, 8. 7. 11. 18	קתנגיפיי	11, 25	קמניאיאל א'	6, 34	קדירדה
1, 9	קתנגיפירי	8, 9	קממא	9, 12	קדלוחיא הוה
11, 23	קתנסתיאיאל א'	8, 9	קמסאה	8, 30	קדשנ צ'
11, 24	קתונאיאל א'	8, 9	קמטאו	11, 30	קדשינאיאל א'
8, 17	קתוססית	8, 9	קמסמס	18, 32. 19, 1	קדשינאיאל
10, 33	קתילתי ב' אסדוהי	11, 28	קניאוסאיאל א'	16, 31. 32	קתודיהוט

9, 8	פגוראי	10, 4	ספרנום ב' נחשם	8, 20	סתומתיה
9, 10	פגורת	2, 23	ספסותהו	1, 15, 6, 17, 7, 16	סחורניאיה
3, 31	פגנינוניו נסיה		ספססא ב' אהוסניא	10, 16	סחרור צ' עצמם
3, 31	פגנינונסיה	10, 12—13		8, 31	סולג צ'
9, 17	פגרכו	11, 5	ספפירון	8, 6	סומרמא
7, 34	פה	5, 1	ספפמסר	8, 30	סונה צ'
2, 21	פגור ונת	2, 25	ספסס הפיה	8, 13	סוסבאל
3, 1	פגורפני גיה	16, 26, 27	ספפסיא	8, 12	סוסבי
8, 23	פגנידוסמיאל	6, 15	סקק	2, 20	סוקים
9, 2	פגשניא צ'	2, 33	סקרסיה	3, 26	סוקים
9, 10	פגפני	8, 10	סרני	8, 13	סותסיה
8, 32	פגסיה צ'	8, 28	סרניא צבאות	3, 22	סחתי גיה
9, 18	פוכן	10, 26	סרוהם ב' מביהם	4, 31	ססנדאנס
9, 19	פוספי	3, 15	סרוקתיה	10, 13	סספנאות ב' צנפנסם
1, 8	פגורותנסם	10, 12	סרעורתיק ב' זקנום	6, 14	ססרסיה
8, 1, 7, 10, 17	פגורותנסם		ססרסמיהאל	6, 9	סיה
6, 30	פי	8, 23, 13, 16, 20		9, 16	סיניתי הות
9, 17	פיכאלו	12, 9	ענהנחאל הויה	4, 19	סינסמחאל
4, 32	פינה	19, 15	ענפנסמיהאל	9, 1	סיהדא צ'
9, 17	פידא	10, 23	עחתיא ב' מלכוכ	13, 5, 6	סיסון
10, 6—7	פידאום ב' פפנישי	10, 17	עזסום ב' אצליא	9, 30	סימנל ב' אזור וום
8, 18	פיהו	10, 27	עזמיים ב' תתפפאם	14, 25 [26?]	סלני
11, 31	פיוקיהיאל א'	17, 10, 11	עזמרם	9, 13	סלני הות
19, 1, 2	פיוקיהיאל	10, 18	עזריקי ב' כוריסוי	9, 15	סלנותיה הות
9, 5	פינווא צ'	10, 29	עלפנת ב' ססקתין	8, 9	סמא
9, 18	פינוד	3, 3	עמחאל	6, 9	סמח
5, 2, 9, 17	פיפי	11, 10	עניאל ית	5, 1	סמס
8, 29	פיפיה צ'	4, 19	ענפי קפפאל	11, 24	סמקתיאל א'
8, 15	פיתון	12, 1	ענפנסמיהאל יהוה	18, 24, 25	סמקתיאל
11, 6	פל	6, 29	עננותיהות	5, 1	סמרת
14, 26	פלני	11, 24	ענתיאל א'	4, 16	סננותיקתאל
8, 31	פלואי צ'	11, 34	עסרנהיאל יהוה	8, 29	סניסקר צ'
9, 27	פגביר בר בסנבים	11, 15	עסרנהיאל עפיה	11, 9	סס
9, 27	פגביר בר פסגביר	9, 2	עפפניא צ'	7, 34	ססא
15, 19, 19	פגביר	10, 16	עפקיני ב' הסמתיא	8, 15	ססבאל
8, 28	פגמסיה	9, 13	עפרנה הות	9, 21	ססננים בר סרניא
9, 18	פסור	12, 16	עפפתי	9, 21	ססנן בר ערננים
9, 3	פסיסם צ'	4, 8	עקן הי דריה	14, 3	סססן
8, 14, 13, 4, 5	פססי	3, 2	עשאל	11, 21	ססריאל עזאיה
12, 4	ספסחשאל יהוה	9, 10	פאו	11, 7	ססמאי אהות
1, 16, 6, 20	פסקתיה	9, 9	פאותיה	8, 33	ססנן צ'
5, 11	פסקרת	9, 10	פאליה	8, 11	סספסס
4, 33	פפסי	8, 2	פאמוסוס	11, 30	סעססניאל א'
6, 30	פפאפי	8, 8	פארי		סעססיהאל יהוה
5, 1	פפין	10, 6	פנדא ב' דנדא	11, 35, 16, 11	

10, 18—9	נדה' ב' אפמא 9	11, 32	מרוםהיאל יהוה	9, 9	מורתיאל
8, 7	נמסמא	8, 33	מרכאיריה	8, 33	מורשו צ'
8, 7	נמסמתייה	9, 16	מרעוסי היה	20, 5	מאפויאסאיאל
9, 15	נעלקוס הוה	10, 14	משמרו	4, 33	ממינא
20, 7	נעמוסניקתיאל	10, 31	משכנו ב' ארחו		מיכנס ב' סהותהיאל
16, 24, 26	נפסנס	11, 26	משקוניאל א'	10, 5—6	
10, 11	נפסנס ב' נמרוסי	18, 27	משקופיאל		מיכנס
4, 32	נפלא	18, 28	משקוניאל	9, 10, 14, 17, 19, 21, 33, 34	מידקנא צ'
5, 10	נקסמאל	11, 13	משקיתאל יה	9, 1	מיסמרון
1, 18	נקץ שלא	7, 21	מתמסוה	2, 35, 4, 16	מיסס
10, 8	נתגלתי	10, 14	מתי	7, 33	מיכאל
11, 28	נתנציאל א'	12, 6	מתמנהואל הויה	8, 22	מיכאל יאו
14, 30, 33	נתעלס	17, 13, 14	נאסנס	11, 10	מיכאל סרונ
9, 18	נתעלת הוה	10, 29	נאסנס ב' רופניהוס	4, 17	מיתיה
8, 11, 12	סא	15, 29	נאסמרהון	6, 10	מיתקאס
15, 31	סארמונ	9, 32	נאסמרהון ב' יואם	11, 31	מבוסיה
8, 13	סאחמנו	8, 17	נאחה	4, 32	מלתיאל יוה
9, 8	סאו	16, 32, 34	ננוויקי	6, 15	מננינן
9, 32	סאסיה ב' איתודיהם	4, 17	נניקתאל	11, 11	מננינן
8, 11	סאסילס	10, 33	ננעוסי ב' אפתינקוי	12, 32, 33	מננינן
9, 33	סארמונ ב' ביסמניא	11, 20	נדרוהיאל עצניה	8, 1	מנהוסאיאל א'
17, 32, 34	סמני	5, 20	נהה	11, 27	מסנתותיה
8, 19	סמיהו	7, 20	נההיה	9, 7	מסולס
10, 15	סמנויה ב' שפנס	4, 19	נהר נמנהואל	8, 12, 13, 3—4	מספניאל יה
11, 20	סמניאל עצהוה	8, 14	נהרא	11, 13	מספיהוה
8, 14	סמדרא	9, 14	נהרותהיאל הוה	9, 7	מסיניה ב' מסרהיה
2, 36	סמחה היה	9, 8	נוני	10, 25	מספניהיה
8, 29	סמססי צ'	11, 5	נופיפיון	6, 14	מסרהיאל ת"י
10, 9	סנסס ב' פסאות	11, 20	נוהיתהיאל עצניה	11, 13	מפנסרהואל
18, 27	סנסס	11, 22	נורהיאל אהוה	19, 26, 29	מפלואי
9, 8	סנן	8, 1	נמ	6, 15	מפנסרהואל הויה
9, 7	סננאו	8, 9	נמנהוס	12, 10	מצהו
11, 15	סנניאל עוא	8, 11	נמניא	6, 9	מצהונתהיה
10, 35	סנניה ב' מעלתיה	8, 1	נמלאם	8, 32	מצהויאל
11, 35	סנסוהיאל יהוה	11, 30	נמסמאיאל א'	8, 23	מצרפיה
8, 11	סנססמא	9, 9	ניבו	5, 2	סקוקצוה
4, 18	סנדרתציה	5, 11	נינהה	7, 21	סקמטרון
8, 21	סדוס	3, 22	נינים	4, 18	סקראם
11, 8	סדהוי יהוה	9, 11	ניהנמאי הו	12, 16	סקרנס
8, 13	סדמתי	9, 2	נינשוסיחון צ'	12, 14	סרנהמנהואל
7, 34	סדופילא	11, 18	ניקויאל נעלציה	18, 22—23	סרנהמנהואל הויה
11, 8	סה	11, 17—18	ניקנאל עצניה	12, 8	סרניאל
8, 22	סהותניאל	6, 33	נכס	1, 4	סרניאל
11, 25	סהניאל א'	8, 7	נכסמא	5, 24, 7, 5, 18	סרניאל
8, 33	סהוהן צ'	18, 34, 17, 1	ננהיה	12, 8	סרנעסמנהואל הויה

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11, 21	כתריאאל אהזה	8, 25	ייוזניה	14, 28. 29	ינמוס
18, 21. 22(?)	כתריאאל	8, 33	ייוסמא צ'	9, 14	ינמוס הוזה
8, 18	לבאנתה	8, 25	ייוסרדניה	9, 2	ינלוציא צ'
	לבונתיא ב' חסנותיא	8, 26	יילשעהק	14, 8. 10	ינלוציא
10, 34		8, 26	ייומיתתהיני	8, 7	ידאוס
12, 9	לביניספהואל הויה	8, 25	ייוסמציח	11, 5	ידבתא
11, 3	לדיאך	8, 26	ייוסמוניה	2, 35	ידיאל
11, 23	לתיאאל א'	13, 22. 23	ייוסמוניה	5, 20	ידיכירוזו
11, 31	להפסמאאל א'	8, 24	ייוסוריה	8, 15	יהד (ר?)
17, 14. 18	לחרטן	8, 27	ייופסוביהת		יהו אילון ב' פארננ
10, 31	לחרטן ב' נמולטס	8, 27	ייוסמפיה	9, 30—31	
10, 16—17	לוסרן ב' נפסני	8, 27. 13, 24. 25	ייוסמתיח	4, 33	יהו יח אל
9, 31	לוקוס ב' סמאג	8, 31	ייוקוד צ'	7, 2	יהו קתסמתיח
8, 6. 18, 5—6	לוקי	8, 27	ייוסרהטנס	4, 18	יהואל
8, 7	לוקיאס	8, 27	ייתתיה	2, 20	יהונח הו
11, 12	לוקיוואל	4, 19. 20	יכנו אתיהאל	5, 15	יהוש
8, 19	למו	8, 34. 14, 4. 6	יכערץ צ'	3, 2	יהות נסחי היה
11, 3	למיא	4, 11	יכרוק ונותיה	7, 20	יהניה
11, 3	למיון	6, 32	ימרסדיח	8, 32	יהפס צ'
7, 34	למוס	4, 20	ינה נותניאל	8, 5	יהץ
10, 28	לסותתי א' אסמרהיי	8, 21	יפהניהס	8, 7	יואו
12, 1	לענקתיאאל יהוזה	6, 30	יפעסמקתיח	8, 7	יואוס
10, 24	לפניאס ב' אידוהס	17, 12. 13	יציאוס	10, 25	יואס ב' יהוש
15, 29	מאדמוג	10, 28	יציאוס ב' תרומנטי	9, 31	יואסמא ב' אבנתימניא
8, 34	מאססון	8, 5	יקץ	11, 17	יובסמניאל עעשיה
11, 5	מאפיון	8, 17	יקורי	17, 20. 21	יוליוהו
10, 3	מבאמסי ב' אפופיא	18, 6. 8	יקותני	10, 35	יוליליוהו
11, 18	מבוהיאל עעקהיה	10, 4	יקותני ב' אכתת הוזה		יוניאוס בר חיברנוס
8, 17	מנסס	5, 20, 8, 4	ירוניקא	9, 29—30	
9, 14	מעעצי הוזה	5, 20, 8, 5	ירך	2, 34	יופיאל
4, 33	מהו	4, 11	ירפזו חתיה	9, 29	יוקסירון בר ברתיא
2, 36	מהופתביהייצ	8, 5	ירץ	11, 12	יוקיאל
8, 18	מהיה	10, 30	ישקוס ב' פנהוס	11, 28	יוהממאאל א'
1, 8	מהיהונצי	11, 30	מהואיאל א'	8, 7	יואו
5, 32	מהיהונצי	9, 2	כינא צ'	13, 20. 21	יואניא
7, 10. 17	מהיהונצי	10, 23	כיניה ב' משעקוהי	8, 24	יואניח
11, 12	מהנתיאל יוו היאח	9, 5	כיפמציב א' סחי צ'	8, 26	יובהוניח
11, 6	מהריומי	8, 30	כיפץ צ'	8, 24	ייבקהיס
9, 9	מוגמר	18, 30	ככלהואיאל	8, 24	יינד
11, 34	מודרגואל יהוזה	18, 28	ככלהונאיאל	8, 24	ינתהניסיה
11, 6	מוטיקסמתי	18, 16. 21	כללים תניאל	8, 25	ינפעקתם
8, 1	מונבנידין	10, 20	כללוס ב' אפואס	8, 24	ייהוסהוסיא
9, 2	מוסמס צ'	9, 4	כסא	8, 25	ייהסדיח
4, 31	מוסיספרא	17, 23	כריאך [247 ב. . .]	8, 25	ייהקלתיה

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8, 27	והוהו צבאות	8, 2	הינין	11, 21	הרמיאל אהוה
3, 22	והנרנסא	7, 34	היפדקסא	11, 23	הרסומטמיאל א'
5, 11	והספת	11, 5, 17, 24, 26	היפרו	8, 10	הדקן
4, 11	והספתה ית	7, 21	היקהה	4, 18	הדקונתיאל
18, 10, 12	והקוניאל	10, 19	היתני	5, 19, 29, 7, 5, 18	הדריולו
12, 8	והסחואל הויה	11, 19	הכסניאל עצויה	6, 8	ההאל
2, 28	חוסה יהו	13, 29	הליוהו	6, 7	ההואל
8, 28	חוסתן צבאות	2, 34	הליכיה הוא	5, 25	ההוניה
3, 25	חוקאי	12, 2	הלכאתשהיאל יהוהה	8, 32	הואי צ'
11, 27	חפניתיאיאל א'	18, 24, 26	המננאיאל	8, 29	הוניהייה
4, 33	חיניקיה	11, 22	המוניאל אהוה	4, 8	הוד הוה
2, 36	הניאל	9, 3	המוניאס צ'	2, 32	הודי ותי
8, 1	מאקס	12, 4	המסיהואל הויה	9, 19	הוהא
4, 8	מהר קרונניה	5, 20	הנה	10, 27	הוהוס ב' אהבסן
6, 30	מהרונסיה	3, 1	הניאל	8, 30	הווקסאה צ'
10, 30—31	מוכיס ב' ייהסי	3, 23	הניה הוה	5, 10	הוסר קתנייה
10, 12	מוננת ב' נאמות	11, 29	הנצפואיאל א'	9, 36	הוסנס ב' הותססיה
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8, 30	מוסיהא	11, 18	הסתיאל עצמיה	5, 1	הוסייה
4, 33	סוף	13, 31, 32	העיהו	11, 7	הוסיס יוהה
7, 33	ססה	11, 14	הפיסיאל עה	10, 10	הוסתקות ב' תלונתס
12, 8	סמסחואל הויה	11, 34	הנעסנהיאל יהוהה	11, 26	הוסייהואל א'
9, 34	סיסוס ב' קוספרסוס	10, 31—2	הקלקת ב' שלקות	2, 34	הופקי הוה
5, 3	סירקתיה	6, 29	הקצציה	13, 25, 26	הותמו
8, 12	סיתי	7, 6	הריריון	13, 2, 3	הותמיאס
8, 2	סלאוס	11, 14	התמסיאל עאקה	8, 10	הותמיס
8, 2	סלאין	9, 10	וה	10, 25—26	הותשק ב' שנסהי
4, 32	סלאסי	3, 3	והצאל	9, 33	הואלתס ב' סיסיי
9, 15	סלסוס הוה	6, 16	וד	3, 23	הניה הו
2, 33	סעני אל	1, 4	והדריולו	3, 15	הניניה
2, 34	ספאל	4, 33	והוסר	8, 2	הדירסא
5, 26	סרוסרוסי	8, 28	ויונססיה	8, 2	הדרסמא
7, 5	סרוסרוסיה	8, 27	ווצקויה	12, 33	הידרסמא
11, 8	סרוסעה	3, 2	וישריאל	19, 30	הידרסניא
3, 15	סרסניה	11, 15	והקוניאל עפניה	11, 1	היון
9, 11	סנהאס הוה	9, 10	והוסי הוה	8, 7	הויהאל
8, 23	סחוניאל	9, 22	והות גיהה	8, 30	הוילתו צ'
8, 7	יאו	10, 2	וההססיה ב' התיאסי	11, 33	היוסקהיאל ית והה
6, 19	יאוהיה	4, 33	ווקתיהו	8, 2	היורה
8, 32, 13, 33, 14, 1	יאס צ' 1	12, 3—4	וסנאתהיאל יהוהה	17, 1, 3	היפניא
11, 7	יאסיסו קאנה	12, 5	ועפסיאל יהוהה	11, 29	הילכואיאל א'
8, 7, 8	יאי	12, 9	ועתריסחואל הויה		
4, 10	יאתהסנא	3, 17	וקדיריה		
8, 34	יבעתני צ'				

8, 16	דונפתחם	11, 16	בשנתניאל עתריה	14, 16, 17	אתקם
17, 18, 19	דוראח	5, 2	בשתקצר	10, 17	אתקם ב' סרקף
10, 32	דוראח ב' אשכולי	9, 20	בחר	9, 6	אתקסקירא
8, 16	דורפם	10, 21	בתוקין ב' אשורם	7, 2	אתרואוסמי
4, 33	דורנ	9, 14	בתנוסי הוה	11, 7	אתרמי האה
4, 32	דונימא	18, 12 [14?]	בתקנשיאל	2, 33	אתרץ אהיה
10, 11	דוניק	11, 17	בתקנשיאל עצמיה	10, 5	אתתרום ב' שלומים
10, 7—8	דוסמתי ב' הידאם	8, 6	נא	9, 20	באתיר
	דוסיהסי ב' דמסמנמנסי	11, 10	נבהאל אה	15, 5, 8	באתיר
9, 33—34		7, 11, 8, 22	נבראל	9, 18	בברד
9, 6	דופספיר	4, 18	נבראל שקתכניה		בדיוהואל עצמיה
8, 14	דור	6, 30	נודיהוה	11, 20—21	
7, 2	די	11, 5	נדותי		בדרהוסי ב' סתמתיא
6, 38	דיאדראח	11, 3	נדיאל	10, 22—23	
10, 10	דיהומית ב' שותיפת	11, 3	נדיה	17, 5	בדרקם
4, 32	דיתי	2, 35	נתרפסחו	12, 6	בולפפתואל הויה
7, 6	דיתרון	11, 6	נהוהויר	10, 20—1	במחון ב' בבעת
7, 33	דיוקמאם	8, 1	נוהיא	9, 16	בי או מיה הוה
4, 30	דיסימן קריאם		נולדהואל עקתריה	10, 24	ביועי ב' הונתיא
6, 14	דייהא	11, 16—17		9, 20	בינופי
8, 14	דימא	9, 5	נופריא צ'	9, 20	בינופי
8, 2	דימנא	9, 13	נוחיוס הוה	9, 20	ביסמא
9, 4	דימנס	9, 8	ניאו	9, 20	ביסמי
6, 34	דינאוציה	9, 18	נידו	9, 20	ביפראסו
11, 16	דיניהאל עצמיה	11, 3	נידיה	17, 3, 4	בירקם
8, 1	דיניקא		נולנדיא ב' שהנוסיא	9, 20	ביתרי
8, 14	דיסא	10, 32—3		18, 32	בכלהואל
8, 1	דיסוקא	13, 29	ניפהא	11, 29	בבלהואל א'
9, 5	דימניו		ניפריא צ'	8, 20	בלתי
	דמא בר נהוהיהוס	8, 29, 13, 27 [29?]		9, 20	בניהו
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9, 6	דמא	4, 31	נגליאוס	8, 15	בסומיה
9, 10	דקספם הוה	11, 9	נגי	8, 13	בסונאי
9, 6	דרוחי	5, 26	נגיניה	11, 17	בספיאל
9, 19	האהון	16, 2—3	נסכיא	11, 19	בספיואל עסייה
15, 3	האהן	10, 2—3	נסכיא ב' פרתיא	10, 18	בעדאח ב' עזבואה
6, 3	האהניהח	16, 29	נסמס	5, 2	בצרם
15, 5	האתון	10, 14	נסמס ב' נוסמס	17, 6	בדרקם
	הבקשפתיאל	17, 26, 28	נורמי	10, 22	בדרקם כ' לחבן
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11, 14	הנמותיאל עא	18, 8, 10	נתהותיאל	9, 28	בריוואלה בר הנגמיא
18, 22, 24	הדנסומאיאל	11, 14—15	נתהותיאל עזא	12, 4	ברנסקהואל יהוה
11, 6	הדיוסי	8, 2	דאימנא	10, 20	ברקם ב' שהרום
7, 11	הדודי	12, 2	דכסההואל יוהה	5, 11	בר שמה
7, 6	הריהי	10, 5	דהרום ב' אנתחם	15, 22, 23	ברתיא

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10, 4	אפתמיא ב' דמנסמיא	8, 20	אסיוח	8, 12	איתית'י
17, 18	אצמי נונניא	3, 32, 4, 3, 10	אסיסיה	8, 33	אכסו צ'
8, 23	אקדיאל	16, 23	אסנורכי	אכסלם ב' סתנתיא	
15, 31	אקתנותרין	18, 24?	אסנורפי	10, 28—9	
9, 31	אקנינס ב' רכמו	8, 11	אסמיליס	9, 7	אכת
5, 20	אקפתה	11, 6	אסממי	9, 7	אכתימוס
10, 30	אקשר ב' יהותיהה	4, 3, 10, 8, 4	אסס	11, 11	אליאל יוהוז
15, 18	אקתנו	3, 32, 4, 3, 10, 8, 4	אססי 4, 8	9, 7, 14, 17, 18	אליהו
4, 20	אקתקילקאל	8, 4	אססיה	15, 33, 16, 2	אליהום
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8, 19	ארהם	10, 26	אספבל ב' אקבאי	8, 32	אלקסה צ'
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11, 3	ארמאן	6, 12	אסקוהחי	אמאוס צ'	
11, 3	ארמנ	7, 16	אסקוהחי	8, 31, 13, 31, 32, 33	
9, 9	אריזאפ	16, 30	אסקוהחיי ינופס	9, 3	אמנר צ'
8, 24	ארם	8, 31	אסקמו צ'	10, 35	אמרס ב' איניתחה
11, 19	ארעקאל עצמיה	4, 31	אסקליסתרוא	4, 18	אנהסנאל
9, 9	ארפאי	אסקריהו		8, 2	אנמא
4, 30	ארקם	1, 8, 6, 3, 7, 10, 17	אסתי צ'	8, 5	אנמן
8, 32	ארתם צ'	9, 3	אעסנני ב' נדחסי	10, 3	אנפני ב' בסמי
6, 11	אש	10, 9	אפון	11, 27	אנסיחאיל א'
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* The Numbers refer to page and line.

APPENDIX B.

לשנאה • אנא קרינא לך שדא ביש ושדא¹ אכיראח ושדא דלא
 מרחמנותא לך אנא קרינא שדא ביש יתבא בית קברא ונקמא אנסתא
 דבני איגשא הוא תיזיל תיני קטרה לפ'ב' ברשיה ובעיניה ובפומיה
 ובילשניה ובקרקבניה ובקניה ותשרי ליה מיא פיואי בכרסיה ואם לא
 תולון ותרמון ליה מיא בכרסיה משדרנא עלי בישתא מלאכין פויראל⁵
 ונזאל פסדיאל פרויאל אקריניג' וקבורי² אנון שתא דתולון בעגלא על
 פ'ב' ותשרון ליה מיא סווא(!) בכרסיה וקמילו יתיה לפ'ב' דאנא בעינא
 א'ס'.

לשנאה • כתוב על ביצה בת יומא פי קבר נצראני משבענא
 עליכון באהרי³ שמיא וארעא כמה דאתפרשו שמיא מן ארעא כן אפריו
 ואפרישו בן פ'ב' ופ'ב' אנתיתה ואפרישו יתהון חד מן חד כמו
 דאתפרשו חיי מן מיית וכמו דאתפרשת ימא מן יבשתא ומיא מן נהרא
 וסורא מן גלמתא וליליא מן יממא ונהורא מן חסוכא ושמשא מן סהרא
 כן אפרישו פ'ב' מן פ'ב' אנתיתה ואפרישו יתהון חד מן חד בש'
 תרתי עשר שעין דיממא ותלת ארל(!) ליליא ושבעא יומי שבתא ותלתין¹⁵
 יומי ירתא ושבע שמיסין וחמשין שנין יובלא כל יומא ויומא בש'ם
 דסמסמאל מלאכא סמנא ובשם ויאכאל מלאכא ובשם דרסמיאל מלאכא
 ובשם זאהבוך מלאכא ובשם דאתאף מ'ל ובשם זעמאל מ'ל ובש'
 וסניאל מלאכא דממנן עלי כיבא ועל פיניותא וצתכא והדריופא ואפריש
 פ'ב' מן פ'ב' אנתיתה וירחקון דין מן דין ולא יכלון למניחמא דין ית²⁰
 דין מדר ברין ומדר בצריע' תם

¹ שדא. ² וקבורי. ³ נאחרי.

[illegible]

הוֹה . מְפֹרֶשׁ סְגִינָרֹן כִּינִי תִצְנֵנֵנִי נְהוֹסֵס יוֹה . מְפֹרֶשׁ מִשִּׁי . כִּינִי
 צִקְנָתָה יֵה זֹהִיָּה . מְפֹרֶשׁ מִקֹּקֶן . כִּינִי כְתֻמְנָת פִּנְגִּי הִיָּה .
 מְפֹרֶשׁ אֶסְמֵס . כִּינִי אֶמְמַמִּי הוֹה הוֹה . מְפֹרֶשׁ סִקְמֵס . כִּינִי
 קִדְרָדוֹ סֵס יֵה הוֹה . מְפֹרֶשׁ . יֵהוּ אִיָּאל . כִּינִי פִדְרִי הוֹדִים סִיָּהוּ .
 5 מְפֹרֶשׁ יוֹפִיָּאל . כִּינִי קִמְהוּ וֶזֶן הִיָּה יֵה זֹהִיָּה . מְפֹרֶשׁ סִסְנִיָּאל
 יֵה . כִּינִי סִקְמָנְהָה יֵה יֵה יֵה . מְפֹרֶשׁ קִנְיָאל יֵה . כִּינִי צִצְמָכָה .
 שִׁיָּהוּ יֵה וִיָּהוּה . מְפֹרֶשׁ זִבְדִּיָּאל . כִּינִי אֶנְצִנְיָתָה יֵה יֵהוּה . הִרִינִי
 מִשְׁבִּיעַ בָּאַרְבַּעַת עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁכַל רוּיִם וְסִתְרִים וְאוֹתוֹת חֲתוּמוֹת בָּהֶן
 וְנִעְשִׂים (!) . וְיִסּוּדֵי שָׁמַיִם וְאַרְצֵי בָהֶם . וְאַרְבַּעַת מֵהֶן חֲקוּקִין עַל רֹאשִׁי
 10 הַחַיִּית וְאֵילֹה הֶן הוֹנֵנִי סִתִּי זֹהוּ צִין נָנִי סִיָּה אֶדּוֹן הַגְּבוּרוֹת זֹהוּ בִדְ הוֹנֵנִי
 קְסִיָּסָה . בַּעַל נִפְלָאוֹת . תִּצְמָצַץ שֵׁשׁ נָהִי הָהָ . בַּעַל פְּרִישוֹת . קִתְנָת
 צִנְיָה זִבְרִיָּה . בַּעַל הָעוֹל . וְאַרְבַּעַת מֵהֶן חֲקוּקִין . עַל אַרְבַּע
 רוּחוֹת כֶּסֶא . וְאֵילֹה הֶן נָהִי פִדְרִי נָהִי יוֹי הוֹה קִדּוֹשׁ קִדּוֹשׁ קִדּוֹשׁ .
 פִּפְנֵנִי נָנִי עִקְמָה יֵה אֶדִיר אֶדִירִי אֶדִירֹן סִסְבֵּר מִלִּל אֹוִיָּה אֵל אֱלֹהִי
 15 הָאֱלֹהִים אֵת כֵּן עֲתָקֶר [f. 65^v] פִּנְגִּית מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמַּלְכִּים . וְדִ חֲקוּקִין
 עַל רִי כְתָרִי הָאוֹפְנִים הָעוֹמְדִים נֶגֶד הַחַיִּית כְּאִמּוֹר בִּלְכֻתָּם יִלְכוּ וּבַעֲדָם
 יַעֲמִדוּ . וְאֵילֹה הֶן . כְּלִיָּם נִיָּה וְיִי[יָּהֶן] שְׁלִיָּם עַל כָּל . אֶסְנֵנִי צֵב סֵס
 רוֹר יֵה אֶדִיר עַל כָּל . זִנְנָהוּ סֵס הִי צִין הוֹה מוֹשֵׁל בְּכָל דְּרָדִי
 בִּירְנָהוּ (!) שֶׁהַכֵּל בִּידוֹ . וְשֵׁנִים מֵהֶן חֲקוּקִין עַל כְּתָרוֹ שֶׁל מֶלֶךְ עֲלִיוֹן רֵם
 20 וְנִישָׁא וְאֵילֹה הֶן זֹתָה צִין פִּפְ צֵב קִדְרִי חִי תִסִּיָּה שְׁלַפְנִי תִכְרַע כָּל
 בֶּרֶךְ וְכָל פֶּה יוֹדֵה לִפְנֵי אֹקָה זֹה נָרוֹן שׁוֹי שִׁיָּה . מִבְּלַעֲדִי אֵין
 אֱלֹהִים וּמוֹשִׁיעַ . בָּהֶם אֲנִי מִשְׁבִּיעַךְ וְנוֹר וּמִקִּיָּם אֲנִי עֲלֶיךָ שְׁתַּמְהֵר
 וְתִרְדֵּי אֲצִלִּי אֲנִי פֶלֶ בֵּן פֶּלֶ . אֵתָהּ וְלֹא שְׁלוּחַךְ וּבִירְדִּתְךָ לֹא תִסְרַף
 דַּעֲתִי וְתִנְגְּלָה לִי כָּל מַחְקֵרִי רוּי מַעֲלָה וּמִטָּה וְסִתְרִי צִפּוֹנִי מַעֲלָה וּמִטָּה
 25 וְרוּי בִּינָה וְעֶרְמֵת תּוֹשִׁיָּה כְּאֵדָם שֶׁהוּא מִסְפֵּר לַחֲבִירוֹ כִּי בִשְׁמוֹת הַגְּדוֹלִים
 וְאֶדִירִים וְנִפְלָאִים וּבִחְוִיָּים וּסְדוּרִין הַשְּׁבַעֲתִיךָ שֶׁבָּהֶן נִכּוֹן כֶּסֶא הַכְּבוֹד
 וּמוֹשֵׁב עֲלִיוֹן כָּלִי חֲמִדָּה שֶׁנַּעֲשֶׂה בַּהֲפִלָּא וּפִלָּא מֵאֵד עַד שְׁלֹא נִוצְרָתָהּ
 וְלֹא נִצְרַף כָּל צִבָּא מְרוֹם עַד שְׁלֹא עָשָׂה [שְׁמַיִם] אֶרֶץ וְהוֹצֹתָ . וְדִרִי
 אֶרֶץ וּבְרִיּוֹת שֶׁבָּהּ . שׁוּב אֲנִי קוֹרֵאךְ בְּהִי שְׁמוֹת בְּרוּרִים שֶׁבִשְׁמֹתֶיךָ שָׁאִין
 30 לֶךְ לַמַּעֲלָה מֵהֶן חוּץ מֵאַחֵד . זֹה פִירוּשׁוֹ סִנְנֵק צִנְיָה רִתִּיָּה אֵל יֵה עֵת
 צִנְיָסֵס זֹהוּ הוּא הִיָּה אֵל יֵה בְּהוֹרְדָּנָהוּ עֲשִׂמַּשׁ שֶׁהִיָּה אֱלֹהִי פִטְמוֹק צָחוּ
 סִסְעֵן יֵה וְאַהֲהָ אֵל יֵה אֹוְהֶנֶךְ פִּטְפִּמְדִי הוֹה יוֹהִיָּה יֵה אֵל יֵה . מִשְׁבִּיעַ
 אֲנִי עֲלֶיךָ בְּהִי שְׁמוֹת כִּנְגֵד הִי שְׁמוֹתֶיךָ שְׁאוֹתוֹת שְׁלֹחַן כְּתוּבוֹת בְּאֵשׁ
 בּוֹלְעוֹת . בְּאֵשׁ וְעוֹפּוֹת לַמַּעֲלָה מִכֶּסֶא כְּבוֹד וְאַחַת עוֹלָה וְאַחַת יוֹרֶדָה
 35 כְּדִי שְׁלֹא יִצְצוּ בָּהֶן שְׂרֵי הַפְּנִיָּם . וְכִךְ פִּירוּשׁוֹ וְנִיָּקוֹבֵן וְהִידוּרֵן אֶתְלִמָּת
 נְנִיָּסֵס הוֹה יֵה יֵה קִרְיָמוֹס קִרְיָה הוֹה יֵה יֵה יֵהב אֱהִי סוֹנְהוֹה יֵה

חדש וכמה אותו בו מעט שמן וזה ומעט נפט ולבוש בנדים נקיים
ותישן בבית סהור ומיד בא מלאך ומעמיד לך ומגלה לך כל
מה שאתה מבקש.

III. שאל ר' עקיב את ר' אליעזר הגדול כמה משביעין את שר

- הפנים לירד לארץ לגלות לאדם רוי מעלה ומטה ומחקרי יסודי מעלה 5
ומחקרי יסודי מטה ותעלומות חכמה וערמה תושיה • אמר לי בני פעם
אחת הורדתי ובקש לשחת העולם כולו כי שר אדיר הוא • מכל פמליא
של מעלה ותמיד עומד ומשרת לפני מלכו של עולם בנקיות פרישות
טהרה ואימה ויראה בכבוד קוניו (!) לפי ששכינה עמו בכל מקום • א"ל
ר' הריני מוזיק בו על אחת שבועה בתדתי שהורדתי • בשעה שאני 10
מוזיק עצמי להשתמש בו יושב אני בתענית יום אחד שהוא מורידו
וקודם לאותו היום יקדש את עצמו ו' ימים סך קרי ויהא צובע באמת
המים ולא יהא מסיה סיחה ולתכלית ימי סהרתו ביום תענית ירד
וישב במים עד צוארו ויאמר קודם שישבע משביע אני עליכם שרי אימה
ויראה ורעד • שאתם ממונים לפטע במי שאינו נקרה וסהור ונוגע 15
להשתמש במשרתי עליון בשם הנכבד והגורא הזה שנקרא קתת יה
היה סנך קק [f. 64^a] רותת יה היה סניקק רותת יה היה פפננה יה היה
יה אנקס יהיה אדיר על הכל ומושל בכל והכל בידו שלא תוסיגי ולא
תרעשוני ולא תפחידוני באמת • גבורות טלה הרזין " ואחר יפתח
וישבע כי נתחזק כי חתם עצמו בשם של מ"ב אותיות שמי שישמענו 20
יתבהלו ויפתחו וירעשו כל צבא מרום ויחזור וישביע אותם ארץ גהו
הו זו פצץ יה שר שהוא פונע ולוחם בכל מלאכי תבלה בשם הזה
בלשון הזה לך אני קורא אוהיא שר הפנים נער ומשרת לפני מלכו
של עולם שהוא שר רוב על צבא מרום משביע אני עליך ונזור אני
עליך שתוסיף לי להיזקק [רצוני] לרצוני ותקבל שבועת נזירתי ושאלתי 25
עשה ובקשתי תמלא ולא תבהליני ולא תרעידני ולא תחלחליני ולא
תזיע קומתי ולא ימעד קרסולי ולא תעוות דיבור שפתי ואתחזק ואתאמן
והשבועה יתגבר והשם יסדר בגרוני ולא תאחזיני עות ולא תגידני רגל
משרתיך לבהלני וליראני לרפות ידי ולא אשמוך באש ולהבה בסופה
וסערה המהלכת עמך נפלא ונשגב שכך פירשו יי הו גז הו היה 30
עלרג הו יה מסס ינן הו הו שלמס הו הו היה מקצפו תרעש
הארץ ולא יכל הכל ועמו ברוך מדבורך " שוב אני קורא לך ביד
שמותיך שאתה גגלה להם לנביאים וחזיים להמתיק דברי נביאות
[f. 64^b] בפיהם ולהנעים אמרי נועם • וכך פירושם וכינויים רוח
פסקוניות • וכינוי קסם נני הו היה • מפורש אמימן • כינוי צלמס 35
ניחא הו היה • מפורש פיסקון (!) מפורש הזנרן כינוי מצלום היו גה

II. אמת הוא זה חרבו של משה שהיה עושה בו ניסים ונבואות
 ויכלה כל¹ כשפים והיא נגלית למשה בסנה ונמסר לו השם הנדול
 והמפואר ושמות² אותו באמת והוא שומר אותך³ . לאיתתא לא תנש
 ולא תיכזה והוא מצילך מכל צרה בעולם הזה⁴ . יואם רצית לבדוק קח
 5 עץ עבות ואמור החרב עליו ה' פעמי' במעלה השמש ויבש⁵ . יואם
 תרצה לאחוז דנים קח חול מן הים ועיקר תמרה ביד שמאל ואמור
 החרב עליהן והן באין במקום שתשליך החול⁶ . יואם רציתה להלך בים
 קח עץ מפרזלא וקוב אותו וחרזו בו חוס שני⁷ . וקשור אותו בעקבך
 וכת' ואמ' החרב עליו ולך והכנס וצא בשלום⁸ . יואם רצית להריץ
 10 יפה כת' החרב בכרמים אי אדא מיקון . ותן יין בחרש החדש
 וישתו וירחצו פניהם ונוצחין⁹ . יואם רצית לשבור אותו כת' חרב על
 מס קפרינן וסמון בקסמון ומשתברין¹⁰ להבאל(?) כת' מדם ידך על שעריך
 שמך¹¹ וכת' במגילת צבי ברם אצבעך בשמד ואמור החרב והיא באה .
 יואם רצית לברך בקהל קח זרע כרישין ביד שמאל [f. 63^a] ואמור
 15 החרב ונווק¹² בתוכם ורד עד שיבא השמש . וימול אותך כרצונך וצום
 ימים ג' . ועשן לבנה ופרח לבן ואמור החרב בבקר ובערב מיד יבא
 וידבר עמך ויעשה כרצונך¹³ . יואם לשאילת הלום קח שמן אפיבלסמון
 וכת' על קרמים¹⁴ . אירימיקון והזכר החרב לפני הנר והכה את הנר
 בשבט של זית וירבין¹⁵ . יואם רצונך לבא אצל אדם גדול קח שמן
 20 וורד ואמור חרב על השמשות¹⁶ על פניך וידך וישמע לך¹⁷ . יואם
 רצית ליתן ריב בקהל קח חרדל מלא כפך השמאלית . ואמור החרב
 ורוק ויהרגו זה לזה¹⁸ . יואם רציתה להפריש איש מאשה קח בשר
 של חמר בניוך¹⁹ ואמור החרב על שניהן וראה²⁰ לא תקרוב בידך .
 יואם להפיל שנאך קח מס של עפרת וקח משערו ומבגדו וכת' החרב
 25 ותן בבית החריבה וירבין²¹ . יואם רצית להלך בשוק ולא יכירך
 אדם . קח ארמימיסין ובשמים ופיה ועשן עצמד וקח לב שועל ואמור
 החרב וצא²² . יואם היית בים וקם סער עליך עמוד נכת הגלים ואמור
 חרב והם נומשים²³ . וכת' בטס או בחרס או בעץ ותלי יתיה לפני
 הספינה ולא תמבע²⁴ . יואם רצית לשבר שנאך כת' החרב על חרס
 30 שלא נכנס לאור וסוח החרס והשלך בביתו²⁵ . יואם רצית לעשות
 כל דבר כך בימינך ארמימוס(!) ואמור חרב נוכח השמש ויעשה כל דבר
 ויפטר עצמד ימים [f. 63^b] שבעה ותצלח בכל דבר ולחזירים עשה
 מצוות ושמור עצמד מכל שבועה והצנע לנפשו ובכן תצלח בכל אשר
 תעשה²⁶ חזק²⁷ שעקץ קסמן²⁸ . אוחרן²⁹ . איפת נופיר נקיפוס ג'³⁰ .
 35 סבובי כתם כי כתי תימן אביץ³¹ . כת' על כף ידך שמאל והבא נר

1. קרמים.

2. וחרזו.

3. שמה.

4. ושמות.

5. לכל.

6. ורעה.

7. בידך.

8. השמן ותן.

ארמית אימתת תתרוחל לחינה ברונה אמיאל נד . אסמאים מנאל
 אסאך באלכי באתמי אני איב באסא סתתה אברבא אניאס באבך
 תרניהון יהנה סרידיאס יוא אית סאסילו תקנה סאר אם סוף ברסיהא
 אבנבא קאתה פנפאית תקנה סאס סיתן ניתחת לאב אח אהריאאל
 סרות סאבי אפיריב אביה אדללה יחילה ארסתון מאנות סאר טארות 5
 אתיאו אליס אין אסמר מחרין חמושיה טועת ברבת בית יהיא מן
 שלמה אמ' איש יעיר כאבלי אניק אחד רינאל נחה איס באן אבות
 בליתואל לחומי אסבאית תחק אן תחיסיאף פתתא אבא בא באל ריסאל
 אסריא מאפסי אפי בה אסטרני נחסא באריה אננאין כלמיאת לאבות
 אנתחר אפמיאל לאמחר דאתא נכא אסבגחר אסמחר דאף נינחל אבאר 10
 אוריה אליאל אנמיניר דארני דאסתחל מיה אסחל מלכות תיאריה
 אסברית תגדנות אסביחל נמיר אננתון נאתחור יאך אכתאך נב' .
 שלום כסא טוב אינא ביה איכחל אמרא מאפסר ואנראן חל ליאת
 תרסבאין נקסאל איספתאות בתתאות נרתא ואיפס אנינין איסחוב
 נרדאי סיהאל אסברין אי אהל אמתה יאות טחגדיאל אבריר חרינן 15
 [f. 62^a] יאם תחרא יאפון אירבא מלות תחרך ברוחל אוהאל להנכני
 אחות ומלאכא על בעירא די שמה איתתא לאינמא ומהא דשליס על
 חיותא דמדברא מתניאל . ומה דשליס על עופא ברא ומה דשליס על
 ריחשא תרניאוב . ומה דשליס על תהומא סדרקא ומה דשליס על
 טורים ראמפאל . ומה דשליס על אילנא מאכתיאל " ומה דשליס על 20
 בסמנסיא . אריאס מה דשליס על ברוניא על נינת עבר ספאל " ומה
 דשליס על נהריא תרסיאל " מה דשליס על רוחתא מבריאלי ועל אנשא
 קרה רבא הרה הבמת תלניא יקרא רבה משה שעה יצלי ויבעי רחמי
 על אנש בין מב לבין ביש ואמ' לה כל שעה יהיב לאנש למצלחיה
 אלא שעין נ' שעתא קמיתא דיומא עלי ואדכר מאה שמהתא קדישא 25
 ותקיפא וסכומיהן תלת מאה וארבעה אמן שלום .
 בא איכסנדרוס תמא ממא דרימיקל אבא נימא אפסמאקיון ונורסון
 אמרסיו ונברי איולי כסוכיאי מא מינלא איש איסורא אינסמא . מו
 תו מא סרקא אירי מנא קן קן תנו לי רפואה . איזו היא אור גדולה
 כל אשר אסרה בו מלני פחות ומבין אבילי מעקרת רוא פפר אילו 30
 שאמ' מקדימין אבלו מעקרת אבלו מותך האריות והרות . השבעתי
 עליכם אם זכר ואם נקבה התאומות השבעתי אתכם הרוחות הקשות
 בשם יי [f. 62^b] נבור החיל הי חי [מיכאל] בשם יי [נבריאלי]
 איאל רפאל עליו מן האריות מן האברות ומן התאומות השבעתי
 אתכם הרוחות הקשות בשם יי נבור החיל יה יהיה יהיה פל בר 35
 פל קינין "

כמה דאתמסרו למשה בן עמרם שלם מאלהא עליה..ובעובדיה לא יעביד
 ל' ויקרב לאשתמשא בית מלאכי רונא וחמתא וחרונה ועברה אינון
 שלמין ביה ומשנקין ית גופיה זהבל הכל בגופיה מקרן ליה.. ואילין
 שמתה סריא די ברישיתון שם סרא דממנא על מלאכי רונא..
 5 מופסיאסאיאל שמו ושם סרא דממנא על מלאכי חמתא הוא צקצורוסתיאל
 שמו " ושם סרא דממנא על מלאכי חרונא קסועפנדיאל שמו ושם
 סרא דיממנא על עברה נעמוסניקתתיאל שמו " ולמלאכיא דתחות רשותהון
 לית להון מניינא וכולהון שלמין ביה וגופיה גוולי ישתון.. (" ישמרך
 מכל רע אמין..

10 שלום חרבא בעורת אל נערין בסוד קדושים רבה.. תם
 תם



APPENDIX A.

בשם " חרבא דמשה [f. 61^a]

I. דקמא . יקראך . אח מלכיאל חזה או את אנון בדיך [פתיהון]
 חתיכות מחין מאהילו אהל ראבות . דאסתון . פאה לב אמור . פאתו
 איר . אמפראל סרופא גרא מוט כלבי ברבות . נחיל להון . אסכות
 תיגרא דנאהל מישהל . ואיש אלתי . מבאי סבר נאות . תגרא
 באהל . בואל כלמיא . אסימוך . פסבורי . הותתי ווך . אורי כורחילי
 15 הפרנס בפאי באמיר איסטרין ממסאי דאנה אאל כסות פתואל . לברות
 כותרך . ולכריאל באברות . באות ברי בית אספות תגריאל . הריאל
 מאיהל . ג'נ דר מכות זרניאל אחון לניחוך בסריר וגוריאה . זמדנא .
 אביא נאמי הוי די אורין יצחבי מאי פחסיה מלכיה . קקאנא
 20 [איסרמילין] באתיך כנאן ידיה סיתור אינון ואנכלה ואיכא נאל הא
 זכחאי אדר אתון אבדיה מוב לאיסנוני את יגוריהון אסבי מוב כינתו
 ואידור אינא להילאך אסיאך אוללך אסיאך איללך נתת בי . את אם .
 אסיאך ארת ארד תגרא טרא טורפתות הנא חלון כסא
 25 תיחסי זור לאמות נלל מאות יא לא קא נת תאות איסאדקופא יאון
 דאנה באהל תאיהל אספא בר רבת אבחת ונגאת . תאית נאות
 אמה . " פאפדא אות טרבי ארי ארינא כל לל איפוא אמרי מכסא
 אסבך טאם אל סמרפאל תרניאל לניניאל קמפאל יאבחות סנרתי
 נחנז [f. 61^b] מהראיך אומה דאיבותיו ביה אסבו כאנו אין נסת או
 בי פחדי נהל טאממו בי אסבית אממתה לאני לא ליאל אחברא

¹ Cod. Oxford. 1531, 6. ² So in Ms.

קדשנאִיאל ועד פִּזְקֵהִיאִאל ומתפתחא לך עינא דמִיא¹²² [f. 11^b]
 אם כנפת זקוף עינך לשמיא ופרוש ירך לשמים ואמ' מין פִּזְקֵהִיאִאל
 ועד קִרְסְנֵהִיאִאל וסר קאים קדמך ויחב לך לחם ובשר¹²³ ואם בעית
 למקריא סריאה דאנשא לותך אמ' על סודך מן קִרְסְנֵהִיאִאל ועד
 הִבְקִשְׁפֵּהִיאִאל ואחית אסרך והוא אתי לותך ומא דבעית אימ' לך⁵
¹²⁴ ואם בעית למפטר יתיה אמ' לקבליה מא דאמרת באיפוך והוא אויל¹²⁵
¹²⁶ ואם בעית כל שר דבשמיא יליף יתך מה דבידיה קרי את אהיופסקתיה
 ואשבע יתיה בנ' שעין ביליליא בשם מארי קדישיא ועד תכלית חרבא
 שדר לי וינלה לי וילפינני כל מה דבידיה וינוס (!)¹²⁷ אם בעית דתזיל
 במיא ורנלך לא תטבע סב ססא דאיברא וכתוב עליה הִבְקִשְׁפֵּהִיאִאל¹⁰
 סעסחשדִּיאִאל ואחית בהמיינך ואמ' כד אזלת¹²⁸ אם בעית דתהוי חכים
 אדכר נ' ירזין בתר הודי ראשיתון ריש ירח ניסן בהונן הדעת מן
 שעסחשדִּיאִאל ועד ענפתנסהִיאִאל יתפתחון לי שערי חכמה ואתני בהון¹²⁹
¹³⁰ ואם בעית כל דתשמע תילף אלתר כתוב על ביצה בת יומא מין
 ענפתנסהִיאִאל¹³¹ קנינסהִיאִאל למחוק בחמרא חייא מן צפרא ואשתי ומדעם¹⁵
 לא תטעום עד נ' שעין¹³² אם בעית דתשכח מן חבורך כל דילף
 כתוב על שמה על אמרפא דרופנים מין קנינסהִיאִאל ועד אובריהואל
 וקבור באסקופתיה¹³³ אם בעית לשדורי שידא כישא על סנאך סב
 קסנא¹³⁴ יקרא ואמ' עליה [f. 12^a] מן אובריהואל ועד קסנהנהואל
 וקבור ביה נדא¹³⁵ ואפראה¹³⁶ לשדורי¹³⁷ מחא סב גרמא מן מתא²⁰
 ועפרא מן תחותיה בבכא וצור בבליתא דקרבאסא¹³⁸ בדוקא¹³⁹ ואמ' עלה
 מן קסנהנהואל ועד מרנהמהואל על שמה וקבר בבית קברי¹⁴⁰
¹⁴¹ יתאסרון ויתמסרון נגבון ולסמין בש מרנהמהואל ועד אסמסהואל
 וכד אמרת אחית אצבעתך ועירתא באונך כד אמרת¹⁴² וכד בעית
 דתשרי להון אמ' מן יאויה ושקול ירך מן אונך¹⁴³ למסתם¹⁴⁴ ביתך²⁵
 מן נגבאי אמ' על כוזא דמִיא מן אסמסהואל ועד מפנסרהואל ואולח¹⁴⁵
 סחור סחור לאינך ואף למחתם מתא¹⁴⁶ למחתם ביתא מן גיאסא סב
 עפרא מן קניא דשושמאני¹⁴⁷ ואחד סחור לאינך ואמ' כד מהדרת
 מפנסרהואל ועד כל מארי קדישיא¹⁴⁸ למחתם נפשך מן מויקא אמ' בש
 תובר תסבר ועד הדרסניא¹⁴⁹ אנא פִּבִּס אעבר בשלם ולא בהגויק וכן³⁰
 לשמותי יתהון כד משכחת להון¹⁵⁰ ולשאר מילי דלא מפרשן בש מארי כל
 קדישיא ועד תכלית חרבא¹⁵¹ ועל כל קמיעא דכתבת מן חרבא כתוב
 ברישא כש¹⁵² מארי כל קדישיא דעבדא בחרבא דאיתעביד ויקרב
 לאשמשא ביה ובכל אילין עובדיא ויתמסרון ליה לאשתמשא בהון

5 וסירה

9 רש

4 קשעת

8 ריק : ברקא

3 נדאדא

2 עד : add

7 תאך

1 שדאך

6 לשדורי

10 למחתם

11 נמל

12 בש

סב ה' כוזין מן ה' ביתין זמלי יתהון מיא מן ה' נהרין ורמי יבהון מלחא
 מן ה' ביתין ואמ' עליהון מן איי ועד אסהאל' ה' וימנין ואולח על כל
 קרנא תרין כוזי ותבר אינון ב' כוזין על ה' שבילין. ¹⁰³ לקצירא דחליש
 ולא ידעת ממאי חליש סליק שיברא במיא ואמר על הינון מיא מן
 אסהאל' ועד לוקי וישתי כד צהי. ¹⁰⁴ למעבד קרבא סב עפר מתחות
 רנלך דשמאל ואמ' עליה מן לוקי ועד קבציאל' וזרוק לאפיהון והון
 פרישין ואחדין מאני קרבא ועבדין קרבא. ¹⁰⁵ אם בעית דתהוי אימתך
 על כל בני אדם כתוב על טסא דאיברא מן קבציאל' ועד נתהותיאל'
 וקבר בבי כנישתא לרות מערבא. ¹⁰⁶ אם בעית דאתנהר לך נהורא
 בשעת חשוכא כתוב על קרסאסא מן נתהותיאל' ועד זרוקניאל'
 ונקט' עלך אימת דבעית. ¹⁰⁷ אם בעית למיצד עיניי כתוב על מגלתא
 ואחית במאני דדוצי תחות כוכבי מן זרוקניאל' ועד בתקשיאל' ולא
 תשתעי כד כתבת. ¹⁰⁸ אם בעית דתשדר חרבא והיא תעביד לך
 קרבא אמ' על סכינא חדתא דכולא פרולא מן בתקשיאל' ועד תשהוואאל'
 ושרי לאפיהון. ¹⁰⁹ אם בעית דיקמלון אנון חדרי אמ' על סכינא דכולא
 פרולא מן תשהוואאל' ועד כללים תניאל' וקבר יתיה עם עקבא בארעא
 ואחית [f. 11^a] עקבך על בארעא ואינון קמלין הדארי עד דנסבת יתה
 תרין ארעא. ¹¹⁰ ואם בעית דניחין סב מין עפרא מין תחות רנלך דימין
 ואיפוך מה דאמות' ושרי לאפיהון ואינון גיחין. ¹¹¹ ואם תפש יתך
 אויב ובעי דליקמלך כוף אצבעתך דידך ועירתא דשמאלך ואמ'
 כללים תניאל' ועד כתריהאל' והוא רהים מין קדמך כנבר דרהים מן קדם
 קמליה. ¹¹² למיחד עינין אמ' על משך אריה מן כתריה ועד הדנסומיאל'
 ונקט' עלך ולית דאחוי לך. ¹¹³ אם נפלת ישרא ובעית' למיסק מיניה
 אמ' מין הדנסומיאל' ועד סמקתיאל' ואת סליק בשלם. ¹¹⁴ אם נפלת
 בבור עמוק כד לא ידעת אמור במפלך מין סמקתיאל' ועד המנציאל'
 ולא יחמי בך מדעם. ¹¹⁵ אם טבעת בנהר עמוק אמר מן סמקתיאל'
 ועד המנציאל' ועד משקופיאל' וסליקת לשלם. ¹¹⁶ ואם נפל עלך
 חימא או מפלה ואת תחותיה אמ' מין משקוניאל' ככלהונאיאל' ועד
 קניאסיאל' ואת פלים בשלם. ¹¹⁷ ואם תפסין יתך מלכותא כוף אצבעתא
 ועירתא דשמאלך ואמ' מן קניאסיאל' ועד בכלהונאיאל' איאל' קדם
 מלכא או קדם דיינא והוא קמיל ית נברי דתפסו לך. ¹¹⁸ אם נפל
 עלך ניסא אהדר אפך למערב ואמ' מן בכלהונאיאל' ועד קשינאיאל'
 קדם מלכא או קדם דיינא ואינון הוויין כאבנין דלא נדין. ¹¹⁹ ואם בעית
 למשריה להון אהדר אפך למגדנחא (!) ואיפוך מה דאמרת. ¹²⁰ ואם אויל
 את בבקעין או במורין ומיא לית למשתי זקוף עינך לשמיא ואמור מין

דשמאל מן נבדיה ועד היסנאי ושדי לאפיתון. ⁸¹ אם בעית למפתח
 דשא סב עקר קניא דירדא ואחית תחות לישנך ואמר לקביל דשא
 מן היסנאי ועד בדרקם. ⁸² אם בעית למיקטל תורא או בעירא אמור
 על אונו ברקם ועד תמיסם. ⁸³ אם בעית דתישחון בליבא אימ' על
 אומיצא מן תמיסם ועד בדרקם ושדי ליה ויכול. ⁸⁴ אם בעית לאשמואי ⁸⁵
 אינשא אימ' על ביצה מן בדרקם ועד אהית' וסב ליה בידיה. ⁸⁶ אי
 בעית לאתרוכי ביתא דחברך אמ' על חספא חדתא מן אהית' ועד
 שאילם ושדי בביתיה. ⁸⁷ אם בעית לאנלאה חברך אמר על משח ידי
 מן שאילם ועד אספרל ושמר בסיפא כאביה. ⁸⁸ אם בעית לאסנואי
 חברך אמר על דם גרע מן אספרל ועד עזמרם ושדי על אסקופתיה. ⁸⁹
⁹⁰ אם בעית תפיל אשה אמ' על כוזא דמיא מן עזמרם ועד [f. 10^b]
 יציאום ושדי על אסקופתיה. ⁹¹ אם בעית לאמרועי אנשא אמ' על
 משח זיתא מן יציאום ועד נאסמנ וישוף. ⁹² אם דתרע בקצירא או
 מאיית או חאי' אמ' לקבליה מן נאסמנ ועד להרמן אם מהדר אפי
 לותך חאי' ואם לנדא³ מאיית. ⁹³ אם בעית דתנקום אריה באודניה ⁹⁴
 אמ' מין להרמן ועד דודיאה וקמר בכרכשתא⁴ דהמיאנך ו' קימרין ואמר
 על כל קטרא וקטרא ונקום יתיה. ⁹⁵ אם בעית דייוול שבחך בעלמא
 כתב קמיעא מן דודיאה ועד אצמי נונניא וקבור יתיה בבאך. ⁹⁶ אם
 בעית דתקפוץ ארעא קרמך אמ' על קניא דזרדתא יחידאה מן אפמינ
 נניא ועד ילדיהו. ⁹⁷ אם בעית לתתוניות דיתסי ותוב לא ימרע סב
 קשיתא... דהאנא שיראה וקלי בנורא ואמ' עליה מן ילדיהו ועד אפיון
 ונבול במשח זית ויסב עליה קמיעא דסב. ⁹⁸ לכל רוהא כתוב על
 מנצב מין אפיון ועד כריאך ויתלי. ⁹⁹ לארסא דק כמונא דפלגני כתב
 על בעא ורמי בחמרא ואמר עליה מן כריאך ועד היפרו וישתי. ¹⁰⁰
¹⁰¹ לנלאלא כד אתיא מן שמיא סב חומרתא דפרולא וואברא⁶ ותלי ¹⁰²
 במדעם דא...ך על דוכתא דבעית ואימא עליה מין היפרו ועד גרומי.
¹⁰³ אם בעית למיעל קדם מלכא או רברבני אמ' על משך ארי כד צביע
 במוכא אוכמא וחמר נקי מן גרומי ועד שהרומי ונקום עלך. ¹⁰⁴ לידקאנא
 דגפיל בארעא סב נידא וטמוש במיא דליפתא בלילי דארבעה גגחי
 חמשה ולמחר אולח אינין מיא על ההיא ארעא ואמ' מן שהרומי ועד ¹⁰⁵
 קהתמי. ¹⁰⁶ לנשקא⁷ דגפיל בפירי סב תולעתא מן מינא ורמי בנופתא⁸
 ואמ' עליה מן קהתמי ועד סתנמי וסכר פומא דכופרא⁹ וקבור בהדיא
 ארעא. ¹⁰⁷ למישרא נברא מן בית וינא אמ' על כוספא דקופי¹⁰ ועל
 תמה דתוחלי¹¹ מן סתנמי ועד אי ויכול. ¹⁰⁸ לארעא דלא מפקא פיר¹²

1 תאדין. 2 צנץ. 3 תאימ. 4 ואעקד נמרף. 5 בביתך? l.
 6 רצאין. 7 דוד. 8 מבחלה. 9 דנופתא. 10 כוסב אל בנה אל
 אסוד. 11 חמר אלדוכאל. 12 פיר. l.

על תרעא (1) שמך ושמה וכתוב על תרעך שמה ושמך ואימ' לקבל תרעה
 מן אליהום ועד נסביא⁵ ואי בעית תדע מצלחת בדרכך אם לא סב
 חסא נילאה דפשיטין אמרפוהי וקום לקבל שמש ואמר מן נסביא ועד
 אסדוס וחזי אם כמשינ אמרפוהי ומכפפן לא תיזיל ואם כברייתיה
 תיזיל ומצלחת⁶ אם בעית לפגאה נברא מן בית זינא אמ' לקבליה
 זימנא וקדם שמשא זמנא וקדם זינא זימנא מן אסדוס ועד יקותני⁷
⁵ לבינפא סב עפרא מן ביתך ואמור עליה ז' זימנן בשבילי מאתא מן
 יקותני ועד אקתרס ואף סב מן שבילי מאתא ואמ' עליהון כן וזרוק
 בתוך ביתך⁸ אם בעית למקמל אינש סב מינא מן תרי כיפ' ⁹
 נהרא ועביד צלמא וכתוב עליה שמה וסב ז' סלון מן דיקלא צווא
 ועביד קשתא דחסקניאתא במיני דסוסיא ואחית צלמא בנו צרתא
 ומתח צלוי¹⁰ בקשתא ושדי בה ואמור על כל סלוא מן אקתרס ועד פרסוסי
 יתחבל פ'ב' ויתד' (1) מנד' ¹¹ לשדודי¹² ננעא סב ד' אינשי ורמי
 בחספא חדתא ופוק [f. 10^a] לבר מימתא ואמר עלוהי מן פרסוסי
 ועד אבנסנס וקבור באתר דלא דריך סוסיא ובתר כן סב עפרא מן
 עלה דהדווא מספא¹³ ובזוק באפיה או על אסקופתא דביתיה¹⁴ לשדודי
 חלמא על חברך כתוב על מסא דכספא מן אבנסנס ועד קידוואס
 ואחית בפום תרנגלא ושחוט יתיה כד מחת בפיו ואהדר פיו ואחית ביני
 ירכותיה וקבר בעקבא דשורא ואחית עקבך על דוכתיה ואמר כן בשם
 ייזיל שליחא קלילא ויצער ית פ'ב' בחלמיה עד דיעביד ריעותי¹⁵ אם
 אתי נחש בתוך אמור לקבליה מן קידוואס ועד אילוואש ויכיש¹⁶ ואם
 למיכלא אילפא בימא אמ' על חספא או על גלאלא מן איליהש ועד
 אסנורכי ושדי לקבליה בימא¹⁷ ואם בעית למשריה אמ' על עפרא או
 על קלא מן אסנורכי ועד נפמנס ושדי במים וכד פשר פשרא למיזיל
 אם בעית למיצר תניר או כיור או קידרא דלא נסמין אמ' על עפרא מן
 נפמנס ועד ספשיסא לקבליהון ושדי באפיהון¹⁸ אם בעית למעשריתון
 רוק רוקך קדמיהון ואמר מן ספשיסא ועד סננס ובשלין¹⁹ אם בעית
 למעבד²⁰ בימא כביבשתא אמ' על ד קרנואי דסודרא בכר כסא חד קרנווי
 נקום בידך וחד קרנווי ייזיל קדמך ואמ' מן נסנס ועד אפסומת²¹ אם
 בעית דתילום אינש אימא בצלותך במכניע זדים אסקוהי ינופס לפ'ב' ²²
 בשם אפסומת ועד קהוהיהום²³ ואם בעית למללא עם מיתא אמר על
 אונו דשמאל מן קהוהיהום עד אהישוני ועד נגוריקי ורמי בחורתיהון
 אם בעית למיקמל אריה או דוב או אפעה או כל חיתא
 דמתחבלא אמ' על עפרא רנלך דימנא מן נגוריקי ועד נגוהיה וזרוק
 לאפיהון²⁴ אם בעית למצאד²⁵ יתהון אמ' על עפרא דמתחות רנלך

¹ מנעלעבון. ² קון קעב חסר בשער ערם. ³ חאפתי. ⁴ מנדל. ⁵ עלוי. ⁶ לשדודי. ⁷ לאונקאנ. ⁸ lacuna. ⁹ אספא. ¹⁰ למעבר. ¹¹ תשדחם.

למחמי שמשא סב בידך אכן דכי וגברא: דדיקלא דיכרא וקום לקביל
 שמשא ואמ' אכן דמתקריא אמרופינן וסילוי: דאורדינא: ואמ' מן
 אסא ועד האהן נתחמי יתיה כנבר דלביש חוורין וכל דתשאל יתיה
 יתיבינד ואפילו אשה יתי יתה בתרד: ⁵⁰ מאן דבעי דיתות: לאתון גורא
 יכתוב על מסא דכספא מין האתון ועד באתיר ויתלי בעטמיה ויתות: ⁵¹
⁵² ואם חיות מלך או שליט ובעית דייתי בתרד סב סורא: דמיו ורמי
 ביה עקר שואצרא ועקר פרפיני: ⁵³ ועקר ארמכלס ואמ' עליה מן
 באתיר ועד אהסותי ורמי על גומרי דגורא כחספא חוורתי ורמי עליהן
 אמרפין דוית וכל דתנור עלוהי ייתי לותך ואפילו על אשה: ⁵⁴ ואי
 בעית לאהדורי יתהון סב מי מבוע ואמ' עליהן מן אהסותי ועד אפותי: ⁵⁵
 ורוק באנפיהון: ⁵⁶ לכל מדעם דבעית למשרי ליה אמ' על מיא מן
 אפוני ועד אנתש ורמי עלוהי ואף כתב ליה בקמיעא ותלי ליה וכן
 לאפראה גברא מן בית אינקיה: ⁵⁷ למצד גונין סב חספא חוורתי ורמי
 עליהן אמרפין דויתא ואמר עליהן מן אנתשורמי ועד אתקנו על כיף
 גורא: ⁵⁸ לאשה [f. 9^b] שתבוא אחריד סב אידם: ⁵⁹ מן דילך וכתב
 שמה על ביצין חדת כד סליק ואמר לקבליה מן אקתנו ועד אתומי:
⁶⁰ לגברא דייתי בתרד סב חספא חדתא וצבע במורא: אוכס: ואמר:
 על שמה מין אתומי ועד פנכיר ואייל ולא תצפי לאחורד: ⁶¹ לאילנין
 דלא מפקין פירא כתוב על חספא חדתא מן פנכיר ועד בר: וקבר
 בעק(רא) דאילנא דאין בהון: ⁶² ואשקי מיא לכל אילני וכן עביר לדיקלא דלא
 מפיק פירי: ⁶³ לכלבא דנפיל בפירי כתוב על חספא חדתא מן בר: ועד
 ברתיא וקבר בבית שקיא כהודא ארעא ואף אימ' על מיא וקיסמא
 ומלחא ואשקי ית ארעא: ⁶⁴ למרובוא: כתוב על מסא דאנכא מן ברתיא
 ועד אזורום ואף לחוש על אוננו נ' זמנין ורוק כד לחשת ואף אימ' על
 כוזא דמיו ע' זמנין ואשקי יתיה מנהון: ⁶⁵ למאן דנכית ליה כלב שומה
 כתוב על משרא דחמרא כד קליף מן גויה מן אזורום ועד אנסתרהון
 ואשלת יתיה ואמר על משח שומשי וישוף כל גופיה וילבש מאני
 אחריניה ותלי ליה ההוא משרא: ⁶⁶ לאשתא או לבני אשתא כתוב על
 קרמא דמוקרא: דכרא: ⁶⁷ או דברחא: מן נאסתרהון ועד מאדמוג ותלי
 ליה: ⁶⁸ למאן דאזיל באורחא ומאעי יאמר על ד קרנות אזוריה מן
 מאדמוג אקנותורין: ⁶⁹ אי בעית למשאל מדעם מן חברך אמ' על
 משח סוסאן או על משח אקוסא: ⁷⁰ או על משח סוסא: ⁷¹ מן קאוהג ועד
 אליהום: ⁷² תו אי בעית דייתי אתתא בתרד סב עידם(!) על דילך וכתוב

1 דוכנא צאפיה ליף זכר.	2 סולי.	3 עיסנ.	4 דיתות I.
5 כצאר.	6 כצאר.	7 צבאה.	8 (אידם I.) חמרה.
9 אסורד.	10 אסורד.	11 פירי add.	12 למרע.
13 דינונ.	14 חום.	15 גירי.	16 פקנשה.
17 מור.	18 קשרה.	19 מור.	20 קשרה.

ביה. ³⁹ לכל כיב פומא [f. 8^b] אמור על קמחא כד נשינ² מן יאוס
 ועד רתבין וידבק בפומיה. ³⁰ לשובתא³ ולאשתתא אמ⁴ על חמרא מן
 רתבן ועד סספן וישתי. ³¹ לנידא נשיא⁵ כתוב על מגילתא מן סספן
 ועד יכצרק ואף לחוש על משתא דויתא וישוף ההוא קמיעא מן ההוא
 ויתא ואף שוף ליה בהזיא עטמא דכיבא אליה (!) ותלי ליה ההוא
 קמיעא ביה. ³² לצימרתא⁶ אמ⁷ על כסא דחמרא דמן יכצרק עד תפסמת
 וישתי. ³³ לתחותניות⁸ הב אודרא ורמי ביה מלחא וטמוש במשחא ואמ⁹
 עליה מין תפסמת ועד ינלזניא ויסב עלוזי. ³⁴ לאנש דאית ביה
 עוביאתא⁶ ואף מן דורעין⁸ ליה מיא ארע⁹ על מיא דסליקין¹⁰ ביה הומתא¹¹
 מן ינלזניא ועד אהרזניא וישתי. ³⁵ לנישמתא אם בעית כת¹² על מנצב
 מן אהרזניא ועד אפנניכים ויחית על אתר נשמתא לכל דרמי ליה מתמי¹³
 ואם בעית סב משיכה דעמרא וטמוש במשחא ידיה ואמור עלוזי מן
 אהרינים ועד אפנניכים ויחית על אתר נשמתא. ³⁶ לסתרא ולמחתא
 דפרזלא ולכל מחתא דלא תזרוף אמר על נפטא חזירא מן אפנניכים
 ועד קיסא וישוף על אתר מתתיה. ³⁷ לשעולא ולכיב לבא אמר על
 שפר ושמן ידי¹⁴ מין קיסא ועד אתקס וישתי. ³⁸ למרתא¹⁵ ולניפקא
 אמ¹⁶ (על) מיא דסליקין בחון ענבי מן עתקס ועד אליהו וישתי. ³⁹ לכבדא
 דמרימא¹⁷ אמ¹⁸ על שתיתא דמלפחי דמיא מן אליהו עד אתגוזי ויטל
 ויטס קליל. ⁴⁰ למחלא אמ¹⁹ אנפקא דחמרא מן אתגוזי ועד מיבנאם
 וישתה כן עשה לו נ' ימים. ⁴¹ לרוחא דשריא על בית ולד דאתתא אמ²⁰
 על משח כופרא²¹ מן מיבנאם ועד תוס' ותסב²² עלה באודרא²³ דעמרא²⁴.
⁴² ללאשה דמפלא אמ²⁵ על כסא דחמרא או על שכר או מים מן תוס' ועד
 שקבם וישתה שבעה ימים ואפילו חזת דמא אומ²⁶ על [f. 9^a] כוס יין
 וישתי ויקום ולדא. ⁴³ לאינש דלא גפיק סערא אמ²⁷ על משח אמנוזא²⁸
 מן שקבם ועד סלני וישוף. ⁴⁴ לאשבועי סרא כת²⁹ על מרף דפנים
 אשבענא עלך סרא די שמיא אברכסם בשם פלני³⁰ ועד ינמום ויתתי
 לותי ותגלי לי כל מה דאנא בעי מינד ולא תעכב ואחית אסורד
 ומתגלי לך. ⁴⁵ להסיר קצין מקצינותו אימ³¹ על עפרא מן קן גמלים מן
 ינמום ועד קתנק חרוק לאפוזי. ⁴⁶ לאסאה ננעא³² אפיקותיה לכיפא
 דגזרא ואימא עליה משבענא עלך ננעא בשם קתנק ועד נתעלסם דתית
 ותבטול ותעדי מן פ'ב' א'א' ויחזות ויטבול ו' זמנין בנהרא וכד סליק
 כתוב ליה קמיעא מן משבענא עד סלה ותלי ליה. ⁴⁷ לבורדס³³ כתוב
 על טסא סומקא דנחשא מן נתעלסם ועד מיבנאם ותלי ליה. ⁴⁸ ואי
 (בעית) דלא לילי מסר על גנך כתב מין מיבנאם ועד אסא³⁴. ⁴⁹ ואי בעית

2 מנל. 3 לשובא. 4 ערק אלנסא. 5 עזר אלמל. 6 אל כואציר.
 6 עוביאנא. 7 מא. 8 דעריבזין. 9 אמור. 10 בסלוק. 11 שוך.
 אבצר. 12 שירג'. 13 מראתא. 14 דמריעא. 15 כאפורה.
 16 ותיסב. 17 קסנה. 18 עו. 19 אל כין. 20 שפכרה.

ורדא מן (יִיאֵה) ועד אֹנְמוֹ והב לפומיה ⁹ לכבא לחוש על אודניה לניסא
דכאיב ליה מן אֹנְמוֹ ועד הוּתְמִיאֵס ¹⁰ לכל כאב עינין אמר על מיא יומין
שלשה בצפרא מן הוּתְמִיאֵס ועד מְסוֹלֵס וימש בהון עיניה ¹¹ לברוקתא
אמור על משה שושמי מן מְסוֹלֵס ועד פְּסְמִי וישוף שבעה צפרין ¹²
לחילא אמור על כוהלא דקיק בשמיה מן פְּסְמִי דעד סִמּוֹן וימלי ג' ¹³
צפרין ¹⁴ לדמא דנחית מן רישא לחוש ליה על רישיה מן סִמּוֹן ועד
קורי ג' צפרין כד משיין ירך מן קדם דתיחות מן פוריק ¹⁵ לריח פלגא
אמור ז' זמנין על כלי מלא מים וז' וימנין על משה שושמי מן קורי
ועד הימי דיתויחון ותפקון מן פ'ב'פ' א'א'ס ¹⁶ ורמי ליה ההוא דולא על
רישיה ושוף ליה מן ההוא משחא ¹⁷ עביד ליה ג' יומין וכתב ליה ¹⁸
בקמיעא מן משבעא ועד אמן סלה ותלי ליה ¹⁹ לצלחתא ולרוחא דזמא
ממא כתוב מן הימי ועד שדי ותלי ליה ²⁰ לרוחא דסתמא ממא כתוב
מן שדי ועד אחיה ותלי ליה ²¹ לכיב אודנא אמור על אודניה דשמאלא
מן שדי ועד אחיה אפכית ²² למרשא אמור על מעי ²³ דשליפותא
כד סליק במשה ידי מן אחיה ועד רום ואחית ליה באוגו כד פשר ²⁴
קליל ²⁵ לשיחנא ולסיפתא לשימטא ²⁶ ולעינבתא ²⁷ ולרנשא ²⁸ ולנדא
כ' דיכפית ²⁹ ולחוזיתא ³⁰ ולחופיאתא ³¹ רמיבאתה ויבישאחה ולמקבי ³²
דייהון באנשא אמור על משה ויתא מן רום וד ³³ סשתומיאל ושוף
ליה בידך דשמלא ³⁴ לירקאנא אמור על מיא דסליקין בהון הימתי ³⁵ מן
סשתומיאל ועד יִיאֵזִיָא וישתי ³⁶ לכאב נחירא ולרוח נחירא לחוש על ³⁷
משה ידי ³⁸ מן יִיאֵזִיָא ועד יִהְקֶלְתִּיה ורמי ליה בנחיריה ³⁹ לכיב לבא
ולכיב מעיה אמור על מיא מן יִהְקֶלְתִּיה ועד יִסּוּסְנִיָה וישתי ⁴⁰
לחכבא ⁴¹ אמור על מיא דסליקין בהון הרדוף ⁴² מן יִסּוּסְנִיָה ועד
יִקְרַמְתִּיה ויסחי בהון ⁴³ לחוזרתא ⁴⁴ ולמרסאנא ולאשבי ⁴⁵ אמור מן
יִקְרַמְתִּיה ועד הוּתְמוֹ אמר עליהון זמנא ועל משה ויתא וימנא ושוף ⁴⁶
ליה ג' יומין ומיא לא תקרב לוחהון ⁴⁷ לעבדא בישא אמר מן הוּתְמוֹ
ועד נִפְרִיא על ז' כוזין חזירין כד מלח ⁴⁸ מיא מן נהרא ורמי ליה על
רישיה ⁴⁹ לנילואה ⁵⁰ רוק ליה רוקא בפומיה ואמור על פיו או על בוס
שכר מן נִפְהָא ועד הַלִּיָּהוּ וישתי ויחוי מה דנפיק מן פומיה ⁵¹ לאינשא
דמחוי חזיין או בלך יתשא דמויק אימא על אחר מחתיה או על חלא ⁵²
מן העינה ועד אמאוס וישתי וכן לכל קבלין דרחשן וצער הדין קבלא
מן העינה ועד אמאוס ⁵³ לאתתא דחזיין דמא בלא זמנא אמור על
קליפתא דביעתא דנעמטא ⁵⁴ מן אמאוס ועד יאֹוס ותיקלי כנורא ⁵⁵ ותקיסר

1 אל בנדר.	2 אל כרס אל ערץ.	3 מרש.	4 אמעא.	5 בנפתא.
6 טור צאר חסר.	7 רואסיק.	8 שאמאת.	9 ענב.	10 דמאמאל.
11 מרחוק.	12 תוא.	13 נרב.	14 אל נרה.	15 ועד L.
16 שוך אכצר.	17 שירינ.	18 אל חכא.	19 דפלא.	20 אל הנדרה.
21 נע אלחצא.	22 מלא L.	23 נע אלפס.	24 דנעמיתא.	25 בגורא L.

⁷ [f. 7^b] ענפנתסהואל יהודה לענקתיאאל יהודה שבהתוהאל יהודה " דבסכהגאל יהודה
יהודה הלכאתשהאל יהודה שמסרתאל יהודה " דבסכהגאל יהודה
שדהבקדואל יהודה ועפוסאל יהודה שירותהאל יהודה ומנאיתהאל
יהודה " מספההשהאל יהודה ברנסקהאל יהודה המקמיהואל היה
⁵ אשטנהואל היה " ²⁸ קניסחואל היה אשתנסואל היה אסספהואל
היה מתמתנהואל היה " ²⁹ אברירהואל היה ורטהואל היה בולפתהואל
היה צהמקנהואל היה " ³⁰ אשמסנהואל הוא יח קפלונהואל היה
³¹ מרנהמוהואל היה מרגעשסתואל היה טיססהואל היה
³² ³³ אסמהסהואל היה זפתרסהואל היה לביניפסהואל היה ענהנהואל
היה ³⁴ מפסנדהואל היה " מלאכין קדישין רברבין מכל הלוותיה
¹⁰ ד' הודי והיה ותה יה אה יהה " דקימן [מן] מן כורסיא דמתקן להון
קרמודי לאודההא למשעבדי חרבא למעבד להון רעותהון " ³⁵ ³⁶ בשם
מארי כל קדישיא ראשי כל מלאכיא כדאהי דעלמא קלתירא אלי אלי
מפי מקרנס חתומיה דארעא ורומא בראיהון דבני אנשא שמשוהי דהו
הוה אה זה יה זה הה אלהא עלאה דעל ידיהון אנא מתוחמי בעלמא קלותמי
¹⁵ מקראם עצפותיי ששנותיי " אתון רברבתון עלי בכל אתר מארי כולא
בעינא מנכון דתעבדון לי מדעם דאנא בעינא דאתון יכליתון למעבד
כל צבורא דבשמיא ובארעא בשם יהו הי הודי הזה אהו ותי יה זה
זה ההי יהוי די אהי הי הוה יהו יהו יהו יהו יהו יהו יהו יהו יהו יהו
²⁰ הוה יהי הי הוה הוהה הוה⁶ יה הו זה ההו יהודה הה יהוי הוה
אהיה אהו הוה יהוה הי הוה אהי אהה הוה הו דהי הה יה הה זה
זיה הה אוהה הה יהה הה הה יהה יה הי ההי ההי ההוה ההי
הוה אהה יהו אל אל יהו " דכתוב באורייתא אני ה' הוא שמי.
III. אם למילי כסייא בעא למיחד ולמיסר לנבר ולאדתא דיהון
²⁵ חד לות חבריה " ולבמל ארוחין נזיקין וסימנין " ולאסור ספינה " ולהוציא
איש מן האסורים ולכל דבר כתוב על מסא סומקא מן תובר תסבר ועד
הא בשמחת " ואי בעית לפגרא טורין ורמין ולמעבר בימא וביבשתא "
ולמיחת לנורא " ולמיסק ולאעדא מלכין " ולמיחד עינין " ולסברא
פומא " ולמללא במיתין " ולאמתא חיין " ולאשפלא ולארמא ולאשבא
³⁰ מלאכין דישתמעון לכ " ולאמתא כל סתרי עלמא " כתב על מס דכסא
והב ביה עיקר שואצרא⁸ מן תובר תסבר ועד הא בשמחת " ללרותא
דרחשא בנופא כתוב על מצנב מן תובר ועד מנגינן " ללרות משגרא
כתוב מן מנגינן ועד הדרסמא " ללרות כל נופא כתוב מן הדרסמא
ועד הא בשמחת " לשידא כתוב מן הא בשמחת ועד [הוהיו] [f. 8^a]
³⁵ יאווה " לסרודתא מן יאו יהיו ועד [יאה]. " לאסברתא " אמר על משח

1 שבתהודיאל, 2 שרהבקהיאל, 3 ואפסיהל, 4 אשנהואל, 5 אשתנהואל,
6 הווי, 7 ססנין, 8 א'עץ שואצרא, 9 לאסכרתא, 10 183 = 1-5 *

דמותתיא " ⁶⁴אלידזם בר שהמני קקתריאם ב' כלתית אדוסיא ב'
 אדוניתה " פרומסי ב' אניהום וזהוהסמייא ב' ההיאסי " ⁶⁵נסכיא ב'
 פרתניא מבאתסי ב' אפופיא אנפני ב' בסטי " ⁶⁶אסדום ב' אמדיתית
 אפתמייא ב' דמנסמייא וספדנום ב' נהושט " ⁶⁷יקותני בר אכתת הוה
 5 דהרום ב' אנתתהם אדונישא ב' יחמני " ⁶⁸אתתרם ב' שלומים מיבנסם ב'
 סהותתיא " ⁶⁹פרסוסי ב' פיבל קוסן פנדא ב' דגדאת פידאום ב'
 מפנישי " ⁷⁰אבנסנס ב' מטרותני אוולאה ב' סותתגום דוספתיי " ב'
 הודאם " ⁷¹קוריואם נתגלתתי קוסמי הוה ב' קסמלית קסמא ב'
 קלוסדאיי " ⁷²אילוחש ב' אלפי ב' סנכס ב' פסאות אעסגני ב' נדהוסי
 10 דוסתקות ב' תלונתסם " ⁷³אסטרפי ב' אנמפרומי דיהומית ב' שותימת
 פשמנ " ⁷⁴אפמונג " ⁷⁵נפטנסם ב' נמרוסי דוניק אסיא ב' תסמניא
 תתמציא ב' שסנות סונגות ב' נאמות סרעהותיתן ב' זקנום " ⁷⁶ספסמייא
 ב' אדוסניא סמפנאות ב' צנפנסם פרמיתת צפניא ב' רכסום סתיא " ⁷⁷
 15 נסמם בר נוסמוט משמרו מתיי להם וכה פרנסום אנסם קקתת ב'
 מהדיני " ⁷⁸אפסומת בר פרנוס סתנותי ב' שפתנס תנפסיסי ב' סרפטי " ⁷⁹
 קהוהיהומ ב' אבנגיר עפקינו ב' תסמתיא סהדור ב' עצמם לוטרנ ב'
 נפמני " ⁸⁰אדושוני ב' אהשני אתקס ב' סרקוף עזומם ב' אנליאי " ⁸¹
 20 עזירקי בר כוריסוי שמעס בר שעריאם בעדאה ב' עזבואה " ⁸²נגדית
 ב' אמטאה רנוני ב' צקתי שריסי ב' תהלוסאי שיהם ב' ברקין " ⁸³היתני
 תדעום אקשר ב' יהותיהת כלמוס ב' אמאום " ⁸⁴ברקס ב' שהרום בטחון
 ב' בבעת שיפכן ב' פנים בתוקין ב' אשרום " ⁸⁵תמימם בר הדלכן
 אשרדון ב' ניתנן אפנמי בר פעלתו " ⁸⁶ברדקס ב' להבן בדרהוסי
 ב' סתמתיא עוותיא ב' מלכוכ " ⁸⁷אחית " ⁸⁸בר תמית כיניחי ב' משפקוה
 ביועי ב' הוגתיא לפניאם ב' אידוהם שלושנסא ב' אסדומים " ⁸⁹שאילם
 25 ב' שאילסיון מסינייה בר מסרהיה יואם " ⁹⁰ב' יהוש וחותשמק ב'
 משנסהי " ⁹¹אספכל " ⁹²אקתנאי סרוהם ב' מביהם הסדהג ב' שהרודם " ⁹³
 עזמיים ב' תתמפאם " אהרותיי ב' סנגאום וזהוהם ב' אהבסג שמתיא " ⁹⁴
 ב' אתתריווי לסותתיי ב' אסמרהיי " ⁹⁵יציאום ב' תרומנמי אכסלם ב'
 סהגותיא עלפנת ב' סמקתין קבלהם ב' קתרותי " ⁹⁶נאסמנ ב' רופנידוים
 30 שירמטי ב' אשמני שלתההון ב' סהמני ישקום ב' פנדום מובים " ⁹⁷ב'
 יהוסי " ⁹⁸להרמן (ב) נמולמס אהוסני בר אפריהין משכנו ב' ארחו הקלקת
 ב' שלקות " ⁹⁹דודיאה ב' אשסולסי " צהומתיי ב' כאסיי נילנדאי ב'
 שהנוסיא קתילתי ב' אסדוהי " ¹⁰⁰אפמינוניא ב' תלוסת הוה נגעוסי ב' אפהינקוי
 שיתמוחה [f. 7²] ב' מההסוה לבותניאית בר תסנותתיא רב שצדי ב' רב
 35 קסום רב אמרם ב' איניתחת סגניהה ב' מעלתיהה " ¹⁰¹וילילידו אופראסי

1 פרומס, 2 אספכל, 3 דוספתיי, 4 פסמהתתיא, 5 ספסמייא, 6 אדויה, 7 אספכל, 8 שעתיא, 9 מובים, 10 פשמנ, 11 ספסמייא

אספור צ' מוסתם צ' מיהקנאה צ' ³³ תפצמת צ' רקרמץ צ' סיהדאה צ'
 פהשניא צ' ³⁴ ינלוניא צ' כינא צ' עפפניאה צ' נינשמיתון צ' ³⁵ אהריביה
 צ' המוניאס צ' אמנפר צ' אתסמו צ' ³⁶ אפגניכיס צ' פסיסיס צ' אסתי
 אסמו אסמארקם קום אפרקיס ³⁷ קיסא אמריכיס אמהיפס כסא דימנס
 דמנמו יקוב אנמן אסיא ³⁸ נופריא צ' פינואה צ' כיפטצב סוהי צ' קרשנ
 צ' תומיא צ' ³⁹ אהקסקידא דופפספירו דפא דרוהי אור אדויה אדוני
 יהו אדון יה ⁴⁰ אליהו אכת אכתימוס מסמהה מסנתותיה סגנאו [f. 6^a]
 סנן יאו פנדואי ואפנט או יאו יה יה ⁴¹ אתנוהי גוני גיאו סאו
 גיבו אריזפא ארפאי קרבת אומר אסאדבת פאותיה ותו מורתאל מונמר
 פאליה ⁴² מיבנאס פאו פנהוה פוחנפי והומי הוה דקטפס הוה קותגמא
 הוה גיהנמאי הו ⁴³ תוסי הוה קרבסטרני הוה מתגאס הוה אסנפניס
 הוה ⁴⁴ שקבס הוה סרגנאס הוה תפסניני הוה קדלותיא הוה קוסב
 שניא הוה ⁴⁵ סלניי הוה יה גותיס הוה עפרנוחה הוה אסנוחה הוה
 בתניסי הוה ⁴⁶ ימסום הוה מנעצי הוה נהרותתיא הוה פרמס הוה
⁴⁷ קתנק הוה סלנותיא הוה קרינגנס הוה טלמיסס הוה נעלקוס הוה ⁴⁸
 נעלעלסס הוה מרצומי הוה סיניגיה הוה קעקת יה ביה בי או מיה
 הוה ⁴⁹ מיבנאס פרוספיה פיכאלו פהדכו פידא פיפי יואי או אוארוא
 אודא ⁵⁰ אסא נרמני קריפו אכרו בברך פסויד יה פינד גידו פוכן
 פוכפי קו וא והא ⁵¹ האהון אה היה אהתון אהין אדון אנף ארמ
 ביסמי ביתרי ביסמאו ביפראמו בנפו בניהו ⁵² באתיר ביניפי בינופי בתור
 ספנניס בר סרניא ססנן בר ערגניס אתומי בר באתומי ⁵³ אהסותי
 בר קקתהוס אנופי בר אבקמי ⁵⁴ אפוני בר אפופיני אדני אנממט בר
 שעקסס שברוסיא בר פתננהוס אדאס קויאס בר אנתש ⁵⁵ קוקתם בר
 סהוהוסי ⁵⁶ אברממוא בר יהותנפא אברמו בר אשגיה בר אילמו ⁵⁷
⁵⁸ אתקנו בר דוחיתן אהילמו בר ארוסאיא אהילמוס בר אהדופי אהרוסי
 בר אהנוסי ⁵⁹ אתומי בר באתמי אתמיו בר באתיהול אבדנהא דסא
 בר נהוהיתוס ⁶⁰ פנביר בר בסנביס פנביר בר פסנביר אנטלמו בר
 גיתצנס אהסמו בר אפרני ⁶¹ ברייואילה בר הננסיא אופרניס בר
 שהיגיה אהרוני בר אהפורי יוקסירון בר ברתיא ⁶² יוניאזוסס בר
 תיברנוס אבנהוק בר טהרס סימנל בר אוורוזס ⁶³ יהואילון בר
 פארננ יואתמא ב' אבנתימניא אקנינס בר רכסוי לוקסי ב' סמאנ
⁶⁴ נאסתרופן ב' יואס קתאות בר איהומנסס ⁶⁵ סאסיה ב' איתוהיהס
 אינוסי (?) שמרסי היאלתם ב' סימוי ⁶⁶ סארמנז בר ביסתניא דסיההסי
 ב' דמסמנסנסיי אפסתני ב' דותאה מיסוס ב' קוסטרמיס אפלני ב'
 ספלניס איאתו בר אותות קדוסיא ב' אקותנ ⁶⁷ אכלקס ב' באתיתא
⁶⁸ הומננס ב' הוהססיא אינגנס ב' היאנלם אברסק ב' (?) תתהסיוואה ב'

פרקמיה "אי פי קותויה" אירוניה "איפרונסיה" אפסימאה "אחיה
 את" די "שלח לי" אתריאוססי "יהו קתסהדזה" דהוא מטלית
 כרוביאי ועזרוני ברוך אתה קוסיס "על החרב" הרוצה להשתמש
 בחרב זו יתפלל תפלתו ובשומע תפלה יאמר השבעתי עליכם ד' השרים
 שקד חווי" [f. 4^b] מרניאל "וטרומוסיה" ודרוילזו "משרתי הדירירון" 5
 יהוה הדירירון הו הי הדיהי דירירון הוה "שתקבלו שבועתי עד שלא
 אתפלל ושוועתי עד לא אשוע ותעשו לי כל חפצי בחרב זו כמו שעשיתם
 לו למשה בשם אדיר ונפלא בעל פלאות שפרשו "הו הי הוה ספר הוה
 דיה יהוהי והי ית ודו יהוה אהוסה יהת קקס הוה" ויקרא את ה
 שלמעלה מהן ויאמר השבעתי עליכם מהיהונצי" פתדותתנם אסקריהו 10
 שיתניחום קתנציפי הדודי וה וד נבריאלי יה הו הדירירון "שתקבלו
 שבועתי עד שלא אשביע אתכם ותזקקו לי ותזקיקו לי את ד' השרים
 האלו ואת כל מתנות המרכבות השרים שאתם פקידים עליהם לעשות לי
 חפצי בחרב זו בשם האהוב הוה "אחי הוה יה וד אי או הדיהי הוהי
 שהוסהה" יוה הו הווי יה יהה יוה היי "ויקרא בי שעל נבהן ויאמר 15
 השבעתי עליכם" אסקוהדי שמרים הויה סהותניאיה אהובי ודרודרו
 והוא הדירירון "שתזדקקו לי ותזקיקו לי מהיהונצי פתדותתנם אסקריהו
 שיתניחום קתנציפי שקד חווי מרניאל הדוילזו "אשר מתחת רשותכם
 לעשות לי חפצי בחרב זו בשם היחיד הוה" הוה דהוה הווי שקצר השוה
 הי או הו הוה יתה פתמנהו הוה ית ידו הו היי ודי יהניה ונההיה 20
 מתמנהוה היקהה ודי הא צר מקוקצוה היה ודי הוה תס הווי יה ידו
 הי היה ויה תיה ויה תהווי "ויחזיק את שר הראש של כולם ויאמר
 השבעתי עליך "אהיפסקתיה" אמין וחזק ראש כל צבא מרום שתזדקק
 לי אתה בעצמך ולא שלוחך ותזקיק לי את השרים אלו עמך לעשות
 לי חפצי בחרב זו בשם שאין לו תמורה "יהוה אהיה הוה הדי הוה 25
 איה היה הו הוה יהוהי הו היי ודיה ודיה אהווי הדי אה ודיהי יה וד
 וד אה אה יו הי הו הי היה הוה ודי יהי⁶ ההוי דהוה יהי יהו
 שאתה ידיד והוא ידיד ואני מזרע אברהם שנקרא ידיד "בא"י מלך
 הרוים ואדון הסתרים שומע תפלה" ואל ינע וישתמש בזו החרב עד
 שיעשה מעשים האלו ואח"כ יעשה כל חפצו כמא שכתוב דבר דבר 30
 וסידורו "

והוה החרב

II. [f. 5^a] 1-2 תובר תסבר אכן מטה⁷ מיטס אולי אנידראסקיא דיוקמאס

לכוס אנתם סדופילא ססא או או³ דו פה אמא היפורקסמא⁶

¹ יהו. ² הדי. ³ הו. ⁴ היה. ⁵ היה. ⁶ יו. ⁷ מטה.

⁸ היפורקסמא.

פחדותתנם " אתמסר לי הא היה יחו ד' ית הא דני הא וה אה הי וה
וזה הי התי ית ויה יתו ית הוייה תויה אאה חוורה היו הא וההוה
האהנייה " אסקריו " אתמסר לי באה בזון אמוניהה שמניהה דני
יהי² ית הו והויה הוי דני וה דני ויה הו הוה יתו הו יתו הויה הוה
הה ית הויה ויהיה ויהיה אל היה אה היה האה אה הי אהוי אהויה " 5
שתינייהם " אתמסר ליה " אה אה ויה האל וה היה אל הדי וההאל
היואל אלהיה היה אדני ויה אדני ית ודי היה אה הא היה אל ההואל
הדי אהא קממאה הלאל " קתניפיי " אתמסר לי " הא דני ואה
אלהא סמה אה אלהא סמא והה אה יתה אוהה אההא ומצהו⁴ היה
10 מיתיה אאל דהוי ויה הו אל ליה הו די והאי והאו ית הא דני והי
והי ויה אהה דהי ית יתה הה⁵ הי היה וה ויה וה אה אש אחי
שיה " אסקרהי " [f. 4^a] אתמסר לי " אדני ית יתו שיה יתו ית יתו
יהה אה ות אהה אהיה אדני ית יתה שני הוה מכנוסיהה⁶ ית הוה
דני הא מסכפניהה ית הא " סמריסהיה " אתמסר לי " הוי הא דייאה
15 אחיש דהה סקק הוה היה אחי הוה קנכסיהה הוה יהה יתה⁷ אה אה
והיה אה ית וה ית דה היה יתו התי הוה ית היה וה היה ית "
סהותנאיה⁸ " אתמסר לי " ית הא ית אה דני י⁹ הוי יהה ית הו
יהה הוה הו היה ויה היה אה⁹ יתה אה אל הו היה קהיה ויהה
אחי הי התי¹⁰ סתידו הה " הוה יתו¹¹ הי יתה יאוהיה יתו יהה היה
20 ית ית יה הוה יהה היה היה ית היה דה יתו הי דני " אה פסקתיה¹²
אתמסר לי " הו ליה היה ההוה אה וה ההיה יהו הוה וה אה היה יהו
הו היה ית היה אהה והה ית וה והה הי הוה והיה וה היה והיה וה
הי הוה הוה אה הי או הה אה היה והה ויה¹³ ויה ית והי הו הי הוה "
ולא כסו ממנו כל דבר ואות מן השמות האלו המפורשים ולא כינו
25 לו אפילו אות אחת מהן כי כך נצטוו מפי אדון הנסתרים למסור לו
החרב הוואת בשמות האלו שהן סתרי החרב ואמרו לו צוה לדורות
הבאים אחרך יברכו ברכת אחת זו עד שלא יתפלל כדי שלא ישמפו
באש " ברוך איזוא איזוניס¹⁴ שהיה עם משה יהא עמי ששמו
אהוצייה: רפאותיה: רפאותיה: והנחיה: הקצייה " ענתויהה "
30 נדויהה " ופעטקתוה " מצאפי " פי " אויה " מהרונסניה " שדיה "
קתציה " רהני " הוה " תנפמיה " אהיופסקתיה " תישטציהה "
סצוונתוה " אבהותיה " קתווי " רפנטות¹⁵ " רפרפטר " ימררית "
קברסיה " נכד " קתסניה " מרכאיה " ננטסר " הוה " דידארהה "
קדורהה " קניצהה " ודינאוציה¹⁶ " אפסניה " אי פי לי " מאססון "

1 וי.	2 הוה.	3 חוהה.	4 וסצוהו	5 ית.	6 מכנוסיה.
7 יתה.	8 סה"ותניאה.	9 התי.	10 דני.	11 יתה.	12 אה"יופסקתיה.
13 הוה.	14 אי"זונאס.	15 ר"פנות.	16 דינאוסיה.		

די אם ספצפנמרי: " ובשם סמרת סמס פצין ארונות הוסיף עליון יה
 הואי או היה פי פי איתיה ובצרים מצרפיה תסקיהו בשתקצר רבא דלא
 כסי מיניה כלום דחמי ולא מתחמי " ובשמיה דמירקתיה: " והוא שר
 על שמאי דמתקרי יהו יהו וא וְהָ " ומפיק יתיה מלך עלמאי מפומיה
 בלישן אותן " יהו אה יה ותהה יה וְהָ יה יהו הה יה הו הו הו 5
 הי הה הי הו הוא הו היה הויה: יה וְהָ יה וְהָ יה יה יה יה יה אהת
 אהי הו הה יה יהי הו הוה יהו הו הה יהו הה יי הו " את סרה
 קלילא לא תתעבב ותרעיש ותיתי ותעביד לי אנא פ'כ' כל צרכי
 בשם " יהו ההיו יהו אהיו ההו הו היה ההי הוה יה וְהָ יה הו
 היו היה והוטר קתגניה זו קוססיה אהוניה אל הי נקטסאל יה הוה 10
 ניגנהה פסקתרה הי: הוה יה זרומתה היה ובר שמה הי הה יה " רבה
 דחמי ולא מתחמי אהוה דפירושה אתגלי לכל חילי מרומא ובפירושה
 אנא משבע יתכון די הכדין דאתמסר למשה בן עמרם מפום מאריה
 כולא " יהוה והאה הוה יהוה היה הו הניהה יה הי הי הו הה יהוה
 סה הה וְהָ יה וְהָ הוה יה יה ידי לננה יה יה אה תבינו: איה יהוש 15
 אחישה ואנריפט יהו צבאות יהוה יהוה צבאות שמו באי אדון הנברות
 חכם הרוים " ומה הן אותיות שמסר לו " שקד חווי " אמר לו אם
 תרצה להתחכם ולהשתמש בחרב זו קראני והשביעני וחיוקני ואמצני "
 ואמור מאע שקד חווי ברז גדול קדוש ונפלא טהור ויקר אדיר וגורא
 וזה שמו ירוניקא " אקפתה " הנה " נהה " ירך " ידכירוהו יה יה 20
 ציקעץ " באותיות האלו השבעתך שתכוף לי ותחכמיני [f. 3^b] ותזיק
 לי את המלאכים משעבדי התרב בשם נולה הרוים אמן " חקוק על עור
 בדיו ושא עליך אותן נ' ימים שאתה מסהר עצמך והשביע כן קודם
 תפלתך ואתר תפלתך " מרניאל אתמסר ליה " הי הו היה והי הוה יהו
 יהוה הו היה הו היה והו ההיה יה או היה וְהָ וְהָ וְהָ יה 25
 וְהָ יהוה יהוה יהוה יהו יהו נגניה וְהָ " מרומרוס " אתמסר לי:
 אהי 7 הוה 8 אהי 9 הוה אהויה יהא 10 הוה 11 יה יה הוה הוה אה וְהָ
 הי הוה וא היה הויה אהה ויה וְהָ הי אהיה יה יה יה יה אה אה
 יה אהה ויהוה היה אהי וְהָ וְהָ אה וְהָ איה " הדרוולו אתמסר
 לי " הוהה הו יה יה או יהו ההא יהוה אה הו איה האה ויה אהיה 30
 אהוה היה ויה הה יה תוהא 22 היה הה וְהָ יהה והויה הוהי הוהה
 ויהה " מהיהונצי " אתמסר לי יהה והי וְהָ וְהָ וְהָ היה והוה
 הוה אהיה יהו הוה יה היה יה הא הוה יהו יה הא הוה הא יה אה
 הו ייה הויה הוה וְהָ אה וְהָ אהיה 23 יה יהוה הו הוה הי הוה "

1 ספצפנמרי.	2 דמירקתיה.	3 הויא.	4 הוה.	5 תבינו.
6 הנברות.	7 אה.	8 והוה.	9 אהיה.	10 יה.
11 אהוה.	12 אהוה.			

משקין דיהון לא חספין ועיניהון לא מרמון לביש לא רהמן בגופיהון
 בדילין מכל טומאה מרחקין מכל מסאב מקדשין מכל חורפין ולות אתתא
 לא קריבין וכד פקיד יתי מאריה כולא אנא אססי אסס ואס יס יה
 ואפרנסיה שליחא קלילא נחתית לארעא וכד עברית ואמרית מאן בני מני
 אנשא דכל אילין בידה איזיל ועלוה אשרי זבעינא ברעותי וסברנא
 5 בלבי דלית בר אנש דיכול למעבד כדנא בעתי ולא אשכחת ולא אתקל
 עלי ואשביעני מאריה כולא בימין תוקפיה והוד הרדיה ועמרת של
 הוד הוה ריה עקן הי דריה טהר קרונניה יה וז תה תהו הי יה דא
 שבועה דימין תוקפיה ואשבע יתי ואדר יתי מאריה כולא ולא נפליה
 10 בכך קמית ליתאחמנא אנא אססי אסס ואסיסיה ואפרנסיה על ברית
 צבותא דפ"ב בשם קמבנל עקמה וה זרמתייה יה יכרוק זנותיה ירפיה
 חתיה קצי וציהין יהין יהין " דין הוא שמא רבא ויקרא דאתמסר לבר
 אדם " יה בית אין אה באה הוי הו הו יא הו זה זה אה יה
 יהו זה יהו אקף הי הה יאה הה האה הואה הוהה היי הו הו הי
 15 קדוש אדיר אדיר סלה " עלי יתיה בתר צלותך " ואילין שמחת מלאבין
 דמשמשין לבר אדם " מיטטרון " סנדרתציה " ומקטטרון " וסנגותיקתאל
 ונגיקתנאל " וינואתקתיאל " ואנתנקסאל " ואנתוססתיאל ומיכאל סרונ
 וגברי אל שכתבניה " והדקרונתיאל " ואנהסנאל " יהואל " תיזרת
 נסי אל " וסינסטהאל " וענפי " קפתיאל " וגהר " נסנגתיאל " ויכני
 20 אתיהאל " ואקתקליקאל " ינה " ניתיאל יה " כן תשמשון לי אנא
 פ"ב ותקבלון צלותי ובעותי דאנא בעינא ותעלוניה לקדם יהוה הה
 סהה אתה הה זה זה " קודשא בריך הוא דבשמותי אנא אומית
 ואדרית יתכון כמא דעילא ציפרא לקינא חוכותי אדכרו קדמוהי וכפתנמי
 תחנונים כפרו חמאי בעידנא דגן ולא תתעכבון בשם הה הה זה יה
 25 יה יה זה זה ויהיה יה אה תהוי אהוי יא הי הי הו הו יהו זה היה יה
 [f. 3^a] זה ברוך הוא צבאות צבאות סלה " יקדישוהו משרתיו ויעריצוהו
 בנעם ויאמרו קק'ק אדון השם הקדוש הזה מלא כל הארץ כבודו "
 ואל תעכבו בגזירת הו היה יה הו³ " יהו הי הי הוה הי הו הה היה
 הי הוה היה היה יהו הוה ההו יהו אהו הה יה אהה איה אי
 30 אה אי אה זה יה " חי עולמים " ובשם דימימין קריאס+ והו ארקס⁵
 ננליאום קוסמוס קליקס אסקלימטרא אילי אלי מופיספרא סטנדראנס⁶
 טלאסי קמס אנתפרנו פינה דיהי מיתקאס גפלא תמא דונימא תתמנאס
 טוף דונז מטינא מהו והוטר ויקקתיהו אהוני יהו יה אל חניקיה פפמי⁷

¹ יעני אליזפאל (?) אלזי יתערץ בהדא. ² קרונניה. ³ היה נ"א יה אה
 איז זה הי היה הי הי יתי ותיזוה יהו היה היה זה היה היה וית ויהי הי יהו הי
 שמא רבא ומנמלא ומפיר, ⁴ קיריאס, ⁵ ארקס, ⁶ סטנדראנס, ⁷ ספמי.

וְהוּא פְּנִימִיָּה הַנִּיּאֵל שְׁנִקְרָא פְּהוּצְפְּנִי נִיָּה "אִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁנִקְרָא תַּהֲמוּתִּיהִיָּה
 " וַיִּשְׂרֹאֵל שְׁנִקְרָא קִנְיָתִי פְּצִיָּה " עֲשֵׂהֲאֵלִי שְׁנִקְרָא יְהוּת נִמְדֵי הִיָּה " ¹
 עֲמֹהֲאֵל שְׁנִקְרָא רֹפְנִיָּה וּסְסִיָּה " וַאֲצִרָאֵל שְׁנִקְרָא שְׁהֲנֵנוּ תַּנִּיָּה " ²
 שְׁתוּדְקֵקּוּ לִי וְתַכּוּפּוּ [f. 2^a] לִי אֶת הַחֶרֶב לְהַשְׁתַּמֵּשׁ בָּהּ כַּחֲפִצִי וּלְחַסּוֹת ³
 בְּצֵל אֲדוּנֵינוּ שְׁבַשְׁמִים בְּשֵׁם הַנִּכְבֵּד הַגָּדוֹל וְהַגּוֹרָא הוּא " הוּא הִי תְּדִי ⁴
 הוּא הִי אֵת אֵת וְהִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי ⁵
 הִי הִי יֵאֵל יֵאֵל וְהִי הִי יֵאֵל הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי הִי ⁶
 אֵתִיָּה מִהוּא " עֲשִׂרִים וָאַרְבַּעַה אוֹתִיּוֹת שְׁעַל הַכֶּתֶר שְׁתַּמְסְרוּ לִי בַּחֶרֶב ⁷
 הַזֹּאת רֹוִי מַעֲלָה וּמִמָּה פִּתְרִי מַעֲלָה וּמִמָּה וְתַהֲא שְׁאֵלֹתִי נַעֲשִׂית וְדַבְּרִי ⁸
 גְּשַׁמְעִין וּבִקְשָׁתִי מִתְקַבֵּלָת בְּפִירוּשׁ שְׁבוּעַת הַשֵּׁם הַיֶּקֶר הוּא הַנִּכְבֵּד ⁹
 בְּעוֹלָמוֹ שְׁבוּ אֲסוּרִין וּכְבוֹלִין כָּל צְבָא מִרוֹם שְׁפִירוּשׁוֹ " הֵהּ הֵהּ הוּא ¹⁰
 הֵהִי יוֹהֵה אֵת וְהִי נִיָּה הוּא פֶּה וְהוּא הִיָּה צִהּוּ אֵת וְהִיָּה תֵּה וְהִיָּה ¹¹
 וְהִיָּה סִיָּה וְהִיָּה יוֹה " בְּרוּךְ הוּא שְׁלֵא תַעֲכְבוּ וְלֹא תוֹקְנוּ וְלֹא תַרְעִישׁוּ ¹²
 וְלֹא תַפְחִידוּנִי בְּשֵׁם הַשֵּׁם הַנֶּעֱרָץ בְּפִי מַלְכְּכֶם וַאֲמִיתוֹ מוֹמֶלֶת עֲלֵיכֶם ¹³
 וְנִקְרָא " פְּרוּמוֹתֵיָּה " סְרַחֲקוֹתֵיָּה " וְהִנְגִּיתִיָּה " מְרַסְנִיתִיָּה " קְרוּמֶתֵהוּ ¹⁴
 צִנִּיָּה יֵה וְהִיָּה הוּא הִי הֵא הוּא הוּא אֵתִיָּה אֵתִיָּה אֵתִיָּה הִיָּה אֵתִיָּה הִיָּה אֵתִיָּה ¹⁵
 וְהִיָּה יוֹהֵה יֵה ¹⁶
 מֵה שְׁהַשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֲתֶכֶם וּשְׁרַתוֹנִי כֶּרֶב כִּי לֹא בְּגִדוֹל מִכֶּם הַשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֲתֶכֶם ¹⁷
 אֲלֵא בְּאֲדוֹן הַכֵּל בְּשֵׁמוֹ שְׁאֲתֶם בְּכָל צְבָא מִרוֹם אֲתוּזִים תְּפֹסִים אֲסוּרִים ¹⁸
 כְּבוֹלִים בּוֹ וְאִם תַּעֲכְבוּ לִי הֲרֵנִי מוֹסֵר אֲתֶכֶם לְאֲדוֹן לַחֲבִיָּה וְלִשְׁמוֹ ¹⁹
 הַמְּפֹרֵשׁ שְׁחַמְתּוּ וְקִצְפוּ וְחֲרוּנוֹ בּוֹעֵרִים בּוֹ וְהוּא מַכְבֵּד אֶת כָּל פַּעֲלוֹ ²⁰
 בְּאוֹת אַחַת מִמֶּנּוּ וְנִקְרָא " וְזוֹנְדִקְנָטָא קְצוּפְצַחְתִּיָּה " אֲתוּה סַחְתִּיָּה נִיָּה ²¹
 נִיָּיִםִי הִיָּה הוּאִי יֵה הִיָּה הוּאִי קִלְצֵנִי שְׁאֵם תַּעֲכְבוּ הִרִי הוּא מֵאֲבֵד ²²
 אֲתֶכֶם וְתַבּוּקְשׁוּ וְלֹא תַמְצָאוּ וְתַשְׁמְרוּנִי מְקוּצֵר רוּחִי וּמַחְבֵּל נּוֹפִי בְּשֵׁם ²³
 חֻזְקִיָּה אֵתִיָּה וְהִיָּה הִיָּה יֵה הִיָּה יֵה הִיָּה יֵה הִיָּה יֵה הִיָּה יֵה הִיָּה יֵה הִיָּה יֵה הִיָּה יֵה ²⁴
 הִיָּה יֵה יֵה קִקְהוֹת סִקְהוֹתָהּ נּוֹצֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל " בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה סוֹקִים חֲסִים הַסִּתְרִים ²⁵
 גּוֹלָה הַרְזִים וּמֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם " קֵלָא שְׁמַעִית בְּרִקְעָא קֵל מֵאֲרִיָּה רִקְעָא דְבוֹלוֹ ²⁶
 וְאִמֵּר בַּעֲנִיָּה שְׁלִיחָא קִלְיָא דְלִבְנֵי אִנְשָׁא אִמֵּר וְאִם שְׁלִיחָתִי יַתְעַבֵּד ²⁷
 יִתְנַאֵן בְּנֵי בַּחֲרָבָא דִּילִי אִנָּא מִסֵּר לְהוֹן דְּהוּא רֵאשׁ כָּל רֹוִי וְעֵלָה עַל ²⁸
 יָד חַוּוֹי פְּרִישָׁן כִּי כֵּן יִהְיֶה דְּבָרִי וְנֵאמַר הֲלֹא כֵּה דְּבָרִי כֹאשׁ גֵּאֵם הִיָּה " ²⁹
 אִמֵּר [פְּנִינִיָּה נִסִּיָּה] פְּנִינִיָּה נִסִּיָּה אֵלֵּה שְׁמִיא וְאִרְקָא וּסְלִקִּית לְקִדְמִיָּה ³⁰
 אִנָּא אִסְסִיָּה " אִסְסִיָּה וְאִסְסִיָּה וְאִפְרַנְסִיָּה " שְׁלִיחָא קִלְיָא דְּבִישְׁלִיחָתִי ³¹
 אִנָּא יֵאֵה וּבִשְׁתַּדְרוּתִי אִנָּא מוֹחִי לְמַעַבֵּד... [f. 2^b] וּפְקֵד יֵה מֵאֲרִיָּה כּוֹלָא ³²
 אִיזִיל וְאַשְׁתַּמַּע לְבָנָא אִנְשָׁא חֲסִידִין מִבֵּין כְּשִׁרִין וְצִדִּיקִין וּמִהַמְּנִין דְּלִבְהוֹן ³³
 לֹא פְּלִיג וּפּוֹמַחֵן לֹא חֵלִיק וּבִלִּישְׁנִיָּהוֹן לֹא מַכְדָּבן וּשְׁפַתְתִּיהוֹן לֹא ³⁴

¹ פְּהוּצְפְּנִי. ² עֲשֵׂהֲאֵלִי. ³ אֵתִי. ⁴ נִיָּיִם. ⁵ הֵהּ. ⁶ יֵהִי.

דבר שהעולם משתמש בו הדברים דברי אלהים חיים ומלך עולם ואמר
לו אם תרצה להשתמש בחרב הזאת ולמוסרה לדורות הבאים אחר־
אדם המזיק נפשו להשתמש בה יקדש עצמו ג' ימים מן הקרי ומן
המומאה ולא יאכל ולא ישתה אלא מערב לערב שיאכל לחם אדם
טהור או לחם (1) ידיו במלח נקיה וישתה מים ולא ידע בו אדם כשהוא
5 [f. 1^b] עושה מעשה זה להשתמש בחרב זה כי סתרי עולם הן ובסתר
הם נעשים ולצנועים הם נמסרים ומיום הראשון שאתה פורש טבול ושוב אי
אתה צריך והתפלל ג"פ ביום ואחר כל תפלה התפלל תפלה זו " ברוך אתה
קוֹסֵם אלי חנוך (2) מ"ה האל הפותח בכל יום שערי מורה ובוקע חלונות
קדים ומאיר לעולם כלו וליושביו בהמון רחמיו ברזיו ובסתרו ולמד את
10 עמו ישראל רזיו וסתרו וגלה להם חרב שהעולם משתמש בה ואמר
להם כשתבואו " להשתמש בחרב זה שכל שאלה בה נעשית וכל רו
וסתר בה מתגלה וכל אות ומופת ותמהון בה נעשית כך וכך אמרו
לפני וכך וכך קראו לפני וכך וכך השביעו לפני מיד אני מתפתה ומתרצה
15 לבם וממשיל אני אתכם בחרב הזאת לעשות בה כל שאלה והשרים
מתפתים לכם וקדושי מתרצים לכם ושאלתכם מיד עושים לכם ורזיו
מוסרין לכם וסתרי מגלים לכם ודברי לכם משמיעים ונפלאותי לכם
מגלים והן נשמעין ומשמשין אתכם כתלמיד לפני רבו ועיניכם מאירות
ולבבכם צופה ומביט כל נעלמות וקומתכם נפשטת לפניך לך אני קורא
20 סֹקֵם מלך עולמים " אתה הוא שנקרא יהונה הו אל יה מלך עולם "
אתה שנקרא פהו זנה זה וז' אל יה " מלך רחמן " אתה שנקרא
והות ניהת אל יה " מלך חנוך " אתה שנקרא צהפרוהו הוה אליה מלך
חי " אתה שנקרא ספסוהוהו אל יה " מלך עניו " אתה שנקרא
קניוהי הו הי אל יה " מלך ישר " אתה שנקרא שהרו מנהורי אל יה
25 מלך רם " אתה שנקרא ספקס הפיה והה אל יה מלך חם " אתה
שנקרא קתהו גתהי אל יה " מלך תמים " אתה שנקרא פתרים הופיתו
אל יה מלך אדיר " אתה שנקרא רעפק ציוהיה אל יה " מלך בחור "
אתה שנקרא חוסה יהו הי אל יה " מלך גאווה " אתה שנקרא והו
הו הי הוה אה יה וה יה יה וה יה וה יו הי יהוה יה " אתה
30 שומע תפלתו כי שומע תפלה אתה והזיק לי את משרתיך שרי החרב
בי מלכם אתה עשה לי כל חפצי כי כל בידך וכן כתוב פותח את ידך
ומשביע לכל חי רצון " משביעי עליכם אולי אל שנקרא הודי והי הו
הוה " אראל שנקרא סקריסיהיה " מעני אל שנקרא אתרץ אהיה יה "
מפאל שנקרא הופקי הוה אהיה " והאדירים מכלם הליכיה הוא יופיאל
35 מיסטרון שנקרא נחודפסהו הה יהת הדר מרום " מרשות מלכי ידיאל
שנקרא מנהוה היה " רעשי אל שנקרא מהופתביהיצי " חניאל שנקרא

[i. i.] בשמיה דאלהא רבא וקדישא

I. ארבעה מלאכים הממונים על החרב הגתונה מפיי אה וה יה ההי
היה אדון הרזים וממונין על התורה והם רואים במחקרי רזי מטה ומעלה
ואלה שמותם שקד חזי " מרניזאל " והדריוולז " מומריס " ולמעלה
מהם חמשה שהם קדושים ועוזים והסוברין כך מסתבר סתרי אהי הי 5
הי בעולם שבע שעות ביום וממונים על אלף אלפי רבאות ואלף
מרכבות מזורזים לעשות רצון [קונם] " אהי הי היה " אדון האדונים
ואל אלהים נכבד " ואלה שמותם " מהיהונצי " פתדותתנם " אסקריהו "
שיתניחום " קתגניפרי " וכל מרכבה ומרכבה שהן ממונים עליהם על
שרי כל אחת ואחת " מתמיה " ואומר היש מספר לנדרדיו והפחות 10
שבמרכבה שר ורב על כל ארבעה שרים הללו " ומעלה מהם שרים
שלושה שרי צבא של " אה יוה ויו ויו " אדון הכל שהן מויעין ומבהלין
היכלות שמונה שלו ביום יום ברעש וברעד ורשות להן על כל פועל
ידיו ומתחתם כפלים מרכבות אלו " והפחות שבמרכבות שר ורב על
כל השרים הללו " ואלה שמותם " אסהדי " ששרים " הויה " מהותניאיה " 15
שר ורב מלך אהיו " פסקתיה שמו " שהוא יושב וכל צבא מרום בקידה
ובכריעה ובהשתחויה אפים בתראש ארצה לפניו בכל יום בפטירתן
מהשחואות לפני נקץ " שלאה הו אותה " אדון הכל " וכשאתה
משביעו נוקק לך ומזיק לך את החמשה שרים האלו וכל המרכבות
אשר תחת רשותם ואת כל השרים האלו אשר מתחת ידם כי כך נתפקד 20
הוא וכל אותם השרים לזקק למשה בן עמרם ולהזיק לו כל השרים
שמתחת רשותם ולא יתעכבו בשמעתן ולא לזוז ממנה הנה והנה
להמשיל את כל המשביעין אותן על זה החרב את רזיה ואת צפוניה
כבודת גדולתה ותפארתה ולא יעכבו כי נזירת " אברוהו " הוה צל
אליה אל יה " עליהם לאמר כל בשר דם שישביע אתכם אל תעכבוהו 25
ואל תשנוהו ממה שנצטויתם על משה בן עמרם עבדי כי בשמותי
המפורשים הוא משביע אתכם וכבוד לשמי אתם עושים ולא לו " ואם
תעכבו בו אני שורף אתכם כי לא כבדתם אותי וכל א' וא' מסר לו

3 מרניזאל והדריוולז.

2 יה.

1 פלונתא . . ה שבגליון ושעל השמות.

4 ומבהלין. 5 מהשתחוואות. I.



CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE ARITTHAKA STONE.

CHER MONSIEUR RHYS DAVIDS,—Voici les termes du Commentaire du Samyutta-nikāya relatifs à Māra-samyutta, I, §§ 2, 3 :—

MAHĀ ti	mahanto
ARITTHAKO ti	kāḷako
MANĪ ti	pāsāṇe (<i>sic</i>)
EVAM ASSA SĪSAM HOTĪ ti	evam tassa kālavanna-kuṭṭagā- ra-pamāna-mahā-pāsāṇa-sadisam sīsam hoti . ¹

La tête de l'éléphant ressemble donc à une "roche noire ayant les dimensions d'une haute maison." Cette explication ne confirme nullement l'hypothèse de M. Windisch : elle s'approche de la vôtre, mais elle en diffère en ce qu'elle affirme la couleur *noire*, tandis que vous avez cherché la couleur *blanche*. Vous jugerez, sans doute comme moi, que le "noir" est préférable, puis qu'il s'agit de faire peur, et que le "blanc" en général, en particulier chez l'éléphant, est un signe de bénédiction, un signe rassurant.

L'interprétation du Commentaire me paraît claire, simple, naturelle, et juste. Ce qui n'est ni juste, ni naturel, ni simple, ni clair, c'est l'emploi des mots du texte *arittḥako maṇi*, qui autorisait parfaitement M. Windisch à chercher —un peu loin, peut-être—son ingénieuse et savante interprétation. Qui se serait imaginé que *arittḥako maṇi* désigne

¹ Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds Pāli, No. 622, I. *jam*, ll. 2-4.

tout simplement une "roche noire"? Le sens de *ariṭṭho* = *kāḷako*, "grain de riz noir, tache," était inconnu; *maṇi* est très connu pour désigner un joyau, une pierre précieuse, et non une pierre sans valeur. On oppose même *maṇi* à *pāsāṇa*; il est, donc, étonnant de les voir donnés comme synonymes. Parmi les sens de *ariṭṭha*, celui de "heureux, de bon augure" peut se transformer en son opposé, "malheureux, de mauvais augure"; c'est ce dernier sens qu'il doit avoir ici; de là sans doute l'équivalent *kāḷako* donné par le Commentaire.

Maintenant, on peut se demander si l'explication du Commentaire, toute satisfaisante qu'elle est, est la vraie, si *ariṭṭho maṇi* n'a pas un sens obscur et secret, auquel le commentateur, pour se tirer d'affaire, aura substitué une interprétation de son crû. Mais c'est là une question qui touche à la confiance que mérite le Commentaire en général; je n'ai pas à la traiter. Vous m'avez simplement demandé "l'opinion de Buddhaghosa"; je suis heureux d'avoir pu vous la donner.—Croyez, cher Monsieur, à mes meilleurs sentiments.

L. FEER.

2. THE SEVERAL PALI AND SINHALESE AUTHORS KNOWN AS DHAMMAKITTĪ.

December 2nd.

SIR,—In the course of preparing Catalogues of Sinhalese books and MSS. in the British Museum, I have come across the name of Dhammakittī Thera as the author of several ancient works in the Pali and Sinhalese languages. Judging from their contents and the style in which they are written, it becomes obvious, even to a beginner as I am, that they cannot have been written at one period, and still less by one and the same person. Further research into the literature and the historical records of Ceylon has confirmed this view. It appears that there have been no

less than five Buddhist friars bearing this name who distinguished themselves as authors, and held at different times high positions in the Buddhist Order.

The earliest of them was Dhammakitti Thera, a pupil of Śāriputta of Poḷonnaruwa. The latter is well known to Pali scholars as the venerable author of (1) *Sāratthadīpanī*, (2) *Sāratthamañjūsā* (a *ṭīkā* on *Manorathapūraṇī*), (3) *Vinayaśaṅgaha*,¹ (4) *Abhidhammattha-Śaṅgaha-Sanna*,² and (5) *Pañjikālaṅkāra*,³ a commentary on *Ratnamatī*'s *Pañjikā*, which is itself a commentary on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, the valuable Sanskrit grammar of Candragomin.

No copy of the *Pañjikālaṅkāra* has as yet been met with in Ceylon.⁴ It must, however, have been extant in the fifteenth century, for we find references to it in *Toṭagamuvē Śrī Rāhula*'s grammatical work "*Moggallāyanapañjikā-pradīpaya*."⁵ We have thus another work on Candra's grammar, which must be added to those mentioned by Dr. Bruno Liebich in his learned essay on the subject.⁶

Śāriputta lived at Poḷonnaruwa in the reign of King Parākrama-bāhu the Great (1164-97 A.D.). He had several disciples—*Śaṅharakkhita*, *Sumaṅgala*, *Vāgīśvara*, *Dhammakitti*, and others—who were themselves celebrated authors. *Śaṅharakkhita* wrote (1) *Khuddasikkhā Abhinava Ṭīkā*, (2) *Subodhālaṅkāra*, (3) *Vuttodaya*, (4) *Susaddasiddhi*, and (5) *Sambandha Cintā*,⁷ and took a prominent part in the convocation of monks held under the auspices of King Māgha or Kālinga Vijaya-bāhu (1215-36) for the suppression of schisms in the Buddhist Church.⁸

This Dhammakitti, whom we may call "the first," was the composer of the well-known Pali poem, *Dāthāvamsa*, on the Tooth-relic of Buddha. He wrote it at the request of

¹ Colophon to *Dāthāvamsa* (edited and tr. by Sir Mutukumāra Svāmī), p. 81. See also P.T.S. Journal, 1884, p. 151, verse 1.

² Introd. to *Anuruddha-sūta* (ed. 1879, p. 2), by Pandit Buṭavanatāyāra.

³ L. de Zeyva's Catalogue of Pali, Sinh., and Skt. MSS., p. 24.

⁴ *Subhūti*'s *Nāmanāla*, p. xxxv.

⁵ Die Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen—Philol. Hist. Klasse, 1895: Das *Cāndravyākaraṇa*.

⁶ Introd. to Vimalajeti's edition of *Vuttodaya*.

⁷ *Nikāya-śaṅgraha*, p. 23.

the minister Parākrama, who restored Līlāvati, the widow of Parākrama-bāhu the Great, to the throne¹ in 1211.

The second Dhammakitti lived in the reign of King Paudita Parākrama-bāhu of Dambadeniya (1240-75). He came to the island from "Tamba-rata," or, according to Mayūrapāda's Pūjāvaliya, from "Tamalingamuva," at the invitation of the king. The following is the account in the Mahāvamsa, clothed, as is to be expected, in religious language:—

"And it came to pass that of the many and pious priests who dwelt always in the country of Tamba, there was a certain great elder known as Dhammakitti, who had become famous by his great zeal and piety. And when the king heard that a lotus had once sprung up in the path of this elder as he went on his way begging, he was greatly astonished, and sent religious gifts and offerings of perfumes and sandal ointments, and such substances that were touched against the Tooth-relic, and other royal gifts also, to the Tamba country, and caused the great elder to be brought to the island of Lankā. And when the king saw him he was glad and rejoiced greatly, as if he had seen an Arabat, and made great offerings unto him, and ministered carefully, with the four requirements of a monastic life, unto him who was a vessel worthy of offerings and honour."²

And this Buddhist saint may have been the same Dhammakitti who, under the patronage of the king, compiled that portion of the Mahāvamsa which treats of the history from the period of Mahāsena, A.D. 275-301, to his his own times.

A third Dhammakitti seems to have flourished during the reign of Bhuvaneka-bāhu I (1277-88). He belonged to the fraternity of Buddhist monks whose chief seat was at Puṭabhattaseṭṭi (Paḷābatgala), but he resided in a monastery near Gaṅgāśrīpura (Gampola).³

¹ Dāthāvamsa, Pali Text Society's edition, vv. 4-10.

² Wijesinha's Mahāvamsa, p. 284, vv. 11-16.

³ Saddhammānāḷakāra, Brit. Mus. Or. 2277, fol. 1p 6.

His pupil was Dhammakitti the fourth. He lived at Gaḍalādeṇi Vihāra during the reigns of Parākrama-bāhu V and Vikrama-bāhu III (1351-72), and was the learned author of Pāramimāhāsataka, an important Pali poem on the ten Pāramitās of Buddha. He was the Saṅgharāja (hierarch) of his time, and held a great convocation of Buddhist monks in 1369 under the auspices of the minister Niśsaṅkha Alagakkōnāra,¹ and effected reforms in the Buddhist Church.

The fifth known Dhammakitti and the last of the series, succeeded his master in the office of Saṅgharāja. He was also called Devarakkhita or Jayabāhu Mahā-thera, and lived in the reigns of Bhuvaneka-bāhu V and Vira-bāhu III (1372-1410).² He was the celebrated author of about six important works, viz.: Saddhammālaṅkāra, Jinabodhāvali, Saṅkhepa, Nikāya-saṅgraha, Balāvatāra,³ and probably Gaḍalādeṇi-sanna and Saddhammasaṅgaha. In conjunction with his colleague Galaturamūla Maitrī Mahāsthavira, he, further, held a synod of Buddhist monks, and by suppressing unorthodox doctrines is said to have rendered great service in the purification of the religion.—Yours faithfully,

DON M. DE Z. WICKREMASINGHE.

3. MAHUAU'S ACCOUNT OF BENGAL.

8, Christ Church Avenue, Brondesbury,
29th November, 1895.

DEAR SIR,—It will be remembered that in my paper relating to Mahuan's account of Bengal, which appeared in the July number of this Journal, the names of the kings of that country sending embassies to China in 1409 and 1415 could not be determined with anything like certainty owing to the discrepancy of dates.

¹ Nikāya-saṅgraha, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*

³ Saddhammālaṅkāra, Brit. Mus. Or. 2277, fol. 171b.

I stated that the king sending an embassy to China in 1409 was called in the Chinese annals Gai-ya-szû-ting, which name seemed to fairly represent King Ghiyas-ad-din, but who did not appear to have been reigning in Bengal at that time.

Mr. Beveridge, with whom I had a conversation and some correspondence on the subject, informs me that Ghiyas-ad-din *was* living in 814 (1412), and there are coins of his up to 812 (1410).

In addition to this information kindly given me, Mr. Beveridge sent me an extract from his paper on the "Rajah Káns," which he wrote for the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in vol. lxi, part i, No. 2, 1892, in which he fully enters into the subject concerning the time that Ghiyas-ad-din lived and reigned.

If we accept the dates given in his paper as correct, the Gai-ya-szû-ting of the Chinese annals may with almost certainty be accepted as Ghiyas-ad-din, who was king of Bengal at the time the embassy was sent.

Being thus tolerably certain as to the name of the king sending the embassy in 1409, I again turned my attention to the embassy of 1415, to see whether the initial character given in the name of the king sending it could be read in any other way. I stated that the Chinese annals called him Kien-fuh-ting, 賽弗丁, but I am inclined to think that the name should be read Sai-fuh-ting, 賽弗丁; the initial character Kien, 塞, being easily printed in error for Sai, 賽.

The king of Bengal thus sending the embassy in 1415 would be, in Chinese, Sai-fuh-ting and not Kien-fuh-ting, the name given in my paper. Again quoting Mr. Beveridge, we are informed that a Sai-fud-din, the son of Ghiyas-ad-din, succeeded his father as king of Bengal in 1412. He reigned three years and four months, and consequently would be reigning in 1415, when the embassy started for China. In duly weighing the above facts, I think we are warranted in supposing that the Sai-fuh-ting of the Chinese annals is King Sai-fud-din of Bengal.

There is now the question, what city was the capital of Bengal from whence these embassies came? Mahuan gives no name to the capital, but simply its approximate distance from Sonargáon. Sonargáon in the Ming annals is also the starting-point for the capital, but the directions and distances given are misleading.

In a Chinese encyclopædia, the Yuen-chien-lei-han, 淵鑑類函, there is to be found a short account of Bengal, in which is given the name of the capital, and from which I quote the following:—

“Sonn-urh-kiang, Sonargáon, is a walled city, where much trade is carried on; beyond which [no direction given] there is the city of Pan-tu-wa, in which the king of the country [Bengal] resides, 再行至板獨哇酉長居焉. It is a walled city and is very large. The king's palace is very extensive, and the pillars supporting it are of brass, on which are engraved figures of flowers and animals. In the throne-room there is a raised dais, inlaid with every kind of precious stone, on which the king sits crossed-leg with his sword lying across his knees. The king and all his officers are Muhammadans.”

The characters can also be read Pan-du-wa, and in the Amoy dialect P'êng-du-wa.

Mr. Beveridge, to whom I submitted the above extract, informs me that he thinks Panduah answers to the whole of the description of the Chinese Pan-tu-wa except the distance.

Mr. Beames, with whom I have been also in correspondence, states that Panduah was the capital of Bengal at the time the embassies went to China, but, owing to the direction and distance from Sonargáon given by the Chinese writers, hesitates somewhat in accepting Pan-tu-wa as representing Panduah.

On due consideration of the subject, I think it would be as well to dismiss the Chinese accounts of the direction and distance of the capital of Bengal from Sonargáon, as faulty and contradictory, and this being done, I think we should be warranted in assuming that the Chinese Pan-tu-wa

fairly represents the Bengal Panduah, which, according to Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer," vol. xi, page 39, was at the time the capital of that part of India of which we have been treating, viz. 1409-1415.

My best thanks are due to Dr. Codrington and Messrs. Beames and Beveridge, for the help they have afforded me in my attempts to identify the names of the kings of Bengal sending embassies to China, and also for kindly aiding me to identify the ancient Bengal capital Panduah with Pan-tu-wa of the Chinese annalists.—Yours truly,

GEO. PHILLIPS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1895.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

November 12th, 1895.—Dr. Thornton in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Lady Brooke, Rānī of Sarawak,
 Mr. Gazafar Ali Khān,
 Mr. Justice Khuda Baksh Khān Bahādūr,
 Mr. Khuda Baksh,
 Dr. E. Hardy,
 Captain Gerini,
 Mr. C. Fernando,
 Professor Mukerji of Jaipur,
 Professor M. T. Quinn,
 Mr. T. Callan Hodson,
 Mr. Rajesvar Mitra, and
 Dr. E. B. Landis

had been elected members of the Society.

The Secretary read a paper by Professor Hirth on Chao Ju-kua, a Chinese geographer of the thirteenth century.

In the discussion which ensued Professor Douglas, Mr. Delmar Morgan, Sir William Wilson Hunter, Mr. Beveridge, Mr. Thomson Lyon, and Dr. Gaster took part.

The paper appears in the present Number.

Mr. Herbert Baynes exhibited a clay tablet with a Buddhist inscription upon it, from Burma.

December 10th, 1895.—Dr. Thornton in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mons. E. Blochet,

Mr. Tahl Ram, and

Mr. Abdullah ibn Yusuf Ali

had been elected members of the Society.

The Rev. Dr. Guster read a paper on the newly discovered MS. of the "Sword of Moses," a mediæval work on Magic.

In the discussion Dr. Gollancz, Professor Bendall, and Mr. Mead took part.

The paper is published in the present Number.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Band xlix, Heft 3.

Bacher (W.). Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik (Fortsetzung und Schluss).

Grierson (G. A.). On the Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.

Burkhard (K. F.). Maḥmūd's Gāmī's Jūsuf Zulaikhā, romantisches Gedicht in Kashmīrī Sprache.

Oldenberg (H.). Noch einmal der vedische Kalender und das Alter des Veda.

Mills (L. H.). On the ambiguity of certain characters in the Zend Alphabet.

2. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. N.S. Tome vi, No. 1.

Rapport Annuel.

Tome vi, No. 2.

Sauvage (H.). Description de Damas (suite).

Mély (F. de). L'Alchimie chez les Chinois et l'alchimie grecque.

Lévy (S.) and Chavannes (E.). L'itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong (751-790).

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk.

The *Nederlandsche Spectator* contains an obituary notice, by Professor Kern, of Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, in whose death we mourn the loss of the greatest Malayan scholar of this century. Born in the Dutch East Indies, and educated in Holland, he brought out, as the fruit of eight years' residence amongst the Bataks of Sumatra, a Batak dictionary and reader (the latter in four volumes), and a grammar of the Toba dialect. Subsequently he spent some time in London in cataloguing the Malay manuscripts of the East India House and the Royal Asiatic Society; and before his second return to India he brought out two Malay text-books, and several important treatises on the Lampong language and literature. Some twenty years ago he took up his residence at Buleleng, in the island of Bali, for the purpose of elaborating a Kawi-Balinese-Dutch dictionary. He had only just commenced to carry this important work through the Press when death overtook him. He was also the author of a revised edition of Von de Wall's Malay dictionary in three volumes, and contributed many valuable articles to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Batavia and of the Asiatic Society of the Hague.

Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra.

Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra was born at Kounagur on the 2nd of May, 1844. His father, Babu Joy Gopal Mitra, was a clerk in a merchant's office. His was a large family, and it was not without difficulty that he managed to make both ends meet. Young Trailokya Nath grew into a vigorous, diligent, and self-reliant boy. He was first sent to Serampur to receive his rudimentary education. Subsequently he went to Utterparah, and was admitted into the local school on the 11th May, 1855. In April,

1859, when he was practically in the Second Class, he passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. In 1860 he went up for and successfully passed the Senior Scholarship Examination, heading the list of the successful candidates. In the next year, 1861, he passed the First Examination in Arts, and stood second in order of merit. In 1863 he passed the Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and secured the first place. In 1864 he obtained the Degree of Master of Arts, and again headed the list of the successful candidates. In 1865 he passed the Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Law in the First Division, standing second in order of merit. In 1867 he received Honours in Law, and in 1877 the University of Calcutta conferred on him the Degree of Doctor in Law, the highest honour it can bestow.

A career so brilliant could not pass without recognition. In 1864, just after he had obtained the M.A. Degree, Dr. Trailokya Nath was appointed Lecturer in Mathematics at the Presidency College. This he held till 1865, when he was appointed Law Lecturer and officiating Professor of Philosophy in the Hughli College. The Chair of Philosophy fell vacant when Mr. (now Sir Alfred) Croft went on leave, and it was no mean compliment paid to the varied learning and brilliant intellect of the young man that he was chosen to fill it. He held both these offices for about a year, when he resigned his appointment as Professor of Philosophy and joined the Bar, retaining his appointment as Law Lecturer. It is said that Mr. Atkinson, who was then Director of Public Instruction, offered him an appointment in the higher grades of the Bengal Educational Service, but Dr. Trailokya Nath chose to follow the profession of Law. And no one can doubt that his subsequent career amply justified his choice.

It was in 1867 that Dr. Trailokya Nath joined the Hughli Bar; within a year he became a prominent member, and, step by step, he rose to the very top of the ladder. He practised at Hughli for about eight years with great distinction and uniform success. We are

informed that it was Mr. Justice Markby who advised Dr. Trailokya Nath to try his chance in the High Court of Calcutta. Justice Markby was then at Hughli on a tour of inspection, when the forensic talents and eloquence of young Trailokya Nath made so favourable an impression upon him that he encouraged him to go and practise in the High Court. So Dr. Trailokya Nath secured a Law Lecturership in the Presidency College, and joined the High Court in 1875. His achievements in this field need not be dilated upon, but this much may be said, that his position was very high indeed, and that he was well within reach of the highest prizes which the profession can offer.

Dr. Trailokya Nath was made a Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1879, along with his friends Dr. Gura Das Banerjee and Dr. Rash Bihari Ghosh. He was appointed Tagore Law Lecturer in 1879, and his work on the Law relating to the Hindu Widows is a standard work on the subject. He was Chairman of the Serampur Municipality for about ten years, and greatly distinguished himself in the Municipal Board, especially in his controversy with Dr. Lidderdale about the sanitation of Serampur, in connection with which he wrote a minute which won for him the admiration of all classes, and elicited the encomium even of the *Times* newspaper. He was elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in November, 1893. Lately, on the resignation of Dr. Rash Bihari Ghosh, the Faculty of Law of the University of Calcutta elected him as their President, and he was also elected a member of the Syndicate. He was a candidate for election to the Legislative Council of Bengal, and had a very good chance of being returned; but on the 18th of April, 1895, Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra died of fever at Bhowanipur. The universal expressions of regret which followed the announcement of his death indicate the high esteem in which he was held by all who knew him.

JOGENDRA NATH SEN, M.A., B.L.

(Vakil of the Calcutta High Court).

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

The Buddhist Jātakas.—Professor Fausböll is far advanced with vol. vi of his edition, 300 pages having been struck off. Meanwhile the Cambridge Translation is also progressing, the second volume being already in type.

Arabic Grammar.—We hear that Professor De Goeje (Hon. M.R.A.S.) is well advanced with his new edition of Wright's Arabic Grammar, and the first volume will probably appear early this year.

Inscriptions in Sicāt.—A box full of squeezes of inscriptions discovered in Swāt during the recent expedition has been forwarded to Hofrath Dr. Bühler in Vienna. They are all in characters unknown in the rest of India, but the technical execution of the engraving is the same as that of certain Sanskrit inscriptions from the same district which belong to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

Palestine Exploration Fund.—At the request of the Honorary Secretary, the Library has been supplied with a copy of the Report by the accomplished Secretary, Sir W. Besant, of "Thirty Years Work of this Society" since its establishment. The amount of work done, or in course of being done, is wonderful. The Society has been fortunate in securing the services of a succession of most distinguished co-operators, Sir Charles Wilson, Colonel Conder, Professor Petrie, Mr. Bliss, and others: the subject is really an Asiatic one, and deserves allusion in our pages. The discovery of the so-called Hittite Inscriptions, and the Revelations of the Library of Cuneiform Tablets at Tel el-Amarna in Egypt, have aroused an interest in the subject, and it is important that the work of excavation in and around Jerusalem should be vigorously prosecuted.

Purchase of the Morris MSS.—The Society has not hitherto been able to purchase any MSS., not even single ones. This quarter we are glad to be able to announce

the purchase of a valuable collection of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Burmese MSS. from the executors of the late Rev. Dr. Richard Morris, the well-known Pāli scholar. It is a matter of great importance, in the interests of historical enquiry, that MSS. should be in the hands of such bodies as our Society, which is always ready, under proper precautions, to lend its MS. treasures to any scholar seriously engaged in original work. The following is a detailed list of the MSS. acquired by this purchase :—

I. PĀLI.

1. Mūla paññāsa of the Majjhima. 280 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
2. Papañca Sūdanī. 410 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
3. Saṃyutta Nikāya. Books i to iii. 106 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
4. Saṃyutta Nikāya. Books iv and v. 204 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
5. Sārattha Pakāsinī. 413 leaves. Burmese letters.
6. Anguttara Nikāya. 323 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
7. Anguttara Nikāya. 330 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
8. Anguttara Nikāya. 7th, 8th, and part of 9th Books. 186 consecutive and 8 other leaves. Burmese letters.
9. Manoratha Pūranī. 385 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
10. Manoratha Pūranī. 343 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
11. Apadāna. 170 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
12. Cariyā Piṭaka. 12 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
13. Cariyā Piṭaka Vaṇṇanā. By Dhammapāla. 157 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
14. Madhurattappakāsinī. Commentary on the Bodhi Vaṇṣa. 224 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
15. Vissuddha-Jana Vilāsinī. Commentary on the Apadāna. 272 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
16. Dhātu Kathā. 50 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
17. Puggala Paññatti. 32 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
18. Paṭṭhāna. 450 leaves. Burmese letters.
19. Kathā Vatthu. 152 leaves. Sinhalese letters.

II. SINHALESE.

20. Ummagga Jātakaya. Sinhalese translation. 142 leaves.
21. Rāja Walliya. History of Ceylon in Sinhalese. 76 leaves.
22. Dhamma-cakka-ppavattana-Sutta. Pāli and Sinhalese. 40 leaves.
23. Dhamma-cakka-ppavattana-Sutta. Pāli and Sinhalese. 47 leaves.
24. Hinaṭi Kumburē's Śrī Saddhanmādāsaya. Translation of the Pāli Milinda. 263 leaves.
25. Madhurattha-Vilāsini. Commentary in Sinhalese on the Bodhi Vansa. 105 leaves.

III. BURMESE.

26. Khudda Sikkhā Nissaya. In Burmese. 277 leaves.
27. Pārājikā Nissaya. In Burmese. 300 leaves.
28. Mahosadha Jātaka. Burmese translation. 165 leaves.
29. Nissaya. Incomplete. In Burmese. 149 leaves.

IV. TRANSCRIPTS FROM MSS. 6000 leaves.

30. Buddhavaṃsa (i-vii, and xxii to the end).
31. Puggala Paññatti.
32. Samyutta, Nidāna Vagga.
33. The following Suttas from the beginning of the Majjhima Nikāya:
 - Dhamma-dāyadā Sutta.
 - Bhaya-bherava Sutta.
 - Anangana Sutta.
 - Vatthūparna Sutta.
 - Cetokhīla Sutta.
 - Ānūpānasata Sutta.
34. Buddha Vamsa.
35. Anguttara Nipātas, i-iv.
36. Commentary on the Anguttara (copy of leaves ku-ke, go-ghe, and ṇa-ṇi).
37. Commentary on the Majjhima (copy of leaves ka-kr).
38. Suttanta Bhajāniya.

NOTES ON INDIAN LITERATURE.

In the course of cataloguing the Sanskrit MSS. of the British Museum, I have come across several points of literary interest. It may, I think, serve several useful purposes if I briefly note two of the chief of them here.

1. *The Sanskrit Poem Sāryasātaka.*

At p. 555 of last year's (1894) issue of this Journal Prof. Rhys Davids called attention to this poem, under the impression that a MS. of the work, with a Sinhalese commentary, in his possession was unique in Europe. But there is a copy of both text and commentary in the British Museum (Or. 4147).

It may be seen from my Catalogue of Sanskrit Books in the British Museum that a printed edition of both text and commentary or paraphrase appeared at Colombo in 1883. Had Prof. Rhys Davids had an opportunity of reading the Sinhalese preface to that edition by the late D[on] A. de Silva [Baṭavantudāvē], he would have discovered no disposition on the part of that eminent Sinhalese scholar to claim Mayūra as a countryman; and, indeed, the references¹ given by Aufrecht s.v. Mayūra in his *Catalogus* (including quotations from him by authors who lived long before the thirteenth century) entirely preclude the proposed identification with the Sinhalese poet Mayūrapāda.²

A few words as to the Sinhalese commentator. Prof. Rh. Davids appears to take 'Wilgam-mūla' as a name³; Pandit Baṭavantudāvē, however, in his preface describes the commentary as composed "by a certain chief elder of the

¹ Those who may look up the subject should not fail to read Mr. FitzEdward Hall's delightful footnote on p. 8 of his *Introduction to the Vāsavadatta* (ed. Bibl. Ind., 1859).

² [It should have been mentioned that in the letter the possibility of two Mayūras was clearly referred to.—Rn. D.]

³ [Not at all. Just as Galatru-mūla is used at the end of this note as a name, so Wilgam-mūla, which is an epithet of a distinguished member of the Wilgam-mūla fraternity, may be rightly used as a designation without supposing it to be a family name.—Rn. D.]

Vilgam-mūla sect" (*Vilgam-mūla nikāyehi*¹ *mahatera kenekun visin*) about Śaka 1200, i.e. at the end of the thirteenth century A.D. The commentary, nevertheless, states that the laic name, at all events, of its author was Parūkrāmabāhu, and that he was (as Prof. Rhys Davids points out) the pupil of Galaturu-mūla Mahāsvāmi.

I find at p. 30 of the printed edition of the *Nikāya-saṅgraha*² that a Galaturu-mūla (probably the same person) was a contemporary of the author of that work, Devarakshita Dharmakīrti, and was living in A.D. 1396.

2. Note on *Al-Bērūnī's Indica*.

In the *Indica* of Al-Bērūnī (cap. lxxiv., *sub fin.* = p. 286 Sachau's text, or ii., 174 of his translation) occurs a citation from a Sanskrit work called *Vishṇu-dharma*. In the course of a very elaborate review of Dr. Sachau's translation (*Ind. Antiq.*, Nov. 1890 = vol. xix., p. 403), Dr. Bühler compares the reading of a Sanskrit MS. of the *Vishṇu-dharma* preserved at Berlin with the Arabic as rendered by Dr. Sachau. This reading is *varā*, rendered by Dr. Bühler 'myrobalans,' with the addition of a note stating that "this may possibly be the same as Bērūnī's *galangale*." There can, however, be no doubt that the correct reading is that which is preserved in a Nepalese copy (saec. xv.) of the *Vishṇu-dharma* (British Museum, Or. 2207), namely, *racā*. This agrees with the Arabic text *رَج*, *rajj*, and I may add that two independent authorities³ agree in interpreting

¹ Sometimes called *saṃāgama* 'confraternity.' See M. Dharmaratna's preface to his edition of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, p. 1 *ad fin.*, where the *Uttara-mūla* and *Vilgam-mūla* are given as the leading *saṃāgamas* in the twelfth century A.D.

² Edited at Colombo, 1890, by my friend Don M. de Zilva Wijekremasinghe (*Vikramasīlpa*), whose kind assistance in the present note I have to acknowledge. It would be a most useful work if some of our friends in Ceylon (e.g. the Asiatic Society there) would undertake a translation, or at least an abstract in English, with an index showing names and chronology.

³ These are Udayachandra Datta's "*Hindu Materia Medica*" cited by Böhtlingk, and the Arabic writer Ibn al-Baitar, who may be consulted in "*Notices et extraits*" (*Bibl. Nationale*, Paris, tom. xxvi., p. 403), a reference given to me by my colleague, Mr. A. G. Ellis.

these words by the herb called *Acorus calamus* by Linnæus. This appears to grow both in Europe and Asia, and to be sometimes known here as the 'sweet-flag.' Al-Bêrûnî no doubt belongs to the very first rank of Oriental writers, and it seemed worth while to save his credit, even in a small detail. I reserve some minor particulars as to the second MS. cited.

CECIL BENDALL.

ASIATIC PHILOLOGY.

I. Mr. Lewis Rice, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, has published a volume of *Epigraphia Carnataca*, or inscriptions in the kingdom of Mysore. The date of the eighth century A.D. is postulated as that of the earliest, and there is a continuous series down to the present time. The inscriptions are exhibited both in the original written character of the Karnata or Canarese, and in the Roman, with an English translation. There are other architectural plates: this volume is only the forerunner of many to follow: historical results of importance may be anticipated. We hope to have a full review in a subsequent number.

II. Maspero's *Chaldæa*. In his important volume on the "Dawn of Civilization" Prof. Maspero treats at great length upon Egypt, his peculiar Province, but his three chapters on Chaldæa are of extreme importance; allusion to them was omitted in the late Review of this book in our Journal, which treated exclusively on Egypt, but the Summary of the history of Chaldæa should not be lost sight of.

III. The Dutch Bible Society have published a translation of the Gospel of Luke in the language spoken in the Island of Rotti, in the Malay Archipelago: it belongs to the Malayan Family of Languages, and is an addition to our knowledge contributed by a Missionary.

IV. Mr. E. B. Michell, legal adviser to the Siamese Government, has printed and published at Bangkok, in 1892, a Siamese-English Dictionary.

AFRICAN PHILOLOGY.

A Nyanja-English Vocabulary has been published by the S.P.C.K. for the Mission at Likoma, on Lake Nyasa: it is the Vernacular of the inhabitants of the Island.

Seven years ago Mr. Holman Bentley, of the Baptist Mission on the Kongo, published a Dictionary and Grammar of first-rate excellence of the great language spoken in that Region, and known by the name of the Great River. It was an admirable book, and marked an epoch in our knowledge of West African languages South of the Equator. A special interest was attached to it, as the wife of the Missionary, a most competent scholar, had largely contributed to the work. Other books have followed, and translations of the Bible, and a bi-monthly Magazine in the Vernacular, have been started: it has taken about ten years to make an intellectual stride in West Africa, which it took one thousand years in Europe. The necessity of an appendix both to the Dictionary and the Grammar of this exceedingly luxuriant language was soon felt. New ideas had to be represented by newly developed words without foreign loan words; knotty points of grammatical construction had to be solved: the tongues of men, women, and children had been let loose in the School, the Mission Hall, and the Village; and it is the art of a true linguist to catch words alive, as they issue from the lips of unconscious barbarians. Mr. Bentley has now published in London an appendix of 4,000 words in addition to the previous 10,000: the Roman alphabet is adapted to suit new sounds. A young native, named Niemvo, materially contributed to the work of compilation and translation, and exhibited great aptitude and intelligence. The great Bantu race are born orators, and have in them the stuff, which Education will develop into Culture and Civilization.

Herr A. Seidel has published at Vienna, Pest, and Leipzig (Hartleben's Verlag) practical Grammars of three South African languages.

- (1) The Nama, a Hottentot language of Namáqualand, South Africa.
- (2) Hereró, a Bantu language, South-west Africa.
- (3) Ndonga, a Bantu language, South-west Africa.

They are in the German language, accompanied by reading Selections and Vocabularies.

The same accomplished and indefatigable scholar has issued two additional parts of his useful *Zeitschrift für Africanische und Oceanische Sprachen* at Berlin in the German language.

Part III contains :

- (1) A Vocabulary of the Tikuu (a new language) and the Pokómo, both Bantu, in E. Equatorial Africa. By F. Wurtz (German).
- (2) A Grammatical Note of the Chagga language, Bantu, in E. Equatorial Africa. By A. Seidel (German).
- (3) A Beast Story of the Bondei tribe, Bantu, in E. Equatorial Africa. By A. Seidel (German).
- (4) Tales in the language of Ki-limáni, in Portuguese East Africa. By Père Torrend, S.J. (French).
- (5) The place of the Temue language, in the Bantu Family. By Dr. G. A. Krause (German). This language is spoken by a tribe on the West Coast of Africa, North of the Equator, within the Negro Region, and up to this time considered to belong to the Negro Language Group. In my "Modern Languages of Africa," 1883, I grouped it as Negro on the best information then available: it is supplied with considerable literature by a most competent scholar, Schlenker. Dr. Krause has been led, by a searching inquiry into certain features of this language, to start the theory that it belongs to the Bantu languages, South of the Equator: the question is a most interesting one, and must be left to time to decide.

- (6) Preliminary observations to a comparative Vocabulary of the Bantu Family of Languages. By Carl Meinhof (German).

Part IV contains :

- (1) Continuation of the Vocabulary of Tikuu and Pokómo in Part III (German).
- (2) On the mode of forming adverbs in Mbundu or Bunda, a Bantu language on the West Coast of Africa, South of the Equator. By Heli Chatelain (German).
- (3) Remarks on the Bali, a Bantu language, in the Kamerún Region, West Africa, North of the Equator. By E. Zintgraff (German).
- (4) Songs in the Pokómo, a Bantu language, E. Equatorial Africa. By F. Wurtz (German).
- (5) An obituary notice of Büttner, an unwearied contributor to the study of African languages. By Carl Meinhof (German).
- (6) The Fada language on the River Geba, in Portuguese West Africa, a Bantu language. By Dr. G. A. Krause (German).

OCEANIC PHILOLOGY.

Zeitschrift für Africanische und Oceanische Sprachen, Part iii, No. 6.

Texts of the languages of the Bismarek Archipelago, Oceania, with translations by Sidney Ray (English). This is a most important contribution to our knowledge, in an entirely new field, by an industrious and promising scholar.

TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO NEW LANGUAGES OF ASIA, AFRICA, AND OCEANIA IN 1894.

A. Asia.

I. In the Dehra Dún, North-west Provinces of British India, the language of Gurwáli or Tiri is spoken by a rural population, and a Gospel has been translated into it and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

II. In the same locality there is a language, called Jaunsári, which has also been honoured by becoming the vehicle of communicating the Gospel to an Indian tribe.

In both these cases there has been a distinct addition to our linguistic knowledge. Whether these two languages will retain their position in collision with the lordly Hindi remains to be seen.

B. *Africa.*

A tribe exists on both banks of the great River Kongo in Equatorial Africa, not far from the confluence of the River Kasai: their name is Bangi; they have a distinct language, and a Gospel has been translated into it.

C. *Oceania.*

I. The Dobu are a tribe in British New Guinea, and their language has been studied, and the translation of a Gospel made.

II. The same may be said of the Panaiéti, also in New Guinea.

These facts may seem small and unimportant, but they indicate that annually fresh languages are being discovered: the translations are, at any rate, genuine, and furnish material for skilled Grammarians to find out new phenomena of linguistic variety in word-store and structure.

R. N. C.

V. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

LES MÉMOIRES HISTORIQUES DE SEMATS'TEN, traduits et annotés par E. CHAVANNES. Paris: Leroux.

We cannot but admire the energy and ability with which this stupendous work has been accomplished, and it is wonderful that we have not long ago had some sinologist eager to translate the book of one who has been called the Herodotus of China, and whose Records really form the

main source of our knowledge of the early history of that country. These Records, dating from primeval and mythical times, are the model on which subsequent dynastic histories have been compiled. M. Chavannes prefaces his labour with a long introduction in five chapters. In the first of these we have short biographies of the two Ssūmas, father and son, and an attempt is made to determine the respective shares taken by each in the writing of the Records, the translator basing his judgment on the supposed difference of their religious opinions. He says that Ssūma Ch'ien was undoubtedly a Confucianist, as he gives the sage a place of honour in a part of his work reserved for the biographies of great men, and refers to the enthusiastic manner in which the historian recounts a visit he paid to the temple of Confucius; while he remarks that any traces of Taoism found in the Records must be assigned to the influence of Ssūma Tan alone. He admits, however, that in this opinion he is opposed to the views of San Piao, father of the author of the History of the Former Han Dynasty, who, living about 120 years after Ssūma Ch'ien, reproaches him for 'specially revering Huangti and Laotzü and speaking lightly of the five canonical books.' The phrase here referred to is doubtless Huang-lao, literally 'Yellow ancient,' which occurs so often in the Historical Records. If, as I believe, this expression simply refers not to Taoism but Buddhism, it cannot of course be admitted, as M. Chavannes says in the second chapter of his introduction, that there is no passage in the Historical Records which alludes to the latter religion. The author is speaking of the capture by the Chinese general Ho Chū-ping, in the year 121 B.C., of a 'golden man' from a tribe of Hsiung-nu near the present Liangchow, in the Kansu province. The Chinese commentators on this passage think that this must have been a Buddhist image, but M. Chavannes ridicules the idea of Buddhism having penetrated into China so early as the end of the second century B.C., and believes that the image must have been that of one of the ancestors of the King of Hsiuehu. Now on referring to the biography of Ho

Chū-ping, as recounted in the History of the Former Hans, we find the image referred to as the 'Hsiuchu's Heaven-worshipping golden man,' and it is more than likely it was carried into the battle as a sort of talisman. Some nine years ago I pointed out in the pages of the *China Review* that Buddhism seems to have found its way into China as early as 221 B.C., when the 'First Emperor' cast bronze images after seeing similar figures at Liutao in South-west Kansu. The late Dr. Lacouperie refers] to a story in the T'ai-ping-yü-lan ("Origin of Chinese Civilization," p. 2086) to the effect that this emperor conversed with some persons, professing Hindu views on the beginnings and transformations of the universe, who had come to Lintao by river from North-west Szuch'uan, where recluses had for years been established in caves, and thinks that there is a connection between the two stories. In B.C. 219 Buddhist priests were certainly seen by the same emperor at Pubai, near Laichoufu; and considering how actively the Buddhists spread their tenets in all directions, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the faith was fairly well known in China 100 years later. The sources of the Records, the method of compilation, and the interpolations and criticisms are gone into fully in later chapters of the Introduction. When half through the volume we reach the text of the translation, which it must be admitted is very carefully worked out. On p. 133 M. Chavannes observes in a note that the pond of Tuyeh, although referred to in the time of the Hsia dynasty, could not have been known to the Chinese until the year 115 B.C., so he forthwith marks the passage as an interpolation by some one in the reign of the Emperor Wu, then living. There are plenty of other anachronisms, and we may conclude that the only solution of the difficulties is this—that the whole history was forged after the year 115 B.C. M. Chavannes notices that the historian does not mention the famous eclipse of the sun said to have occurred in 776 B.C., which is thought by some to be the first authentic date in Chinese history.

HERBERT J. ALLEN.

PRIORITY OF THE VEDĀNTA SŪTRA OVER THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ. By Prof. T. R. ANALNERKAR. Bombay, 1895.

The author takes one by one the reasons adduced by the late Mr. Justice Telang for considering the Gītā the older of these two works, and maintains that not only are they not convincing, but, in fact, are only reconcilable with the contrary hypothesis. A question of this kind cannot be properly discussed on the basis of one or two isolated passages without due regard being paid to the general tone of the whole of the works in question, and the Professor very properly points out that the principal questions raised in the Brahma Sūtra have ceased to interest the author of the Gītā, who is concerned, on the contrary, with quite other matters belonging to a later stratum of thought. The whole argument is well thought out, and time will probably show that the author of this interesting brochure is in the right.

A PRACTICAL HINDUSTANI GRAMMAR. In Two Volumes. Compiled by Lieut.-Col. A. O. GREEN. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1895.

By the courtesy of the manager of the Clarendon Press a copy of this new grammar, prepared on a new system, has been forwarded to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and it is with great pleasure that notice is now taken of it in our periodical Reports. The language is well known to all Anglo-Indians, as it is the *lingua franca* of the whole of India, and the special vernacular of the Northern Provinces: it is a beautiful and highly refined form of speech, having incorporated with the Hindi, which is its linguistic base, vast loans of words, sentences, and inflections from the Persian and Arabic: its other name is "Urdu," or the Camp-language of the Mahometan invaders of India from the Regions West of the Indus.

Col. Green was interpreter to the Bengal Sappers and Miners at Rurki, and, as far back as the year 1875, formed a desire to write a grammar of this language, which was

his ordinary official vernacular, based upon the lines of such works as Otto's German, French, and Latin Grammars. For the convenience of the learner the book is divided into two parts. Part I contains a concise Grammar, the rules being illustrated by copious exercises, to which are appended a well-known vernacular Romance to be used as a Reader, and a selection of lithographed Manuscripts on various subjects. These are printed in the well-known Semitic Arabic written character, with additional symbols to represent the peculiar sounds of an Aryan language. In an appendix the author adds a few remarks on the Nágari or Indian square written character, which is also used to record the literature of this language.

Part II contains a key to the exercises and stories in Part I: these translations are not only *printed* in the Arabic character in the regular form adopted by the Press, but *lithographed* in a written series of gradually increasing difficulty to accustom the beginner to the handwriting of native letter-writers. A free translation into English is also given of the Romance above alluded to in Part I, and the other Hindi selections, and the handwriting is both transliterated and translated.

The type and style of this work reflect the greatest credit upon the Clarendon Press: it is a pleasure to a proficient in the Hindustani to read it. It is impossible to predict whether this elaborate handbook of the Language will supersede its predecessors: experience alone can decide this point: under any circumstances this is a most praiseworthy and creditable performance of one who knows the language, which he treats scientifically and thoroughly.

R. N. C.

THE BUDH GAYĀ TEMPLE CASE.

Messrs. Newman and Co., of the Caxton Press, Calcutta, have published a complete report of this now celebrated case in a substantial volume of close upon 300 printed

pages of foolscap size. The report includes the proceedings and judgments in all the courts, with all the correspondence and legal documents referred to in the course of the action. As will be in the memory of our readers, the case was not a civil one to claim the possession of this ancient Buddhist building for the Buddhists, but a criminal one against the Hindu Mahant who has taken possession of the building for the purpose of violently interrupting Buddhist worship. The action was brought under a clause of the Indian Act directed against the forcible interruption of any established religious service, and in the result it was held that the particular occasion in question did not come under the terms of the Act.

DIE ABESSINIER IN ARABIEN UND AFRIKA AUF GRUND
NEUENTDECKTER INSCRIPTEN, von Dr. EDUARD
GLASER. 8vo. pp. 210. Franz: München, 1895.

This book forms a very welcome supplement to Dr. Glaser's previous researches on the early history of Arabia. It is full of startling discoveries and ingenious theories, throwing light on ancient cultures hitherto shrouded in mist. Dr. Glaser's aim is to demonstrate that the original home of the *Æthiopians*, or *Habašat*, is not Africa, but Asia, and especially that part of Arabia which is now called Mahra. Apart from the material gathered from classical authors, as Herodotus, Eratosthenes, the Author of the "Periplus," and others, the demonstration is mainly built on the incense-producing character of this territory. The derivation of the name of the *Æthiopians* from a Sabæan plural, *atyûb*¹ (pronounced *atyôb* ?), is uncommonly

¹ This form is not to be confounded with the *Æthiopic* plur. fract. *aqtal*, which, according to Dillmann (*Gramm. d. Æth. Spr.*, p. 241), is a development from Arab. *نُعُول*, but in Sabæan it seems to correspond with Arab. *أَنْعَال* *cf.* *أَحْمَر* and *أَحْمَار*, ZDMG. xvi, 537. Perhaps the *Æthiopic* *aqtal* is also nothing but a differentiation from *aqtal*.

convincing. As to *Habašat*, Glaser very properly thinks of Arab. حَبَش 'to gather.' Now the existence of a kingdom of the *Habašat*, Glaser argues, cannot be disputed, as it is mentioned in several Sabæan inscriptions, in particular in the "Treaty Inscription" (Glaser, 1076), which cannot have been composed later than 100-50 a.c., but probably earlier. *Axum* mentioned in the "Periplus" was then too insignificant to figure as an independent power in that treaty, and therefore the country of the *Habašat* is not to be sought for in Africa, but in South Arabia, east of Hadhramôth. To make this evidence all the more striking, Glaser identifies *Habašat* not only with the *Hbati* of the old Egyptians (for Pwent) but also with *Abasa* of Pausanias and Uranius—who likewise place it next to Hadhramôth—and the *Abissa* of Ptolemy. This *Arabic* kingdom of *Habašat* must have ceased to exist at the time of the author of the "Periplus" (i.e. in the second half of the first century of the present era), and was probably absorbed by Hadhramôth. Now in the Greek text of the bilingual Axum inscription of King Aizanas *Æthiopia* is mentioned as one of his dominions, which in the parallel *Æthiopian* text (written in Sabæan characters) is rendered by *Habašat*. It is greatly to Dr. Glaser's credit that in one of his previous writings ("Skizzen der Geschichte Arabiens," p. 36) he already suggested that identity before the *Æthiopic* text—of which the first squeeze was brought to Europe only a short time ago—was known. From all these items Dr. Glaser concludes that the *Habašat*, beginning with those designated in the above-mentioned *Hbati*, was the general name employed for the incense-producing countries as early as the second pre-Christian millenium. About this period large immigrations took place from Arabia into Abessinia. The possible objection that it may have been the reverse, Glaser justly meets with the counter evidence that there is no proof in favour of it, whilst everything advocates the movement towards Africa. The question is, of course, in close connection with that other and more complicated one respecting the wanderings of

the Semitic tribes. The great plausibility of Glaser's arguments has undoubtedly brought the solution of this question somewhat nearer. His book, although anything but bulky, is full of other interesting details, among which are explanations of inscriptions from which he draws his conclusions, and of the Greek names of places mentioned in the Adulis inscription. In these matters, however, the final word still remains to be spoken. That Glaser also took the opportunity of touching upon the famous Minaean question is not surprising, and his remarks certainly tend to strengthen his theory. The diction is attractive, though sometimes rather polemical. An excellent index is appended.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE RULING RACES OF PREHISTORIC TIMES IN INDIA, SOUTH-WESTERN ASIA, AND SOUTHERN EUROPE. By J. F. HEWITT, late Commissioner at Chota Nagpore. Vol. I, 1894. Vol. II, 1895. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company.

The first of these two remarkable volumes is composed of a preface and six essays, and the second volume is made up of a preface and three essays. Each volume is furnished with an excellent and very useful index.

The object of the essays in the first volume is, in the author's words, "to help those who, like myself, are trying to trace the paths worn by the ruling races of the world through the tangled jungles of past times, and thus to learn the real history of the childhood of humanity during the ages when national life began its troubled journey towards its ultimate and, as yet, unseen goal. They call especial attention to the chronological data supplied by social laws and customs, mythic history and ritual; and prove that these, when studied, provide guiding marks from which we can deduce, even in ages which have been hitherto called prehistoric, the order in which leading epochs of civilization succeeded one another."

The first is somewhat of an introductory character, and tells how the author was led to begin the inquiries which have resulted in these volumes. In it we find a good deal about St. George showing his development from a rain-god, and also about the Cross.

Essay ii treats of "The primitive village, its origin, growth into the province, the city, and the State, and its methods of record."

The third essay is devoted to "The early history of India, South-western Asia, Egypt, and Southern Europe, as taught by that of the worship of the Hindu Soma, the Zend Haoma, the Assyrian Istar, and the Egyptian Isis." This is a long and learned, though rather confused, disquisition. In it the author claims to "have traced the history of the worship of the goddess Istar and of the god Soma, and have shown that both derived their origin from the worship of the two earth-mothers, the mother-grove of the Indian village communities and the mother-mountain of the Northern races, and of the thunder- and storm-god as a father-god, the husband of the land." He also shows that "the history of the evolution of religion, culminating in Soma worship, discloses its absorption into a form of ascetic doctrine, in which the desire for personal holiness characterizing Semitic belief in the fatherhood of the God of Righteousness predominated."

The fourth essay treats of "Astronomical myths, showing, on the evidence of early Akkadian astronomy, how the Hittites, Kuṣhites, and Kuṣhite-Semites measured the year."

Essay v is entitled "The history of the rule of the Kuṣhite-Semite races as told in the early forms of the Soma festival and the worship of the Sun-god Rā."

The sixth essay, which is a very interesting and ingenious one, is headed, "The first coming of the fire-worshipping Heracleidae to Greece, their conquest of the Dorians and Semites, and their victorious return as worshippers of the Sun-god."

In the second volume we have Essay vii, which treats of "The astronomy of the Veda, and its historical lessons."

The author shows how the "Indian conception of history as the records of events in the cycle year of destiny" is repeated in Buddhist history and theology.

Essays viii and ix deal respectively with history as told in the mythology of the Northern races and with the "History of the worship of Ja or Yah, the all-wise Fish-sun-god, as told in the mythology of the American Indians," etc.

From this short summary of the contents of this treatise it may be seen that the author has taken a wide and comprehensive view of the origins or foundations of historical civilization. In the mythologies handed down from primitive tribes he sees history, and he has endeavoured to ascertain and show what were the facts embodied in the mythologies. The two volumes contain a vast amount of curious learning and ingenious conjecture. But facts, deductions, and conjectures seem to be all inextricably confused at times, and occasionally whole paragraphs are bewildering from this mixing up of things which should have been kept apart. The author seems to go too far, with regard to the present state of knowledge, in the identifications which he makes in the matter of objects of worship in widely separated lands, and in the derivation of religious and cosmic theories. The treatise is the work of a great reader, a man with wide sympathies and active imagination, and many of the analogies pointed out by him are suggestive and curious. But the method of argument takes so much for granted that it is very difficult for the specialist in any one of the many fields he touches to follow it, and of course the book is not meant for anyone not a specialist.

T. W.

THE MOGUL EMPERORS OF HINDUSTAN, 1398-1707. By
EDWARD S. HOLDEN, LL.D. 8vo. London, 1895.

Dr. Holden has succeeded in writing a very pleasant book, having used his materials with great skill and effect. The first paragraph of the introductory note was, it must

be confessed, a little disconcerting: for, what could we look for from a man who, having accidentally acquired a few miniatures of Mogul emperors, casts about for books to tell him something of their history, and lays the result before the public within the twelvemonth (pp. v and xiii)? After that, to find the book so good was an agreeable surprise. It would, at the same time, be affectation to pretend, in this Journal, that Dr. Holden's pages contain any information not known before to every student of the period. Still, his production is an excellent effort at what the French call *vulgarisation*; and it is the more remarkable for the fact, rare in my experience of such works, that there is hardly a statement to which a specialist could take serious exception.

Whether a *Shāhjahān-nāmāh* (p. ix) could include portraits "by contemporary artists" of Bābar, Humāyūn, and Akbar, is a little doubtful, unless interpreted as meaning "copies" of such work. I fully agree with Dr. Holden (p. xi) that we may have confidence in the authenticity of Indian portraits. They were not purely fictitious, like those of the early kings of Scotland at Holyrood. They are true to life, so far as the artist's skill could carry him, and the originals have been most faithfully copied ever since. I rest this opinion upon the researches in India of Mr. A. Constable, who put himself in direct communication with still-living painters, to whom these originals have been transmitted from generation to generation. Mr. A. Constable is one of the three or four Europeans who have any intimate acquaintance with this branch of Indian art. It is one which, from its great interest, would well reward anyone who went into it thoroughly.

On p. 98 Dr. Holden asserts by implication that the cruel removal of all heirs to the crown, so common throughout the Mogul period, sprang from the Hindu, and not from the Turkī blood of the reigning house. Here, I think, he might reverse the position. If he will read again Bābar's Memoirs or the book of Bābar's cousin, Mīrzā Haidar, the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, I think he will confess

that to Central Asia, with its confused, never-ending struggles for lordship over its petty states, and not to India, were due the frequently repeated and finally disastrous contests among competitors for the throne. Hindus have long been, and are to this day, strong, even bigoted, upholders of hereditary right; and in the succession to their states, large and small, they observe the rule of primogeniture, tempered by the grant of appanages or fiefs to the younger sons.

Being for the nonce a critic, "I am nothing if not critical," and would therefore suggest (p. 104) that Sind is not "the province just south of Kābul." South of Kābul we may call it, roughly speaking, but *just* south it is not, there being the intervening province of Qandabār. Again, "the successive raids, sieges, captures, flights"—did they cease four centuries ago, when the Moguls were permanently established in India (p. 111)? Did they not rather continue as before, until the subversal of the dynasty early in this century? William Erskine's work, quoted on p. 125, is not a *Life*, but "A History of India under the two first Sovereigns of the House of Taimur—Baber and Humayun": see therein the passage quoted, ii, 530. Of 'Ālamgīr a much more characteristic portrait than that opposite p. 309 might have been given: I refer to one in British Museum, Add. MSS., No. 18,802 (Rieu, 783), which shows that emperor as a decrepit, bowed old man, just as Gemelli Careri saw him, clad all in white.

Dr. Holden remarks (p. 165) that the Turkī language was known at the Indian Court as late as Jahāngīr (1605-27); but I think the period of such use might be extended safely to 1719, and possibly for forty years later. The harems were guarded by Qalmāq women, supplies of them being one of the most valued parts of the presents sent down from time to time by the various rulers of the Central Asian Khanates. These women were, no doubt, the source from which the knowledge of the language was maintained. There is direct evidence that in 1719, on an important occasion, one of the nobles, a native of Samarqand,

communicated with the emperor, Muḥammad Shāh, in Turkī, a language not understood by the Hindustani nobles.

I would remind Dr. Holden that the Mogul Empire did not end with 1707; there were at least nine emperors after that date, of whom authentic portraits could easily be produced. Of one, Shāh 'Ālam II, there is a personal description and character by an easily accessible European writer, Alexander Dow—"History of Hindostan," ii, 497, edition of 1803—who gives also (at the end of vol. iii) portraits of five of these later sovereigns. We may now hope that Dr. Holden, having once nibbled at the subject, will be tempted to devote further time and research to it, and provide us hereafter with a much-needed monograph on the history of figure-painting in Persia and India, its origin, the names, dates, and abodes of the chief artists, and a critical list of their productions, so far as known to us. As Dr. Holden points out (p. 68), pictures are prohibited by Muḥammad, and to trace out the origin of this discrepancy between precept and practice would be one of the not least piquant parts of a fascinating subject.

Before concluding I must say a word or two in praise of Sir W. W. Hunter's chapter, "The Ruin of Aurangzeb." I admired it when I read it long ago in some magazine; it is full of felicitous phrases, and I have never forgotten the true though epigrammatic contrast (p. 319) between "the ruddy men in boots" from Central Asia and their degenerate descendants, the "pale men in petticoats." It is probable that I hold different views from those of Sir William Hunter as to the amount of underground, or preparatory, work required before writing anything satisfactory in the way of Indian (Mahomedan) history; but setting that on one side, no more admirable use of the readily available materials could be wished than we find in this short essay, where, as so seldom happens, the known facts are stated with complete accuracy, even if it be only in outline.

As Dr. Holden has found in America a liberal publisher,

who has brought out his book in such tasteful and becoming form, we trust that he will be encouraged to go into the subject more deeply, and treat in greater detail the question of Indian portraiture.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

THE DĪNĀ-Ī MAĪNŪ-Ī KHRAT, or the Religious Decisions of the Spirit of Wisdom. The Pahlavi text, edited by DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA, B.A. Bombay, 1895.

This first complete edition of the Pahlavi Mīnū-khirad, as it is called in Persian, has been prepared chiefly for the use of Pahlavi students at the Bombay University, where Avesta and Pahlavi have recently been added to the list of classical languages prescribed for the B.A. and M.A. examinations.

When the complete transliterated Pāzand-Sanskrit text was published, with an English translation and glossary, in 1871, from the best existing copies of the versions prepared by Neryosang about the end of the twelfth century, there was no copy of the original Pahlavi text accessible. The few Pahlavi MSS. of the Mīnū-khirad then existing in India were evidently only reproductions from Neryosang's Pāzand version. But Westergaard, in 1843, had brought a manuscript of miscellaneous texts from Persia, one of which was an incomplete copy of the Pahlavi Mīnū-khirad written in 1569; and a facsimile of this text was published by Andreas in 1882. This Pahlavi version had been copied from an original which had already lost its first folio, and ten other folios of the copy had also disappeared. Its colophon states that it was derived, through two intermediate copies, from a manuscript in India. As this Pahlavi text, though agreeing very closely with Neryosang's Pāzand, supplies several small corrections of his manifest errors, and one or two short passages which he omits, there can be little doubt that it is derived from the

same original as his Pāzand version. The contents of the ten missing folios have been recovered from a Bombay copy of another Iranian MS. which belongs to Ervad Tehmurae, while the text of the first lost folio has been transcribed from the Pāzand version.

The *Minū-khirad* professes to be a selection from the wisdom of the Mazda-worshipping religion, prepared by a wise enquirer who had wandered from place to place in search of wisdom and truth. In response to his prayers, the Spirit of Wisdom presented itself and offered to be his guide and preceptor. The sage then propounds a series of 62 questions, or groups of questions, on religious and mythological subjects, which the Spirit of Wisdom duly answers. But, as the series terminates abruptly and without any peroration, it is doubtful if the work be complete.

As to the age of this treatise, we have seen that both the Iranian and Indian copies can, as yet, be traced back only to some Indian MS. of the twelfth century. But the work itself is decidedly Iranian in character, though the internal evidences of age are slight and admit of much difference of opinion. The allusion, in i, 18, to an evil religion which does harm to that of the Yazads, and the praise of wine, when drunk in moderation, in xvi, 25-29, 36-48, might be considered as referring to Muhammadan practices and prohibitions; but the descriptions of good and bad government, in xv, 16-39, do not specially allude to any foreign domination. Perhaps the period A.D. 550-625 is that most clearly indicated by the contents of the treatise, but the indications are scanty and readily misunderstood. The conflicts of the Arumans and Turanians with the Iranians, alluded to in xxi, 23-26, have been much too frequent to afford a safe clue to any definite period for their occurrence.

The Pahlavi text has been carefully edited, and the book is dedicated to the memory of the editor's learned great-grandfather, Dasturan-Dastur Edalji Darabji Sanjanna, Parsi High Priest of Bombay from 1830 to 1847, whose portrait and pedigree are given, as well as a metrical account of his

life in Gujarāṭi, which is an abridged second edition of the Cherāḡe Dāuēsh, or Lamp of Learning, originally published in 1854.

E. W. WEST.

FRAGMENTS D'UNE HISTOIRE DES ÉTUDES CHINOISES AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. Par HENRI CORDIER, Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales vivantes. Paris, 1895.

This pamphlet is reprinted from the "Centenaire de l'École des langues orientales vivantes." The Fragments are a supplement to M. Cordier's "Notes pour servir à l'histoire des études chinoises en Europe, jusqu'à l'époque de Fourmont l'aîné," published in the *Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux* in 1886. Together with these Notes, moreover, the Fragments are part of the "Histoire des études chinoises en Europe," on which the author has been engaged for several years.

Among the writers on Chinese matters in the eighteenth century were Fourmont and the missionaries Premare and Gaubil. The mention of the missionaries leads M. Cordier to take a short survey of the early history of the French missionaries at Peking. One of these, P. Noel (born 1651, died 1729), translated into Latin the Four Books, the Small Learning, and the canonical treatise on Filial Piety. P. Noel was also the author of works on the mathematical and physical theories of the Chinese, and of an important treatise on the Chinese knowledge of God, the ceremonies observed to the dead, and the ethics of the Chinese.

Of the amateur sinologists of Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century we have Masson and Vandermonde, the former an eccentric theologian who affiliated Chinese to Hebrew. Then we come to Fourmont, the one positively mean and wicked man among past sinologists. M. Cordier tells the story of Fourmont's meanness towards Premare, the missionary well known by his *Notitia Linguae Sinicæ*. We have notices also of the works of Daniel Webb and John Webb in England. The latter, in 1639, published

his Essay in which he endeavours to show that Chinese is the primitive language of man. The former, in 1787, published a short treatise in which he gives reasons for thinking that the Greek language was borrowed from the Chinese.

In China P. Parennin laboured at two dictionaries of the language which still slumber in MS. M. Cordier gives also bibliographical notices of the Chinese dictionaries of P. d'Incarville and P. de la Charne, and of the works of P. de Ventavon.

The great De Guignes, father and son, and the distinguished missionaries Gaubil, Amiot, and Cibot, are reserved for a future opportunity, and the pamphlet closes with a short notice of Deshautesayes. This last, who died in 1795, wrote against De Guignes' theory of the Egyptian origin of the Chinese, and he also translated the "Spring and Autumn" of Confucius.

The present pamphlet, like the other bibliographical works of M. Cordier, gives dates and authorities in a careful, precise manner. The information contained in it may be of an antiquarian rather than a practical value, but it will always be interesting to the student of the Jesuit missionaries in China and to the workers on the Chinese language and literature. The career of the villain of the Fragments is exceedingly instructive, and shows how a bad man may have good teachers and good disciples.

T. W.

DIE CHINESISCHE SPRACHE ZU NANKING. Von Dr. FR. KÜHNERT, Privatdocent an der k.-k. Universität in Wien. Wien, 1894.

This pamphlet of thirty-eight pages with two tables is a contribution by Dr. Fr. Kühnert to the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna. The author has lived in China at Peking and Nanking, and he has been told by the Chinese Secretary of the Belgian Legation at Peking that he speaks Chinese like a Chinaman.

The Secretary has probably made a similar statement to every foreigner who has tried to speak Chinese to him!

Dr. Kühnert in this pamphlet uses a transcription of his own for the Chinese sounds, and it is one which cannot be recommended. It is not good in itself, and the use of it would make the comparison of sounds impossible.

The author gives a number of terms and phrases to illustrate Chinese as spoken at Nanking. But many of these seem to be the ordinary Mandarin used by those who talk that language in any part of China. At p. 37 we find an expression which we are told means, "Whence come you, sir, and whither go you?" This is shortened down, the author says, to *Hsien-shêng-chū-lai-a* (先生去來口阿), which he says means, "Sir, whither whence?" But as I have heard this question asked, it was used in the sense of, "Sir, from going whither are you come?"—that is, Where have you been to, sir? But should not the word *na-li* be inserted?

Dr. Kühnert has some remarks on the tones of the words and the rhythm of the sentences in Chinese. These remarks, however, are of little use to the student of the language, for, as the learned author would admit, the proper and practical use of tones and rhythm can be learned only by hearing the natives and imitating them.

The two Tables give a syllabary of the sounds of Nanking Chinese expressed in the author's peculiar manner. There is a third Table at p. 18, which gives all the syllables in the author's transcription with the characters and Mr. Mateer's transcription.

T. W.

DIE PHILOSOPHIE DES KONG-DSY (CONFUCIUS) AUF GRUND DES URTEXTES. Ein Beitrag zur Revision der bisherigen Auffassungen. Von Dr. FR. KÜHNERT, Privatdocent an der Universität in Wien. Wien, 1895.

This pamphlet—like the one noticed above, by the same author—is an extract from the Proceedings of the Imperial

Academy of Sciences of Vienna. The author thinks that a revision of our translations of the Confucian classics is justified and required. These venerable old books should be interpreted according to reason and the authorized use and construction of Chinese words and phrases. In his present contribution to the work of revision Dr. Kühnert confines himself to the Ta Hsio or Great Learning.

The transcription of Chinese characters which the author uses is his own, and it cannot be recommended. Thus, we have "Kong-dsy" for K'ung-tzū, although the Nanking pronunciation of the character for the first syllable is given by Dr. Kühnert as *Keng* and by Mr. Mateer as *K'ong*. The title of the Chinese work he gives as "dà-hjō" or "dài-hjō," which he translates by *Philosophy*. This translation is not sanctioned by the words of any Chinese commentator, and it is at variance with the received meaning of the words. Nor can the author's distinction between *dà-hjō*, great or high learning, and *dài-hjō*, highest learning, find any authority.

The Great Learning has a threefold scope according to the text. Of its three objects the first is said to be *ming-ming tē* (明明德), that is, to bring into clear evidence the clear moral constitution; or, according to another interpretation, to restore this constitution to its original clear brightness. But Dr. Kühnert takes the second *ming* here to be used as in such terms as *ming-t'ien*, to-morrow; *ming-nien*, next year; that is, as meaning *future*, not *present*, coming. Then he makes *ming-tē* denote merely a capacity or capability for virtue. But this is neither Confucian nor in accordance with the general use of the terms. The word *tē* denotes the perfect moral constitution with which man is endowed at his birth, and also the innate or inherent qualities or virtues of animate and inanimate objects generally. It has also several secondary meanings, such as are given in the dictionaries.

Dr. Kühnert proceeds to give his interpretation of the text, with criticisms on Dr. Legge's translation and commentary. At p. 18 we find another instance of incorrect

rendering. The Chinese sentence begins *Fan-yen-tê-cho* (凡言德者), and this is rendered, "Alle sagen *tê* ist"; but the meaning is, *wherever the word tê is used*. Then, on the same page we have a very interesting passage from that clearest of writers, Chu Hsi ("Tschu-hi"), mistranslated in a hopeless manner. At p. 26 we have some remarks about the terms *ta-jen* (大人) and *hsiao-tzû* (小子), which show an imperfect acquaintance with the Chinese language and are misleading. The author gives to *ta-jen* and *hsiao-tzû* the meanings of *men of superior* and *men of inferior mental endowments* respectively. But this is undoubtedly wrong. A sentence is quoted from the beginning of Chu Hsi's Preface, and Dr. Kühnert translates it—"Das Werk 'Philosophie' ist die Philosophie der Alten, wodurch sie die Gesetze der Menschen lehrten." But the words mean: "The book Great Learning is the great learning of the ancients, the means by which men were educated" (大學之書古之大學所以教人之法也). The context shows that *men* is the emphatic word here, and if Dr. Kühnert had read the next page he would have seen that Chu Hsi understood and taught that the Great Learning was for adults of all sorts and conditions.

At p. 32 there is a wrong translation which makes nonsense, but is apparently due to a misprint in the original text. Dr. Kühnert prints 忘動 and interprets the clause as meaning that the spirit does not move about forgotten, but the correct text is 妄動, to move recklessly or at random.

It cannot be maintained that Dr. Kühnert's study on the Great Learning is an improvement on existing interpretations. The Chinese text and the Commentaries, both the earlier and the later, would repay a thoughtful reading. But the book itself must be taken, as the Sung scholars taught, as a part of the Confucian curriculum of education. It cannot be read and understood by itself, and when Dr. Kühnert has made some progress in the study of Confucian literature he may, perhaps, be able to give a satisfactory interpretation of the Great Learning.

T. W.

MATÉRIAUX POUR SERVIR À L'HISTOIRE DE LA DÉESSE
BUDDHIQUE TĀRĀ. PAR GODEFROY DE BLONAY, Bibl.
de l'école des Hautes Études. Paris, 1895.

Notwithstanding the modesty of its title and its subject, which is apparently a very special one, the volume which M. de Blonay has just published is a worthy addition to the series of memoirs devoted to the study of India in the library of the École des Hautes Études. It is the first among all the volumes of that collection which treats of Buddhist history and religion, and to many persons it will come as a revelation. The only Buddhism known to the reading public is the Pali Buddhism, so excellently described by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, the religion of the "sons of Qākya," with its impassive founder, its treatises upon monastic discipline, its collection of doctrines, its monks, given to meditation in place of prayer, who gave equal thought to self-training and to charity, and condemned that more or less mystical magic which takes such hold of the passionate, fiery temperament of the Hindu. The Buddhist civilizations are so numerous, the seeds sown upon fertile soil by the greatest of ancient spiritualists have produced such a luxuriant vegetation, that Buddhism, everywhere differing from itself, presents a unique spectacle in the variety of its forms amid the unity of its essential conceptions and of its sacred terminology.

These ramifications are little known and barely understood. The worshippers of the mysterious signs of Barhut, the worshippers of the statues of Gaudhāra, the readers of the Lalita, the contemplatives of the Prajñā, the Tantrikas of the different sects, the ascetics, who called themselves Bhikshus, those who aspired to the name of Bodhisattvas, the faithful devotees of Amitābha, and all those who aspired to the Buddhist heavens are members of the vast spiritual family, of which Buddha is the eponymous ancestor, whatever be the varied aspects in which he is regarded.

Round Buddha, in the pantheon of new churches,

crowd a multitude of other divinities, and their splendour threatened to eclipse that of the Master. Popular imagination continued its work, hand in hand with the enlightened piety of learned devotees. In place of the self-controlled sage, the type of perfect humanity, there was substituted a protecting goddess, kind as a mother. The living Bodhisattva took the place of the extinct Buddha. And as the idea of the divinity changed, the rules of life and the conditions for gaining salvation became modified.

The faithful is now he who loves, and who prays to, any Buddhist divinity whatever, the *ishtadevata* of his family, his country, or his monastery.¹ It is neither by *Bhikṣhutā*, nor by *Jñāna*, that salvation may be gained; but by *Bhakti*, the fervent devotion, the slavery (*dāsatva*), both material and moral, of man with regard to the deity. But it is not in every environment that religion preserves this character of intelligent piety, which gives to certain Buddhist pages so striking a resemblance to numerous passages of the literature of the *Bhāgavatas*. In India the old superstitions reappear along with the newer religions; sacrifice and prayer are both magic and sacramental operations: the doctrines which teach *Bhakti* are in direct opposition to those called Tantric, in which the female divinities play so important a part.

From among all the divine personalities belonging to Nepalese and Tibetan Buddhism, M. de Blonay has signalled out one of the most characteristic—*Tārā*, a Brahmanic goddess, of naturalistic origin (for her name signifies a star), she who became the mystical spouse of the "meditative" Buddhas, the mother of the Bodhisattvas, the Saviour, *par excellence* (*yā tārayati*). With a zeal worthy of a devoted follower of the kind goddess, he describes the Buddhist, Indian, and Tibetan *Tārā*; he recounts or suggests the popularity of his heroine and the evolution of the worship paid to her. In so doing he gathers together valuable information upon the internal

¹ Compare the parallel evolution of orthodox Brahmanism: the *Karmakāṇḍa*, the *Upanishads*, the *Vedāntasūtras*, the *Bhaktisūtras*.

history of Buddhism, and notably upon the character of its monasteries during the seventh and eighth centuries.

For compiling a history of Tārā, we have at our disposal documents of various kinds. I. Inscriptions and monuments, which supply a solid basis for chronological research. Three inscriptions, of which the second betrays a certain amount of literary influence; the first, belonging to Java, dated approximately 779 A.D., establishes the popularity of Tārā amongst the Mahāyānist communities who achieved the conquest of the Archipelago; the two others, dated 1095 and 1219 A.D., give proof of the survival in India of the Buddhist religion and ideas, which has been hitherto contested. Hiouen-Tsang bears witness to the existence of statues of Tārā in Magadha and in the kingdom of Vaiṣālī; the name transcribed by the Chinese traveller (Tārūbodhisattva) is worthy of attention—Tao-Suen (650 A.D.) indicates a stūpa of Tārā in the kingdom of Tsau-Kūta, in the midst of Central Asia. Resemblances to Tārā will very probably be found among the sculptures of Gandhāra. II. Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, who was so devoted to the goddess that he adopted her name, relates the oftentimes marvellous biography of the Masters of Buddhism. Nearly all of them, according to him, were inspired by Tārā. M. de Blonay has gathered together the scattered matter relating to the goddess, and has thus compiled an interesting monograph, notwithstanding the limited extent of his essay and the small space reserved to historical discussion. Thus, according to Tāranātha's account, Çāntideva must have been a mystical Thaumaturgus, a pupil of Tārā and of Moñjuṣrī. According to the Russian orientalist, Tāranātha wrote the life of Ācāryās in a *tendentious* style, and the actual example proves this to be the case, for nothing in the Bodhicaryāvatāra, a work of Çāntideva, leads us to believe that the author was a Tāntrika, a worker of miracles, an adorer of Tārā or of her sister divinities. I do not doubt that M. de Blonay rejects these ideas of a rather exaggerated criticism.

Without wishing to discuss so wide a problem in these pages, may I be allowed to remark how very little we know of the relation between the various sects and doctrines? When Tāranātha relates the history of Āsvabhāva, the author of the hymns to Tārā, the fact appears to be incredible, for Āsvabhāva was a Mādhyamika and his name itself points out the uncompromising character of his school. But do we not find the pantheistic poet of the Gita profess his faith in Kṛishṇa? The Buddhists of the South and the Santrāntikas give as good a reason for the justification of the worship which they paid to the defunct Buddha—"As the pole erected by snake-charmers still continues to cure venomous bites even after the death of the charmer."¹ The school which professes to deny the existence of the *sva bhāva*, admits that we may pray to and adore divinities. The idea of the void is made to agree with that of adoration and with that of charity. The practice of Tantric ceremonies is not repugnant to believers in the most abstract spiritual theories.

I think some credit must be given, provisionally at least, to tradition. The cult of the Bodhisattvas and of the Tārās is certainly a very ancient one. The schools of the Yoga possessed a long history of their own before Asaṅga. If the details of the biographies of Tāranātha appear to be in many cases doubtful, as were also many of the legends of the Middle Ages, we believe that the type of the great Master of Buddhism in the seventh and eighth centuries is faithfully described by the Tibetan author in the fourteenth. The latter had ancient documents at his disposal, the greater number of which are lost for ever, unless they be hidden in some Tibetan library. M. de Blonay has had the good fortune to discover a Sanskrit text which serves as a specimen of the sources from which Tāranātha drew his information. This is the commentary on the Srag-dharāstotra, full of details about Sarvajūamitra, author of a hymn to Tārā. The comparison between this commentary

¹ B.O.A. ix, 37.

and the history of Buddhism shows the antiquity of the traditions from which Tāranātha gathered and compiled his information.

III. Literary documents. From the vast mass of Sanskrit literature consecrated to the memory of Tārā, M. de Blonay has chosen three texts, typical of the two principal styles of its sacred literature.

The first of these is a hymn to the "Wearer of the Crown." The author, Sarvajñamitra, may be placed, with certainty, at the end of the seventh or at the beginning of the eighth century. He was "a distinguished writer, who moves easily amidst the difficulties of a complicated metre, and who employed a learned style in the service of an ardent faith and an exalted devotion." His work "surpasses in literary merit the Buddhist hymns which have been published so far."

Side by side with the commonplaces of classical poetry, this little poem is full of delicate and sometimes touching sentiments. It would be placed in the front rank of any anthology of Indian prayers.

The two other documents which M. de Blonay presents us with offer a complete contrast to the Kāvya of Sarvajñamitra. "The praise of the hundred and eight names of Tārā" and the eulogy in twenty-one verses are a string of Tantric fragments, "a litany of colourless epithets" easily transferred "from one divinity to another," in which "language, metre, and reason are abused" with equal indifference. We have no longer to do with the personal composition of an artist, but with extracts from a ritual of which the essential object is to cast a spell upon a divinity by the material possession of a mudrā. The India Office Library possesses a number of books consecrated to the Tantric Tārā, in which these ceremonies are described. M. de Blonay has reserved the analysis of these works for a future volume. He has contented himself with indicating the culminating point in Buddhism of female divinity. Tārā is but an instrument of cult, the docile slave of him who is familiar with the *mantras*. Her personality, so pre-

cisely defined in the Sragdharāstotra, becomes completely effaced, or is revived under different aspects according to the fancy of theorists of the Yoga. She, with her four sisters, represents the elements, and plays a part in the operation called the Vagrakāyasādhana.

To conclude, this book, which touches upon so many problems at present insoluble, is a skilfully compiled and broadly conceived chapter in the history of later Indian Buddhism. Tārā, by her Brahmanic origin, her literary and religious developments, and the popularity of her worship, is worthy of our attention. She has found in M. de Blonay a learned and scrupulous historian.

L. G. V. POUSSIN.

Ghent, December, 1895.

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JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VII.—*The Early Years of Shāh Isma'il, Founder of the
Şafavī Dynasty.* By E. DENISON ROSS, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

THE most exhaustive, if not the best known, source for the history of Shāh Isma'il the Şafavī, is undoubtedly the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar of Khwāndamīr. Though this large and important work has been lithographed, both in Tīhrān and in Bombay, it is but too little known in Europe, where it has generally been regarded as a mere epitome of the Rauzat-uş-Şafā; whereas, besides being an original source for much valuable biographical and geographical matter, it contains detailed accounts of many little-known dynasties. Khwāndamīr's work is thus in many respects more interesting than the ponderous universal history of his grandfather.¹ Now, there is a work, of which the British Museum possesses one copy,² and the Cambridge University Library a second,³

¹ Dr. Rieu (see "Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum," vol. i, p. 87) was the first to point out that Mirkhwānd was the grandfather of Khwāndamīr, and not his father, as hitherto generally supposed.

² B.M. Oriental, 3248 (see Dr. Rieu's Supplement).

³ Cambridge University Library, Add. 260 (see Mr. Browne's Catalogue, p. 147).

which is devoted entirely to the biography of Shāh Isma'īl. Neither MS. bears a title nor gives any author's name, and in no part of the work have I been able to find a clue to the author's identity. MS. L¹ bears the title جهانکشی خاقان صاحبقران, which is taken from the Epilogue, and in the very last line after الحمد لله وسلم تسليماً we read ذر بيمقدار محمد علی بن نوراً, which, according to Dr. Rieu, is most probably meant for the transcriber and not the author. The work ends with a short account of the accession of Isma'īl's son Tahmāsp, and with prayers for the prosperity and long life of the young prince. This would lead one to fix the completion of the history soon after the accession of Tahmāsp Mirzā in A.H. 930. On the other hand, on fol. 277a of MS. L, we are told, in a momentary digression from the main narrative, that Moḥammad Zamān Mirzā was drowned in the Ganges in the year 947, on the occasion of Humāyūn's retreat from Bengal.² It does not seem evident that our history was completed after this date; and therefore this incident was probably added by some copyist. There is in the British Museum a MS.³ containing the lives of Shāhs Isma'īl and Tahmāsp. It is the work of Maḥmūd, son of Khwāndamīr, and was commenced in A.H. 955 (fol. 5b). Now I have attempted to show below that Maḥmūd made use of our history, which was therefore in existence in A.H. 955. Maḥmūd mentions that he had used many histories in the compilation of his work, but of them all he only mentions by name that of his father. In the opening pages of Maḥmūd's history there is much close correspondence with the beginning of the work we are discussing.

MS. A,⁴ fol. 1b, and B, fol. 8b, have a verbal agreement of several lines, and then follows a passage of about one

¹ For brevity we will speak throughout of the London MS. as L. and of the Cambridge MS. as C.

² See Elliot, v, 203.

³ Oriental, 2939. I believe there is no other copy of this work to be found in the libraries of Europe.

⁴ A = History of Isma'īl. B = Maḥmūd's History.

folio in each, where the two MSS. only differ in this, that B is more ornate in style and contains two additional sentences in Arabic. Hereupon in B follows a life of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn Ishāk, while A, no longer corresponding, gives some facts concerning Fīrūz Shāh, of whom B says nothing. In A, fol. 8*b*, and B, fol. 10*b*, we have a description, similar in diction, of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn's dream. B, fol. 19*a* to fol. 23*b*, contains a biography of Shaikh Ṣadr-ud-Dīn, to whom A devotes only half a page (fol. 11*b*). I have given these details [and I give no more, for I think them sufficient testimony] in order to show how little probability there is of our history (A) being also the work of Maḥmūd, son of Khwāndamīr, as was suggested by Dr. Rieu after a very cursory inspection of the two MSS.

A comparison of our history (A) with the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar will show that there is a very close correspondence in them; nearly always in arrangement and not unfrequently in actual wording, which is especially remarkable in the opening sentences of chapters. The headings of chapters, though generally agreeing in matter, never correspond verbally. The verses which abound throughout our history are usually the same as those occurring in the corresponding passage in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, but in many cases the quotations are not so long. This all points very clearly to a case of plagiarism.

On the other hand, there are many biographical and geographical details in our history which are not to be found in the work of Khwāndamīr, and which, therefore, go to prove that our author did not, at any rate, use the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar as his only model or authority. Khwāndamīr completed his history in 930—one month before Shāh Isma'il's death; up till this time, at any rate, he seems to have lived in Khorāsān, and we have no mention of his having visited other parts of Northern Persia. He, therefore, did not probably obtain his information about Shāh Isma'il on the spot, but got his facts either from some of Shāh Isma'il's courtiers who came to Khorāsān, or from some contemporary history

unknown to us. He quotes no authorities in his account of the Ṣafavīs except in the case of the history of Shaikh Ṣafī-ud-Dīn; these details he naturally and avowedly derives from the large biography of that saint called *Ṣafwat-uṣ-Ṣafā*.¹ [Khwāndamīr notices incidentally that Maulānā Abū Bakr Tīhrānī, a contemporary of Ḥasan Beg, wrote a history of that prince, but he, Khwāndamīr, being unable to obtain a copy, gives no account of his reign.]

Thus weighing these considerations we may suppose that our history was written by a man closely connected with the Ṣafavīs, and who, though taking the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* as a general model, had personal acquaintance with the country of which he wrote, first-hand information and perhaps other histories to rely on for his details. With regard to the date of composition we would place it either at the beginning of Ṭahmāsp's reign² or about the middle (A.H. 950) according to the genuineness of the note on Moḥammad Mīrzā Zamān, mentioned above.

The portion of our history, which offers the most original matter, is that which deals with the early youth of Shāh Isma'īl. Much of this is no doubt legendary and fictitious, but it is probably based mainly on historical fact and is at any rate interesting as showing us the stories current at the time regarding this brave and no less bigoted king. I had originally intended to publish a consecutive extract of the text [ff. 20b-60a of the British Museum MS.]³ with a translation, references to the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* and general notes. But on consideration I have decided to give the text and translation only of those passages that offer details quite foreign to the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, and which may serve as addenda to Khwāndamīr's important account—of

¹ See British Museum, Add. 11,745.

² This is certainly the more probable conjecture. The life of Shāh Isma'īl, though most eventful, was a comparatively short one, and our author might have been a grown man at the time of Isma'īl's birth (A.H. 892) and still have lived to write his history after the king's death (A.H. 930).

³ In my notes I refers to the British Museum copy of our history and C to the Cambridge MS. In the text I have used the following signs: { } = peculiar to C; [] = peculiar to L.

which I would remark, in passing, a new critical edition would well repay the labour any one might bestow on it.

After mentioning that Isma'il Bahādur Khān¹ was the fruit of the union of Sultān Haidar with Halima Begum, known as 'Alam Shāh Begum, daughter of Amir Hasan Beg, the Turkoman, our author recounts a tradition concerning the origin of the name *Kizil bāsh*. This is not given in the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, which merely tells us that Haidar fashioned a cap with twelve points out of crimson cloth, which was adopted by all his followers.

[MS. L, fol. 20*b*.]

سلطان حیدر شبی در خواب دید که شهریار مسند هدایت
و ولایت یعنی حضرت امیر المؤمنین صلوات اللہ علیہ ظاہر
کشتہ [21*a*] فرمودند کہ ای فرزند وقت آن شدہ کہ از عقب تو
فرزند ما خروج کند و کاف کفر را از روی عالم براندازد اما میباید
کہ از برای صوفیان و مریدان خود تاجی بسازی از سقراط سرخ
و آن حضرت مقرض در دست داشت و (ہیأت)² تاج را برید
بدوازده ترک قرار داد چون سلطان حیدر بیدار کردید آن روش را
در خاطر داشت بہمان روش سلطان حیدر تاجی برید و صوفیان را
مقرر کرد کہ ہر کدام تاجی بدان نحو ساخته بر سر گذارند و او را
تاج حیدری نام نہادند چون بلغت ترکی سرخرا قزل میگویند

¹ In our text his full title is usually *Khān Sāhib Kirān Sulaimān-shāh Isma'īl Bahādur Khān*. It is curious that our author should have appropriated for Isma'il the title of *Sāhib Kirān*, which is in Persian Histories almost the exclusive "property," as it were, of the great Timūr. It is interesting to remark how *Purēdas* says that Uzūn Hasan moved with the fame of Haidar gave him in marriage his daughter Martha, begot of a Christian lady Despina, daughter of Calo Johannes, Emperor of Trebizond "both of them by that alliance strengthening themselves against the Turke," and this Martha was the mother of Isma'il, "whom she trayned up in the principles of Christian Religion." See Purchas "*Pilgrim*," 4th ed., pp. 382, 383.

² [جبت].

بدین سبب این طبقه علیه بقرلباش اشتہار یافتند چون این خبر بحسن پادشاه رسید او کس بخدمت سلطان حیدر فرستاد و اظهار نمود کہ ای فرزند تاجی کہ ساختہ بفرست تا بہ بینم سلطان حیدر تاجی بخدمت حسن پادشاه فرستاد چون چشم (حسن) پادشاه بآن تاج افتاد اورا خوش آمدہ برداشت و بوسید و بر سر نہاد و باولاد خود گفت تا آن را بر سر نہادند و سلطان یعقوب پسرش بر سر نہاد ہر چند پدرش مبالغہ نمود او قبول نکرد و کمر عداوت سلطان حیدر را بدینجہتہ بر میان جان بست چون حسن پادشاه تخت سلطنت را وداع نمودہ سلطان خلیل پسرش و بعد از آن سلطان یعقوب پادشاه شد بسبب کینہ کہ سابقا از سلطان حیدر در دل داشت مردم را منع کرد و گفت [216] وای بر حال آنکس کہ تاج سلطان حیدر را بر سر نہد و باولاد شیخ صفی دشمن شد و قدش کرد کہ دیگر مریدان شیخ صفی تاج بر سر نگذارند چون سلطان یعقوب اعمال حسنہ خود را بافعال سئیہ تبدیل نمود و نسبت باین دودمان ولایت نشان تغییر سلوک کرد بدان سبب اساس دولت سلاطین آق قویونلو روی بانہدام آورد چنانچہ از (سیاق) کلام آیندہ حقیقت آن معلوم خواہد شد انشا اللہ تعالیٰ

Translation :—

One night the Prince of the throne of Guidance and Sanctity, that is to say the Commander of the Faithful ('Alī), upon whom be the prayers of God, appeared in a vision to Sultān Ḥaidar, and said to him: "Oh my son, the time is now at hand when my child from among your descendants shall arise and sweep Infidelity from off the

face of the Earth. It now behoves you to fashion a cap for the Sūfīs and your disciples, and you must make it of scarlet cloth." So saying His Sanctity cut out with a pair of scissors which he had in his hand a pattern of a cap with twelve points [*tarak*]. On awaking Sultān Ḥaidar remembered the form, and having cut out a cap to that pattern, ordained that all the Sūfīs should make for themselves caps like it and wear them. They gave it the name of *Tāj-i-Ḥaidarī* or Ḥaidar's Cap; and as in the Turkish language *Kizil* means scarlet, this holy body became known as the *Kizilbāsh* or "Red-heads." When Ḥasan Pādishāh heard of these doings he sent a messenger to Sultān Ḥaidar saying: "Oh my son, send me one of the caps which thou hast made that I may see it." Thereupon Sultān Ḥaidar sent him a cap, and when Ḥasan Pādishāh saw it he was pleased with it, and taking it up kissed it and placed it on his own head, after which he bade each of his children do likewise. But his son Ya'qūb did not place it on his head, and in spite of all his father's entreaties refused to do so. In this manner did he bind round his soul the girdle of hostility towards Sultān Ḥaidar.

When Ḥasan Pādishāh bade farewell to his regal throne he was succeeded by his son Sultān Khalīl, who was in turn succeeded by Sultān Ya'qūb. On account of the hatred he had formerly cherished in his heart for Sultān Ḥaidar he warned his subjects saying: "Woe unto that man who places on his head the cap of Sultān Ḥaidar." He thus became an enemy to the children of Shaikh Ṣafī; and he moreover issued a decree that the disciples of Shaikh Ṣafī should no longer wear their caps. In thus changing his former righteous actions for evil and impious deeds, and in opposing this holy race, Sultān Ya'qūb brought about the ruin of the dynasty of the White Sheep, as, God willing, will be clearly shown in the following chapters.

The tradition is of course a gross fabrication, and, as Prof. Nöldeke suggested to me, was an attempt to attribute an honourable origin to the somewhat disrespectful name of *Kizilbāsh*.

After this digression in our history there is a close correspondence of narrative in the two works, containing an account of Sultān Haidar's invasion of Shirwān, his death, and the subsequent imprisonment of his sons in Iṣṭakhr by Sultān Ya'kūb. The story of the release of the Princes and of the engagement in which Rustem Mīrzā defeated the Shirwānīs is given much more fully in our history. Space does not admit of my giving the text of this extract, I therefore confine myself to giving a translation of the same, placing within square brackets those details which are also found in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and mentioning in a note any details given in this latter work not to be met with in our own.

Bāisunkar Mīrzā having been deserted by his own men in an encounter with Rustem Mīrzā, fled to his uncle, Shirwānshāh, while Rustem Mīrzā, making a triumphant entry into Tabriz, set himself upon its throne. Here follows a chapter entitled: *Liberation of the Princes from the Castle of Iṣṭakhr-i-Fārs, and the end of the Turkomān Sultāns.*¹

[When Sultān Farrakh Shirwānshāh was informed of the misfortunes of Bāisunkar Mīrzā, who was both his sister's son and his son-in-law, he resolved to help him to re-establish his power. Rustem Mīrzā, for his part, being alarmed at the support offered to Bāisunkar Mīrzā by the Shirwānīs and Shirwānshāh, held council with the Bāyandarī² chiefs and nobles as to how he might best resist him. All were of opinion that he should set about the release of Sultān 'Alī and the Princes] and become a disciple of their holy race: for under the blessed auspices of that saintly person the repulsion of the allies would become an easy matter. "Moreover" (they added) "the adherents and disciples of the Ṣafavī Ṣūfis are numerous in all parts of the world, and when they hear of the release (of the Princes) they will soon assemble in great numbers.

¹ L, fol. 253.

² *Bāyandarī* is a name often applied to the dynasty of Uzūn Ḥasan—the white sheep—after the name of a person to whom they trace back their descent.

Sultān 'Alī, being a brave youth, must be sent to fight Bāisunqar Mirzā, whom, with the support of his own Sūfīs and the Turkomāns, he will overcome. Having thus got rid of this rival, it will be an easy matter to dispose of Sultān 'Alī. [Rustem Pādishāh agreeing with this plan, sent an envoy to fetch the children of Sultān Haidar from the castle of Ištakhr-i-Fārs.]

Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh entered Tabrīz with all pomp and dignity, and was received with affectionate embraces by Rustem Mirzā, who paid him great respect and said: "Oh! my life, what they have done to you is now past, and by God's help I will make amends for it. You are as a brother to me, and at my death¹ you shall become king of Īrān." He then ordered to be given to Sultān 'Alī Mirzā kingly appurtenances, such as a crown with a crest (*jīka*), an embroidered girdle, a sword and a belt-dagger, together with Arab steeds with golden saddles and other articles of luxury. He then said to him: "I have conferred on you the title of king (*pādishāh*), you shall no longer be called '*Mirzā*.'" [Now, when the Sūfīs and followers of that family, who had crept into the nooks of obscurity and disappointment, heard of these doings, they turned their faces towards the blessed threshold of their sovereign lord; and the band of devotees daily increased in numbers and in strength.]

In the meantime news reached Amīrzāda Rustem's ears of the arrival in Azarbāijān of Bāisunqar Mirzā with the troops of Shirwān. He therefore entreated Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh to undertake, with his own Sūfīs and in conjunction with Abiya² Sultān and the Turkoman army, to repulse Bāisunqar Mirzā and the men of Shirwān, in order that his (Rustem's) mind might be set at ease with regard to them. [Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh acceding to this request set out along with Abiya Sultān, full of confidence,

¹ L, fol. 26a.

² The reading of this name is doubtful. The Bombay edition of the *Habīb-us-Siyar* writes *أبي*; the London MS. of same *أبي*; while in both MSS. of our history it is written *أبي*.

to oppose Bāisunḡar Mīrzā and the army of Shirwān. They advanced as far as the ford of the river Kur, where they pitched their tents; while on the opposite bank of the river Kur Bāisunḡar Mīrzā lay encamped with a large army. Both armies protected their flanks from any attack by means of palisades] and victory did not seem to promise for either side;¹ so that the two forces grew weary of their protracted inaction, and without any encounter or conflict having taken place [Bāisunḡar Mīrzā returned to Shirwān and Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh and Abiya Sultān to Tabriz. While this was passing Kūsa Hājī Bāyandarī, governor of Iṣfahān, having declared open revolt against Amīrzāda Rustem, read the *Khuṭba* in the name of Bāisunḡar Mīrzā,] and set about collecting an army and making ready for an expedition.² It was for this reason that Bāisunḡar Mīrzā a second time led a large army into Azarbāijān. [Amīrzāda Rustem seeing himself become on two sides a target to hostile arrows, again called upon Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh to avert from him these two overwhelming dangers.] Whereupon Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, in compliance with the Amīrzāda's request, again set out with Abiya Sultān, a body of his own followers, and the Turkomān army to meet the insurgents. [He told off Karā Pīrī Kājār³ with a large body of Ṣūfis to engage Kūsa Hājī Bāyandarī] while he himself set out to oppose Bāisunḡar Mīrzā, whom he encountered in the vicinity of Ahar Shakhīn.⁴ The opposing forces then began to make ready for battle: (Sultān 'Alī) placed the right of his army under the command of Ḥusain Beg Shāmlū Lala and Rustem Beg Karamānlū, and over the left he appointed Dede Beg Tālīsh—known as Abdāl

¹ The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* differs in this place, saying: "There was an occasional interchange of arrows, and every day small conflicts took place, but on none of those days did victory declare itself for either side, and one could not distinguish which were the victors and which the conquered."

² L, fol. 266.

³ L and C read Kājār, but the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* says Tawājī, whose name also appears at the end of this chapter.

⁴ Thus in L: C reads Ahar Mashkīn. It is noticeable that the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* gives no details concerning this battle, of which our author is able to give us so exact an account. On the margin of the Bombay edition we find the date given as 897.

'Ali Beg—and Khādim Beg Khalifa, while the skirmishing party, composed of the rest of the Turkomāns, was led by Abiya Sultān. The Prince himself took up his stand with a body of devotees under the shadow of the victorious standard.

On the other side, Bāisunḡar Mīrzā gave his right wing to Shaikh Shāh, son of Sultān Farrukh Shirwānshāh, and his left to Malik Salīm, one of the renowned *maliks* of Shirwān, while he took up his own position in the centre of his army facing the Prince's standard. These tactics being completed, valorous youths entered the field and began to encourage and incite the soldiers to battle. When the troops had thus been worked up into a state of fervour, the skirmishers from both sides advanced and fell upon each other. So numerous were the flying arrows and so thick the clouds of dust that the air became dark as the heart of a Sunnī.¹ Abiya Sultān next charged down upon the Shirwānīs and put them to flight; seeing which Bāisunḡar Mīrzā sent Malik Selīm to their aid and brought the Shirwānī right and left wings into the field. (In the encounter that ensued) Abiya Sultān received a spear-wound, and so severe was the onslaught of the enemy that he was unable to withstand them, and turned in flight. The Prince perceiving the helpless condition of Abiya Sultān and the disorder among the Turkomāns, gave a signal to the Šūfī right and left wings to advance to their aid. In obedience to this order Husain Beg Lala and Abdāl 'Ali Beg Dede charged forward, quick as lightning, from either side, and in one brave onslaught threw confusion among the Shirwānī troops. Bāisunḡar Mīrzā, alarmed by the daring attacks of the *ghāzis*, now sent into the fray his foot-archers and mounted-lancers, who had been posted in his centre. (The former discharged a volley of arrows upon the *ghāzis*, and so dense was the shower of deadly points that those brave men were panic-stricken. Maddened at this repulse the Prince himself now entered the fray, and

¹ L, fol. 274.

with thrusts from his terrible spear swept his enemies from the field.) Bāisunqar Mīrzā, dislodged by a spear from his saddle, fell dead to the ground, and one of the Šūfīs with a sharp dagger severed his arrogant head from the body, and threw it in the path of the Prince's steed.

Thus by the blessing of the courage of that holy Prince were the Shirwānis overcome; and in that battle Bāisunqar Mīrzā was slain.

[Meanwhile Karā Piri Tawājī, having encountered Kūsa Hājī near Dar Guzīn, under the blessed auspices of "His Sanctity" had overcome his enemy and slain Kūsa Hājī.]¹ Both these pieces of good news reached Tabriz on the same night, and Amīrzāda Rustem was delighted and overjoyed at the victories.

Death of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh.²

The victorious Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh now returned to Tabriz. Rustem Pādishāh sent out a party to receive him, and himself, having ridden three forasangs out of the town to meet him with all honour, rode into Tabriz at his side. [Soon after this he with great state set the Prince and his brothers on the road to Ardabīl, in which blessed town the Prince mounted the throne of his ancestors, and became a religious guide to the Šūfīs and devotees.]³ His entry was a most propitious event for that city, which now became a rival to the garden of Iram. The pious began to assemble in Ardabīl that they might benefit by attending upon that Upholder of the Faith, and the number of the Šūfīs there collected together soon became very great. When Rustem Mīrzā learned that high and low were thus flocking round Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, jealousy enflamed his heart, and he was filled with anxiety lest the Prince might turn against

¹ L, fol. 274.

² In this place the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar has a chapter entitled "Death of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, and the honour done to Lāhijān by the blessing of His Sanctity's journey thither," and resolves into one chapter what our author extends to three.

³ *دعاگران* = well-wishers, supporters (of the Šafavis).

him; so he sent an envoy to bring back the Prince and his brothers to Tabriz.]

Though he still treated him with outward regard, he commissioned spies to see that the Prince had no communication with the Sūfīs. Nevertheless, his faithful disciples contrived secretly to send him gifts of ready money and various stores, thus putting to the test the coin of their devotion.¹ When Rustem Mīrzā heard of this he was filled with anxiety in regard to the sons of Sultān Ḥaidar. [That winter² he quartered in Khūi.] Just as Rustem Mīrzā was leaving this place to move into summer quarters, some malicious men reported to him calumniating stories (of the Prince), and advised him to make an end of that Prince. He, therefore, arranged with his generals that on the morrow they should hold a big meeting and then and there [put to death the princes, together with all the nobles (*buzurgān*), Sūfīs, and disciples of Shaikh Ṣafī (in Ardabil), and likewise those in Tabriz]. But a certain Turkomān, who loved the children of Shaikh Ṣafī, betook himself to the dwelling of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh and informed the princes of Rustem Pādishāh's design. On hearing this alarming news, Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh in that same night warned his nobles thereof, saying: "To-morrow they intend to kill me and you; what is to be done?" Husain Beg Lala, Dede Beg Tālīsh, Qarā Pirī Beg Kājār, and Ilyās Beg said: "May we be thy sacrifice! Arise and let us go to Ardabil, for there and in that neighbourhood you have many disciples. If Rustem Pādishāh should wish to pursue us, we will give him fight. If, however, he neglects to follow us, we shall remain unharmed."³ The Prince replied "Very well."

That same night they rode away in the direction of Ardabil. At dawn next day they brought Rustem Pādīshāh news that Sultān 'Alī Pādīshāh had fled, and was

¹ L, fol. 28a.

² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar gives the date 898.

³ I have thus rendered a short sentence which I found difficult to translate—

اگر تامل کرد ما نیز بحال خود خواهیم بود

on his way to Ardabīl. (Rustem) was much perturbed, and ordered his adoptive-son,¹ Husain Beg 'Alikhānī, and Abiya Sultān, the Turkomān, to mount their horses and overtake the fugitives as quickly as possible. For, he said, should Sultān 'Alī once enter Ardabīl (which God forbid!)² the deaths of 10,000 Turkomāns would be of no avail. Thereupon Abiya Sultān set out, at the head of 5000 Turkomāns, in hot pursuit.

When the Princes reached a village in the vicinity of Ardabīl called Shammāsī, Sultān 'Alī Pādīshāh comprehended by the power of his sanctity that he would shortly taste the wine of martyrdom. He therefore called for his brother Isma'īl Mirzā, and said to him: "Oh! my brother, it is pre-ordained that I shall this day be killed. The disciples will take my body and place it in the mausoleum of my ancestors, by my father's side. I desire you to avenge me and your father and your ancestors upon the children of Ḥasan Pādīshāh. For the die of heaven's choice has been cast in your name, and before long you will come out of Gilān like a burning sun, and with your sword sweep infidelity from the face of the earth." So saying he took Sultān Haidar's cap from his own head, and placed it on his brother's, and then bound his own girdle round his brother's girdle. After this he spoke into his ear those maxims which he had received as an inheritance from his noble ancestors. He next chose out seven men, among them Ḥasain Beg Lala, Ḳarāpirī Beg, Abdāl Beg, and Dede Beg Tālish, and ordered them to proceed to Ardabīl with Isma'īl Mirzā and Ibrāhīm Mirzā.

Meanwhile the approach of Abiya Sultān and Husain Beg 'Alikhānī with the enemies' troops was reported.³ Abiya Sultān leaving a body of men in ambush, himself advanced into the battle-field. Sultān 'Alī Pādīshāh, having finished his commendations to his brother, hastened out to meet the enemy, and as soon as he perceived that rabble he bore

¹ پسر خوانده.

² L, fol. 236.

³ *Īd.* "notified."

down upon them with his Šūfis, and in one daring charge completely broke their ranks. In that battle "His Sanctity"¹ complained that the men of the day had forgotten the mode of fighting of Rustem and Isfandyār.²

When Abiya Sultān saw the valorous onset of the Prince and the discomfiture of his own men, being overcome by fear of the fiery lance of that undaunted rider and the cleaving swords of the brave Šūfis, he turned and fled with Husain Beg 'Alīkhānī, hotly pursued by the Prince. Meanwhile the *ghāzis*³ entered the Turkomān camp and began to pillage.⁴ On this account the Prince was not accompanied by more than 300 men; yet he persisted in giving chase to that rabble, and slew many of them with sword and spear, till they reached a river which crossed their road; into this the Prince fell with his horse, and failing to extricate himself was drowned. Disheartened at this fatality the Šūfis dispersed in flight, while those who were engaged in pillaging⁵ were put to death.

After the battle 'Alam Shāh Begum ordered the body of that cypress from the garden of the Imāmate to be conveyed to Ardabil, to be there interred beside the tomb of his noble ancestor (may God have mercy on him and his fathers!). This event occurred in the year 900.⁶

At this place begins an account of the adventures of "the Princes" in Gīlān and the subsequent experiences of Isma'īl in Lāhijān. As the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar affords us

¹ Isma'īl is also frequently spoken of throughout the work as "*ān ḥazrat*" (or His Sanctity), but as this title seems strange to European ears thus applied, I have preferred generally to render this (and any other epithet applied to him) by his name only.

² I, fol. 29a. The foregoing sentence is a little obscure. It is at any rate unimportant.

³ It is hard to render this expression in English. It means more than warriors and less than "fighters for the faith." A *ghazāt* originally meant merely a freebooting-raid. It next became applied to the "holy war" for the propagation of the faith, and after that to any war carried on by believers, for whatsoever object.

⁴ The expression used is جمع کردن کب. کب might mean booty, but I can find no trace of کب being employed in this sense.

⁵ See preceding note.

⁶ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar gives the date as 898.

scarcely any details on these subjects I have chosen to give the full text and translation of the following chapters of our history which deal with these adventures. The few facts that do occur also in the *Habīb-us-Siyar* I have again placed within square brackets.

(From the minuteness of our author's details, both in regard to Isma'il's adventures and in regard to accounts of small engagements, one might feel justified in supposing that he was in the same districts at the time, and even took part in some of the scenes of which he speaks.)

L, fol. 29a.

ذکر بقیة احوال شاهزادگان و رفتن بجانب کیلان قبل از آنکه شاهزاده در آن معرکه شهید شد حسین بیگ لکه و دوده بیگ با بقیة صوفیان و ابدال علی بیگ لکه در رکاب شاهزادگان عالی و برادران کرامی یعنی خاقان صاحبقران کیتی ستان اسمعیل میرزا و سلطان ابراهیم میرزا متوجه [خطه]^۱ مقدسة اردبیل گردیدند و چون بآن مقام فرشته احترام رسیدند متعاقب خبر شهادت آن شاهزاده مرحوم مغفور رسید علم شاه بیکم از استماع این خبر محنت اثر و شهادت آن فرزند والا کهر بتعزیه و سوگواری پرداخته باوجود آن مصیبت عظمی این دغدغه در خاطر داشت که مبادا خاقان صاحبقران و برادر کرامی (او) سید ابراهیم [میرزا] بدست ظلمه گرفتار شوند هر دو را بجانب روضه رضوان نشان جد بزرگوار شان فرستاد که (در) آن مکان شریف مخفی بوده در امان ملک متان باشند و بعد از روانه نمودن ایشان بتعزیه فرزند ارجمند مشغول گردید روز دیگر ایبه سلطان و ترکمانان ستم گراز عقب

^۱ (خطه).

شاهزادگان بشهر درآمده دست ظلم و تعدی بر اهل اردبیل دراز کرده بقتل و غارت و تفتیش شاهزادگان با معادت پرداختند و حضرت خاقان صاحبقران از بیم اهل بغی و عدوان از آن آستان (با احترام)^۱ بیرون آمده در خانه قاضی احمد کاکلی که در حوالی [آشیانه]^۲ واقع و او یکی از یکجهتان این دودمان بود پنهان گردید و قاضی احمد از ورود آنحضرت مسرور گشته سر در قدمش نهاد و آن در یکتای برج شهریار را سه روز در خانه^۳ خود پوشیده و پنهان نگاه داشت چون از تفتیش و تجسس ترکمانان و تأکید ایبه سلطان در پیدا نمودن آنحضرت قاضی مطلع گردید از بیم اهل غرض و تهمت صوفیکری و یکت جهتی این دودمان ولایت نشان (توهم نمود که مبادا ایبه سلطان) از بودن شاهزاده در خانه او آگاه شود آنحضرت را بهخانه عورتی که بهخامجان موسوم بود [برده سپرد]^۴ مدت یکماه در منزل او چون چشمه آب حیوان از نظرها مخفی بود بغیر از پاشا خاتون که از محذرات بنات سلطان جنید و عقه محترمه^۵ مرشد کامل [که]^۶ در عقد ازدواج محمدی بیگ ترکمان بود دیگری از حال آن شهریار اطلاعی نداشت بعد از یکماه آن عقیقه دوران از اهل جور ترسیده مصلحت (دران) دید که آنحضرت را از [30a] خانه خامجان بیرون آورده به عورتی که ابه جراحه نام داشت و از قبیله ذولقدر بود سپارند چون بابه مشورت نمود

^۱ [تایرام] ؟^۲ (آشیانه).^۳ MS. L., خوانه (!)^۴ (مستاده و).^۵ (و).

آن عقیقهٔ صالحه پاک اعتقاد آن اختر برج سعادت را در محلهٔ رومیان بخانهٔ خود آورد [۵] مخفی ساخت [۶] چون ترکمانان بفرومان ایبه سلطان روز بروز تفحص و مجسس بیشتر (از پیستر) میکردند و محلهٔ بمحله و خانهٔ بخانه میکردیدند و از جانب رستم میرزا تأکید بسیار در پیدا کردن شاهزادهٔ کان کرامی نژاد میشد که بهر طریق (که) باشد مرشد کامل را بدست درآورده [آنحضرت را با] ذکور و اناث آن سلسله را بعد از بدست درآوردن آنحضرت از سر چشمهٔ تیغ ستم شربت شهادت چشانند و آن ظالم بد نهاد از خبث طینتی که داشت میخواست که علم شاه بیکم والدۀ آن حضرت را شکجه نموده حضرت شاه عالی شانرا ازو گرفته آنچه مکنون خاطرش باشد بعمل آورد و علم شاه بیکم مطلق از احوال آنحضرت اطلاعی نداشت و روز بروز در مفارقت فرزند ارجمند بمرتبهٔ در دریای غم و الم فرو رفته بود که آن همه آزار و اضرار اشرار مطلقاً باو نمی نمود القه ایبه سلطان را ازین نمود بعد از چند روز آبۀ از بودن آنحضرت در آنمکان (اندیشه نموده)^۱ قرار داد که او را بمحل دیگر نقل نماید در آن حین شخصی از صوفیان و غازیان که در رکاب سلطانعلی پادشاه در حرب ایبه سلطان زخم دار گردیده فرار نموده (بود) و در مسجد جامع اردبیل مخفی گشته بود از برای علاج زخم خود [ب]نز آبۀ جراحه آمد آبۀ او را از حال مرشد کامل خبر داد و شاهزاده را بدو نمود آن صوفی پاک اعتقاد سر در قدم آنحضرت نهاده از احوال صوفیان که در کوه بَغْرُو (که در)

[اندیشه] ^۱

حوالی دارالارشاد اردبیل (است) مختفی و جوای استبعاد [306] ادراکت خدمت (آحضرت) بودند خبر داد و از آنجا بیرون آمده بمصلحت اُبّه جراحه نزد رستم بیگ [قرامانلو] اندیشه باطل باز داشتند و آن مردود مطرود جماعت ترکمانان را فرمود^۱ که غافل بخانههای جماعت اردبیل در آیند شاید که در خانه یکی از هوا خواهان آن سرور ریاض خلافت را بدست در آورند چون اُبّه جراحه از (اهتمام ایبه سلطان درین باب)^۲ آگاه گردید [د] از بیم ضرر [ترکمانان] آحضرت را بمسجد جامع اردبیل در کنبدی که مقبره^۳ الله ویرمش آفاست برده محافظت نمود و در وقت فرصت از احوال کرامی آحضرت علم شاه بیگم را خبر داد [د]^۴ علم شاه بیگم از وصول این خبر بهجت اثر و سلامتی ذات مقدس آن حضرت سجدات شکر نموده سلامتی وجود مسعود آن سلاله دودمان احسان وجود را [308] از درگاه آلهی سؤال که [او نیز از آن جنگ بیرون آمده در آن کوه اختفا گزیده بود رفته او را از حقیقت حال مرشد کامل آگاه ساخته و رستم بیگ مذکور] با هشتاد نفر صوفی که از جنگ فرار نموده در آن کوه جمعیت داشتند نیم شبی خود را بحوالی مسجد جامع اردبیل رسانیده شاهزاده را ملاقات نمود و آحضرت را بر داشته بجانب کوه بَغْرُ برد و در قریه کرکان بخانه خطیب فَرخ زان کرکانی فرود آوردند و خطیب فَرخ زان بوظایف خدمات لایقه اقدام نمود و منصور بیگ قَبْچاخی و حسین بیگ

^۱ (امر نمود).

^۲ [آحوال].

^۳ (ن).

له^۱ و قرق سیدی علی و جلیان بیگ و خادم بیگ خلیفه و دهنده بیگ و کوک علی بیگ و سایر صوفیان در باب سُنَن^۲ و محافظت آن دُرّ یکتای بحر سلطنت و شهر یاری قرع^۳ مشورت در میان انداختند رای همگی بر آن قرار گرفت که مرشد کامل را بجانب رشت برند و روزی چند در آنجا رحل اقامت انداخته با انجام و فیصل امور ضروریه پردازند [31a] و چون میانه محمدی بیگ زوج پاشا خاتون که عمه محترمه آنحضرت بود و احمدی بیگ برادر او و امیره اسحق رشتی رابطه قدیم بود و پیوسته ابواب مصادقت بارسال رُسل و اتحاف تحف مفتوح بود باین رای صواب اتفاق نموده رستم بیگ و احمدی بیگ و محمدی بیگ مرشد کامل را باهشتاد نفر از صوفیان عقیدت نشان برداشته بقصبه تول و ناو بخانه امیره^۴ مظفر والی تول و ناو آوردند و امیره^۵ مظفر کمر میز بانی و خدمتکاری بر میان جان بسته دقیقه از دقایق بندگی فرو گذاشت ننموده چون در اردبیل خبر بایبه سلطان رسید که آنحضرت در خانه امیره مظفر است کس پیش امیر زاده^۶ فرستاد که ولد سلطان حیدر پناه بتر آورده شرط اطاعت و انقیاد آنست که او را با رفقا^۷ و اعوان نزد رستم پادشاه با تحف و هدایا روانه نمایی تا آنکه از شفقت و لطف پادشاهی بهره مند گردی و اگر ازین امر مختلف نمایی و سرکشی کنی یقین که بغضب و سخط پادشاهی

^۱ (الله).

^۲ (سُنی).

^۳ (امیر).

^۴ (امیره مظفر).

^۵ (رئیسان).

کرفتار شوی و (جاکیر)^۱ بیگ پرناک که حاکم خلخال و تول بود آن نیز کس فرستاده برین نهج اعلام نمود امیره مظفر از غایت اخلاص و اعتقادی که بدین دودمان ولایت نشان داشت راضی بتوقف مرشد کامل در تول ناو^۲ نبود و خاطر از جانب جاکیر بیگ جمع نداشت بدین سبب آنحضرت را برفتن کسکر تکلیف نمود صوفیان باشاره امیره مظفر در رکاب حضرت شاهی با امیره انوش^۳ ملازم امیره سیاوش روی توجه بدانصوب آوردند و محمدی بیگ و احمدی بیگ از تول کتابات و سفارشات در باب جان فشانی در راه مرشد کامل با امیره اسحق رشتی [316] نوشته برشت فرستادند و خود بجانب اردبیل مراجعت نمودند و چون خبر قدوم مسرت لزوم آنحضرت در کسکر با امیره سیاوش حاکم آن ولایت رسید بمراسم تعظیم و تکریم پرداخته استقبال آن حضرت نمود و از روی اعزاز و احترام (شاهزاده را) در خانه خود فرو آورد تا سه روز بلوازم خدمتکاری قیام نموده روز چهارم در موکب عالی آن شهریار بجانب رشت روان گردیده تا حوالی رشت بدستور مهمان دار و خدمتکار بود چون داخل رشت شدند امیره سیاوش آنحضرت را وداع کرده مراجعت نمود مرشد کامل با صوفیان بمسجدهی که واقعست در رشت و موسوم بمسجد سفیداست منزل کزیدند چون طرح و وضع آن مسجد آن حضرت را بسیار خوش آمد لهذا از آنجا بخانه امیره اسحق و جای دیگر نقل

^۱ [جاکیر].

^۲ *Sie in MSS.*

^۳ (نوش).

نفرمودند هر چند امیر اسحق در آن باب مبالغه نمود مفید نیفتاد در حوالی آن مسجد امیر مجسم نامی دکان زرگری داشت بنا بر قرب جوار پیوسته در خدمت آن حضرت می بود و بوسیله خدمات مرغوبه روز بروز مرتبه خود را می افزود اما در توقف آن حضرت در (بلده) رشت اختلاف نموده اند جمعی هفت روز گفته اند و بعضی بیست روز و گروهی یکماه چون کارکیا میرزا علی والی لاهیجان از سایر سلاطین کیلان باعث علاه مسکن و قدم دودمان مستثنی بود و از ورود آنحضرت برشت واقف گردید و دانست که از حوادث دوران از اردبیل بد آنصوب توجه فرموده اند و امیر اسحق را توانایی محافظت آنحضرت و صوفیان رفیق نیست بنابراین استدعا نمود که آن حضرت بجانب لاهیجان تشریف برند چون مرشد کامل رایحه اخلاص و هوا خاهی [32a] از جانب کارکیا میرزا علی استشمام نمودند اراده خاطر مبارک چنان تعلق گرفت که بلاهیجان رفته در آنجا باشند بلا توقف روانه لاهیجان گردیدند و کارکیا میرزا علی ازین [خبر بهجت اثر کلاه شادمانی]¹ بسپهر اعلی رسانید [ه] (و آنچه لازم خدمتکاری و اخلاص بود بتقدیم رسانیده) دقیقه [از بندگی] فرو گذاشت نکرد و جهت آن حضرت و متعلقان در برابر مدرسه کیا فریدون² منازل مرغوبه تعیین³ و ما محتاج ایشانرا سرانجام نمود بعد از چند کاه ایبه سلطان از رفتن آنحضرت بصوب لاهیجان اطلاع یافته مستوجه تبریز گردید و آن عورت مسماة بآبَه [جراحه] را بدست آورده با خود برد و احوالات

¹ (ازین بهجت و شادمانی سرزفت).

² کی آفریدون.

³ (تعیین).

آن سفر را و توقف خود در اردبیل و کیفیت رفتن [شاهزاده‌گان بجانب کیلان و امداد هریک از هواخواهان و توقف] شاهزاده را نزد کارکیا میرزا علی مشروحاً بعرض رستم میرزا رسانید نایره غضب رستم میرزا شعله‌ور گردیده آن ضعیفه صالحه را در میدان تبریز از کلو کشید و محمّدی بیگ را مغضوب گردانید [د] و ما یعرف ایشان را ضبط نمود آخر الامر بنابر التماس قرارداده مجرم ایشانرا بسی هزار تنگه جریمه بخشید

ذکر توقف نمودن خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران در لاهیجان بعد از آنکه لاهیجان از قدم میمنت لزوم آن حضرت رشک خلد برین کردید رحل اقامت و توقف در آن خطه دلپذیر انداختند و روز بروز اخلاص و یک دلی و جان فشانی کارکیا میرزا علی در تضاعف و تنزید بود و بهر نوع خدمت و مراعات خود را منظور نظر خجسته اثر خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران میساخت و مولانا شمس الدین لاهیجی را که از فضلی آن دیار بود بتعلیم تلاوت و قرأت قرآن مجید مقرر داشت و آنحضرت از روی [326] رغبت نزد مولانای مذکور درس قرآن و کتب فارسی و عربی میخوانند در خلال این حال ارباب ارادت و صوفیان یکجبهت از اطراف و جوانب خصوصاً دیار روم و قراجه داغ و آهر و غیر ذلک با نذر و نیاز در لاهیجان بمخدمت مرشد کامل رسیده نذورات خود را بنظر کیمیا اثر در آوردند چون مصلحت در توقف نبود در همان لحظه مراجعت می نمودند و امیرمجم زرگر که در رشت بمخدمت آن حضرت رسیده بود با کیا سلطامحسین و کیا امیرهاشم برادران کارکیا

میرزا علی پیوسته بملازمت مرشد کامل آمد و شد می نمودند
 آنحضرت را از مخالطت و مجالست ایشان شکفتگی تمام در طبع
 همیون بهمرسید^۱ بعد از چندگاه شاهزادگان^۲ عظام سلطان ابراهیم
 میرزا و سلیمان میرزا اراده^۳ مراجعت بجانب دارالارشاد اردبیل
 فرمودند و تاج مبارک دوازده ترکی سلطان حیدرآباد که شعار
 صوفیان این دودمان خلافت و امامت است از سر بر گرفته بدستور
 تراکمه^۴ آتی توینلو طاقیه^۵ پرناکی بر سر مبارک نهاده بصوب خطه
 فردوس نشان و روضه ملایک آشیان جد^۶ بزرگوار خود روانه گردیدند
 بعد از روانه شدن سلطان ابراهیم میرزا مزاج و حاج حضرت خاقان
 سلیمان^۷ صاحبقران از جاده اعتدال روی بواستی انحراف آورده
 تا یکسال آن حضرت مریض و صاحب فراش بودند مولانا نعمت
 الله در علاج و دفع آن مرض سعی بلیغ نمود تا آنکه حکیم علی
 الاطلاق از شفاخانه^۸ و نازل من القرآن ما هو شفاء و رحمة
 للمؤمنین شفا عاجل کرامت فرموده ذات اقدس اعلی روی به
 بهبودی آورد و چون آن حضرت را بنان ریزه میل تمام بود واز عمه^۹
 محترمه^{۱۰} خود پاشا خاتون [33a] طلب نموده بودند آن محذره
 سرادقات عصمت و عفت تبرکات با نان ریزه از اردبیل بمخدمت
 آن حضرت ارسال داشت و احوال سلامتی ذات مقدس را پرسش
 نمود چون فرستادگان برشت رسیدند و خبر آمدن ایشان بسمع
 اشرف همیون رسید کوک علی را باستقبال ایشان فرستاد و فرستاده^{۱۱}

^۱ (بهم می رسید).

^۲ (شاهزادگان).

^۳ (فرستادگان).

پاشا خاتون با اتفاق میرمجم زرکرو میرحسن ولد میرموسی و امیر
جهانگیر و کلاه^۱ امیرده اسمحق رشتی با کوک علی روانه ملازمت
کردیدند و بعد از دریافت شرف پابوس هدایا را با مکتوبات والده
و برادران و همشیرکان و عمه آن حضرت بنظر انور رسانیده سجدات
شکر الهی بسبب سلامتی ذات اشرف بجای آوردند و آنحضرت
مهمانداری بجهت ایشان تعیین فرمود از هدایای که آورده بودند
بخشی از برای کارکیا میرزا علی و برادران او ارسال فرمودند بعد از
سه روز آن جماعت را مرخص ساخته تنسوقات لایقه از اقمشه
و امتعه و مرغ مسقن و ماهی و برنج (ونارنج) و سایر ارمغان کیلان
بجانب اردبیل روانه^۲ گردانیدند چون آن جماعت بقریه کوریم^۳
از قرای اردبیل رسیدند خبر و صل ایشان بپاشا خاتون و محمدی
بیگ رسید از اردبیل متوجه قریه مذکور شده آن تبرکات را
برداشته بجانب دار السلطنه تبریز روانه شدند که شاید باین
وسیله استرداد املاک و وجهات خود که بطریق صونک بتصرف
رستم میرزا درآمده بود نمایند دیگر باره بقرا داده توکل جسته
بوساطت او تحف و هدایاء خود را بنظر رستم میرزا در آوردند
[336] و رستم میرزا آن هدایا را قبول کرده املاک و جهات ایشانرا
بایشان مستم داشت و حکمی نوشته بایشان داد که من بعد
احدی متعرض احوال ایشان نشود و محمدی^۴ بیگ را بمخلعت
خاص اختصاص نموده رخصت مراجعت داد

^۱ MS. C, ولاعی (!)

^۲ (روان).

^۳ (کوریم).

^۴ MSS. have not می.

ذکر کس فرستادن رستم میرزا نزد کارکیا میرزا علی بلاهیجان
بطلب خاقان صاحبقران

سابقا مرقوم کردید که ایبه سلطان ترکمان و حسین بیگ علیخانی
بعد از رفتن حضرت خاقان صاحبقران بجانب کیلان به تبریز رفته
کیفیت احوال را باخوی که مرقوم قلم وقایع نگار شد [برستم]^۱
میرزا رسانیدند بنابراین رستم میرزا کس بطلب شاهزادگان^۲ صفوت
مکان نزد کارکیا میرزا علی والی لاهیجان فرستاد و چون فرستاده او
بلاهیجان رسید کارکیا میرزا علی شاهزادهگانرا^۳ بقریه^۴ کشته نام که
نزدیک لاهیجان است فرستاده آن در بحر ولایت را مانند آب
حیوان که از نظرها [پنهانست] مخفی^۵ ساخت ملازم رستم میرزا
را کارکیا میرزا علی معاذیر دلیذیر گفته روانه تبریز گردانید
و شاهزادگانرا از قریه مذکور بمنازل دل آویز خود باز آورده بدستور
در آن منزل بهشت آیین بقرات قرآن مجید و تعلیم خواندن
و نوشتن مشغول گشتند چون آن ترکمان نزد رستم میرزا رسید
عذرهای عاقلانه کارکیا میرزا علی را معروض داشت و آن بد کهر
مکررا مجالس کنکاش ترتیب داده جمه بدست آوردن آن
شاهزادگان والا تبار گفتگوی نمودند تا آنکه قرار [بآن] دادند که
جمعی از ترکمانانرا [بسم جاسوسی در لباس و کسوت صوفیان
سلسله صفوی باطراف فرستادند که احوال ایشانرا [34a] تحقیق

^۱ (برق رستم).

^۲ (شاهزادگان).

^۳ (شاهزادگانرا).

^۴ (کشته شد).

^۵ (مغلی).

نموده اعلام نمایند که شاید تدبیری جهت بدست آوردن آن حضرت
توانند نمود بنابر آن رستم میرزا و حسین بیگ علیخان چند نفر
جاسوس تعیین کرده باطراف فرستادند و آن جاسوسان در اطراف
ایران میکشند راه جاسوسی بلاهیجان افتاد بهر کیلکی که میرسید
احوال شاهزادگانرا می پرسید و اظهار مریدئ اولاد شیخ صفی میکرد
تا روزی کیلکی گفت اگر راست میگوئی و از جمله هوا داران اولاد
شیخ صفی [خودرا] به خدمت کارگیا میرزا علی که پادشاه
لاهیجان است [برسان]¹ و اظهار دوستی ایشان بکن شاید او ترا
رخصت بدهد تا تو بشرف دیدار آن شاهزادگان مشرف شوی
چون آن کیلک صادق ساده لوح از بی عقلی نشان شاهزادگانرا
داد آن ترکمانان² بدکمان دیگر در کیلان توقف نکرده خودرا
باردبیل رسانید [ند] و علیخان سلطانرا از آن مقدمه اعلام نموده
هماندم کس همراه آن جسیس³ بدنفس کرده بخدمت رستم
پادشاه روانه گردانید چون رستم پادشاه دانست که ایشان در
لاهیجان میباشند بامرای خود صلاح دید که مراچه باید کرد
تا دشمنان خودرا بدست آورم و خاطر خودرا از خروج ایشان
جمع گردانم هرکس سخنی گفتند ایبه سلطان گفت ای شهریار
مرا فکری بخاطر رسیده که پادشاه لاهیجان با شما دوست و یک
رنکست شاهزادگانرا⁴ بمجرد شنیدن این (خبر) با [آن] چند نفر
صوفی که با ایشان رفیقند⁴ بخدمت خواهد فرستاد یا شما را اعلام

¹ (برو).² Both MSS. read عیس.³ (شاهزادگانرا).⁴ (رفته اند).

نموده شما کس فرستاد^۱ ایشانرا می آورید و اگر او نیز لاف مریدی ایشان میزند و هر دو را پنهان کرده است (فکری دیگر کنیم) میباید نامه^۲ باو نوشت و در نامه [346] قید کرد که (چون) بعضی از بی دولتان مرا اغوا نمودند و فریب دادند که آتچنان جوانی را که صلّه رحم و شجاع و سپه سالار لشکر من بود از پا در آوردم و الحال کسی [ندانم]^۳ که اعتبار باو توانم کرد تا او را بزرگ سازم که با ستظار آن احدی کوس مخالفت مرا نکوید چون کار سلطانعلی پادشاه (از قضا) اینجنین شد میخواهم برادران او را که هر دو مرا بمنزلّه فرزندند^۴ از برای من بفرستی که بفرزندی خود برداشته تربیت پدرانه نمایم که پشت و پناه من بوده باشند تلافی خون برادر و پدران ایشان نیز شده باشد شنیده‌ام که تو ایشانرا عزّت نموده و نسبت بایشان کمال مری و همراهی بعمل آوردی^۵ بسیار خوب کرده زیرا که ایشان از خانواده عزّت و کرامت اند و آنچه نسبت بملازمان ایشان کرده ثواب آن در عقبی بتو عاید خواهد شد و ما نیز در تلافی آنچه لازمه مهربانی بوده باشد خواهیم نمود و اگر جمعی از صوفیان و هواخواهان مضایقه درین باب داشته باشند ایشانرا بموعظه و پند راضی نموده برفاقت ایشان تکلیف آمدن بدین صوب^۶ نمایند که انشاء الله تعالی تدارک همگی باحسن وجهی خواهد شد

نامه فرستادن رستم پادشاه بکارکیا میرزا علی بکیان و طلب

نمودن شاهزادگان

^۱ (ندارم).

^۲ (فرزنده مستند).

^۳ (بایستوب).

اما چون نامه رستم پادشاه بکیلان رسید کارکیا میرزا علی اظهار شادمانی نموده بحسب ظاهر بسیار مشغوف گردید و با قورچی که نامه را آورده بود گفت که من از ایشان خبر ندارم شاید که در کیلان باشند من تفحص نمایم تو چند روزی از رنج راه آسوده شو [35a] من آنچه لازمه تفحص باشد خواهم کرد و خاطر جمع دار و او را به یکی از ملازمان سپرد که میهماندار او باشد و خود بخدمت آن حضرت شتافت و صوفیان و هوا خواهان را طلب کرد و نامه را بایشان نمود حسن بیگ لاله^۱ و خادم بیگ خلیفه و ده ده بیگ گفتند ای خداوند شمارا چه بخاطر میرسد کارکیا میرزا علی گفت من خوشحال شدم که رستم میرزا این قسم نامه نوشته باشد ایشان گفتند هیئات تو صادقی رستم پادشاه از روی مکر این نامه را نوشته زینهار مقرر مشو و (در) جواب بنویس که مرا آن طالع نبود که آن دو مشتری اوچ اقبال از برج الگای من (چون نیر اعظم) طالع شوند بسر عزیز پادشاه قسم که فرزندان سلطان حیدر نزد من نیستند و می توانم گفت که در کیلان [هم] نباشند زیرا که اگر بکیلان آمده باشند نمیشود که مرا اعلام نکنند و پادشاه خاطر از من جمع دارد که دشمنان آن شهریار را نزد خود راه نمیدهم زینهار که این راز را پوشیده دار و اظهار این امر مکن که عاقبت پشیمان خواهی شد چون صوفیان این سخن گفتند کارکیا میرزا علی قبول نمود و جواب نامه [قورچی نوشته] قورچی را روانه کردانید چون جواب نامه برستم پادشاه رسید البتّه کارکیا میرزا علی

راست میگوید و او از شاهزادگان خبری ندارد و آنچه گفته بودند همه دروغ بود دیگر باره معاندان رستم پادشاه را خبر دادند که فرزندان سلطان حیدر در کیلان اند یقین که کارکیا میرزا علی خبر دارد پس باردیگر نامه^[۱] نوشت و تهدید بسیار در نامه یاد کرد که چرا حق مرا منظور نداشته [35b] دوشمنان مرا نگاه داشته اگر ایشان را فرستادی در میان ما و تو دوستی خواهد بود و الا کس بفرستم با سپاه بیحد تا بیایند و کیلان (را) و لاهیجان را بسوزانند و قتل عام نمایند البته البته چون نامه بتو میرسد می باید هردورا بکشی و اگر خواهی که در خون ایشان شریک نباشی هردورا (زنده) بخدمت ما روانه کنی که دیده انتظار در راهست چون نامه بکارکیا میرزا علی رسید بسیار ترسید و با جماعت خود صلاح دید که (چون) رستم پادشاه قسم یاد نموده که اگر ایشانرا نفرستی کیلانرا قتل عام میکنم ایشان گفتند صلاح در آنست که شاهزاده [ه] هارا بدهیم تا به برند ایشان خود دانند خویش یکدیگرند پس کارکیا میرزا علی گفت هرچند فکر میکنم یقین میدانم که (رستم میرزا) بلا توقف ایشانرا بقتل می آورد و من چگونه در خون آن بزرگواران معین و شریک باشم پس فکر کنان بحرم خود رفت و در این اندیشه بود که شاهزاده را چگونه بفرستادگان رستم [پادشاه]^۱ دهد چون بخواب رقت دید که حضرت امیر المؤمنین علی علیه السلام پیدا شده گفت ای کارکیا [میرزا علی] درچه فکری زینهار که با فرزندم اینقسم ادایی نکنی که فردای قیامت نزد من شرمنده

خواهی بود و او از آن هیبت بخود بلرزید و از آن لرزه از خواب بیدار شد بر خاسته بخدمت اسمعیل میرزا (آمد و خواست)¹ که دست و پای او را ببوسد شاید که حضرت امیر المؤمنین علی علیه السلام از تقصیرش بگذرد چون بحوالی (مکان) آن شاهزاده رسید و آن موضعی بود در عقب حرمش که آنحضرترا جای داده بود و در جنب آن جایی از برای صوفیان [36a] معین کرده بود و کنیزی چند در خدمت آن شهریار تعیین نموده بود چون [در]² عقب در آمد دید که شاهزاده با شخص سخن میگوید کوش انداخت شنید که شاهزاده میگوید فدایت شوم ای شهریار کنیزی بمن گفت که گویا نامه از رستم پادشاه رسیده و مبالغه بسیار در خواستن من نموده و کارکیا میرزا علی میخواهد مرا فردا بدست ملازمان رستم پادشاه سپارد چون این بگفت و لمحّه دیگر شد گفت فدایت شوم وقت خروج من شده [است] چون کارکیا میرزا علی این سخن بشنید آواز داد و گفت ای فرزند در را بکشای شاهزاده در خواب بود بیدار شد و فریاد زد که چه کسی گفت منم فلان شاهزاده فرمود چه عجب درین نصف شب تصدیع کشیده کجا بوده آیا آمده که مرا گرفته بدست ملازمان رستم پادشاه سپاری گفت قربانت شوم آن روز مبادا که این کار بکنم شما بگوئید که با که سخن می گفتید که هر چند نظر کردم در این خانه کسی نبود شاهزاده گفت با حضرت امیر المؤمنین علی علیه السلام دو سخن بودم و آنچه شنیده بود بگفت کارکیا میرزا علی گفت قربانت

¹ [Launa].² (ب).

شوم حضرت امیر المؤمنین الحال نزد من بود و در عالم رؤیا سفارش شمارا بمن کرده الحال آمده‌ام که پای شمارا بیوسم تا مرا بحل کنید شاهزاده اورا حلال نموده روز دیگر کارکیا میرزا علی مبارکاد خود (آمده) نشست و در آن روز ایلچی رستم پادشاه را طلبیده گفت برو و دعای مارا برستم پادشاه برسان و بگو دروغ بسمع شما رسانیده اند از سلسله حسن پادشاه چه بدی بما رسیده که دشمنان ایشانرا جای داده و محافظت نمائیم^۱ اگر (تا) صد سال دیگر [خبری] ظاهر شود که ما خبری از اولاد سلطان حیدر داشته باشیم مجرم و کناه کاریم [366] و مبلغی با ایلچی تکلف نموده اورا روانه نمود آن شخص چون بمخدمت رستم پادشاه رسید و آنچه شنیده بود عرض کرد که کارکیا میرزا علی قسمها یاد نمود که از اولاد سلطان حیدر اطلاع ندارم و بعزت نوازشی که در لاهیجان نسبت باو بعمل آمده بود رستم پادشاهرا ازین اراده باز آورد دیگر باره یکی از اقوام کارکیا میرزا علی آمده خود برستم پادشاه عرض نمود که اولاد سلطان حیدر نزد کارکیا میرزا علیست و او خبر دارد آتش در نهاد رستم پادشاه افتاده سیصد قورچی ترکمان را مقرر نمود که بروید اسمعیل میرزا و ابراهیم میرزا را از کارکیا میرزا علی گرفته بیاورید و اگر ایشانرا ندهد و بی اندامی کند در آنجا توقف نموده مرا اعلام کنید و قاسم بیگ ترکمان که از جماعت قراقیونلو بود [اورا فرستاد و] باین خدمت مأمور گردانید چون او بلاهیجان رسید و داخل بارکاد کارکیا میرزا علی شد و نامه رستم پادشاهرا داد چون مطالعه نمود [نوشته

بود] که چرا ما را از خود میرجانی پسران سلطامحیدر را بقاسم خان بسیار و اگر نه خود می آیم و گل کیلانرا قتل عام میکنم کارکیا میرزا علی از خواندن نامه بسیار دلگیر شده گفت شاید که در زمین کیلان باشند من تفحص کنم و فرمود قاسم بیگ را فرود آوردند و کارکیا میرزا علی بسیار دلگیر شده بود و حجاب میکرد که بشاهزاده اینواقعہ را اعلام نماید اما چون آن سخن بحسین بیگ لہلہ^۱ و خلیفہ الخلفا و ابدال بیگ دہدہ رسید [37a] کہ رستم پادشاه قاسم بیگ را بکرفتن شما و شاهزادہ^۲ فرستادہ است ایشان گفتند امر از خدامی عالمست چون شب شد دیگر بارہ کارکیا میرزا علی حضرت امیر المؤمنین [علی] علیہ السّلام را بخواب دید کہ آن حضرت فرمودند کہ بعد از چند روز دیگر میباید قاسم بیگ را ببارگاہ خود طلب کنی و بکوئی کہ چند نفر را تعیین نمودم کہ خانہ بخانہ و دہ بدہ کردیدند اولاد سلطامحیدر درین ملک نیستند اگر باور نداری من قسم یاد نمایم کہ ایشان در زمین کیلان نیستند و می باید کہ قبل از قسم یاد نمودن بر درختی ریسمانی بہ بندی و زنبیلی در آن ریمان بسته از درخت در آویزی و شاهزادہ را در آن زنبیل بنشانی و در حضور فرستادہای رستم پادشاه [دست بقرآن] قسم یاد کنی کہ ایشان در زمین کیلان نیستند [کہ] تا قسم تو دروغ نباشد چون حضرت امیر المؤمنین (علیہ السّلام) او را چنین ارشاد فرمود بعد از چند روز دیگر کارکیا میرزا علی ببارگاہ خود آمد و قاسم بیگ را طلبیدہ آنچه حضرت امیر المؤمنین

^۱ (لہلہ).

^۲ (شاهزادہ).

علی علیه السّلام فرموده بود آنچنان کرد و ایشانرا بخدمت رستم میرزا روانه نمود چون رستم میرزا دید که بآمد و رفت رسولان و امرای ترکمان بجانب لاهیجان کارکیا میرزا علی پای از دایره اخلاص و جان فشانی بیرون نکذاشته بهیچ وجه بودن شاهزادگان و صوفیانرا در ملک کیلان اقرار نمیکند رای ناقص او بدین قرار یافت که سپاه عظیم بدانصوب روانه نماید که بقهر و غلبه ایشانرا بدست آورند درین اندیشه باطل بود که حق سبحانه و تعالی بنی اعمام را [376] بفکر استیصال یکدیگر انداخت و چندان فتور باحوال سلاطین ترکمان راه یافت که بمؤذای آلهم اشغل الظالمین بالظالمین بهم دیگر در افتادند که بمخاصمت گیری نتوانستند پرداخت بدین سبب صوفیان و مریدان بخاطر جمع بخدمت آن حضرت تردد می نمودند بعضی بعد از دریافت پایبوس مراجعت و برخی توقف در کیلان نمودند و باستصواب کارکیا میرزا علی حضرت خاقان سلیمانشان صاحبقران را بدستور آباء عظام و اجداد کرام بر سریر هدایت و ارشاد متمکن ساخته باوجود صغر سنّ که در آن وقت هفت سال بیش از عمر شریفش نکذاشته بود اما در فطانت و فراست آیتی [بود و] در فهم و کیاست علامتی¹ فروغ کیتی ستانی از ناصیه همایونش هویدا و فتره ایزدی از جبین مبینش پیدا بود و ملازمان اخلاص کیش از فرط اعتقاد آن حضرت را مرشد کامل و پادشاه میخواندند و در آن بلده میتومثال نشوونما می یافت و گاهی بنشاط شکار و سیر مستزّهات آندیار مشغول بوده

¹ C. places بد here.

بیوسته نقش جهانگیری و خیال کشورکشایی در لوح خاطر مبارک
می نگاشت تا هنگام وزیدن نسیم ظهیر و خروج آنحضرت و بیرون
آمدن از آن ولایت باین امر نشاط افزا مشغول بودند و کیفیت
خروج آنحضرت بعد از انقراض [دولت ترکمانان و سلاطین] آق
قویونلو ذکر خواهد شد انشاء الله تعالی

Translation :—

FURTHER ADVENTURES OF THE PRINCES, AND THEIR
JOURNEY INTO GILĀN.

Before the death of the Prince in the (above-mentioned) battle, Husain Beg Lala and Dede Beg, together with the remainder of the Šūfis and Abdāl 'Alī Beg Lala, had set out in the escort of the princely brothers, that is to say Isma'īl Mirzā and Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, towards the holy town of Ardabīl. On reaching this town news overtook them of the death of the Prince. 'Alam Shāh Begum was overwhelmed with grief at hearing of her son's death, and her mind was filled with anxiety lest Isma'īl and Ibrāhīm might fall into the tyrant's hands. She therefore sent them both to the mausoleum of their noble ancestor, that they might, in that holy spot, under God's care, remain in hiding. As soon as they had departed she performed the funeral rites of her dear son.

On the next day Abiya Sultān and the merciless Turkomāns entered the town in search of the Princes. They used the inhabitants with violence, and busied themselves with plunder and rapine, and in searching for the Princes. Isma'īl, becoming fearful of these hostile men, came out of the mausoleum and hid himself in the house of Kāzī Aḥmad Kākulī, which was hard by. Kāzī Aḥmad, being devoted to the family [of Shaikh Šafī], was delighted at the arrival of Isma'īl, did him all honour, and kept

him three days in hiding in his house. When he, however, heard of the careful search which the Turkomāns were making, and of Abiya Sultān's efforts to discover Isma'īl, he was fearful lest some of the envious or malicious Sūfīs might report to Abiya Sultān that the Prince was in his house; he therefore took Isma'īl to the house of a woman named Khānjān, and entrusted him to her keeping. There Isma'īl remained one month, hidden like the spring of the water of life, from all eyes, except those of Pāshā Khātūn, one of Sultān Junaid's daughters, and aunt to Isma'īl¹ by her marriage with Moḥammadī Beg Turkomān. No one else knew of the Prince's whereabouts. When a month had elapsed Pāshā Khātūn, fearing the tyrants, deemed it advisable to take Isma'īl away from the house of Khānjān and place him in the keeping of another woman named Uba-i-Jarrāḥa,² of the tribe of Zūlkadr. After consulting with Uba, this latter conveyed Isma'īl to her house in the quarter of the Greeks, and hid him there. Meanwhile the Turkomāns, in obedience to the orders of Abiya Sultān, became each day more scrutinous in their spying and searching, passing from quarter to quarter, and from house to house. Rustem Mīrzā insisted more strongly than ever upon the discovery of the Princes, ordering that, having seized the "Perfect Guide" by whatsoever means they could, they should put him to death with the sword, together with all his race, both male and female. That tyrant, moreover, in the vileness of his natural clay, desired that 'Alam Shāh Begum, mother of Isma'īl, should be tortured, and that having taken the Prince from her, he might carry out his secret intention (namely, of killing the Prince). But she knew absolutely nothing about him, and so deep

¹ He is here called the "*Perfect Guide*": a very usual epithet for a spiritual head, or adviser, among the Sūfīs.

² جراحه = the feminine form of *jarrāḥ* 'a surgeon' (which latter word is derived from the former through the intermediate form *chirurgien*). We might call this woman Uba the Lady-Surgeon (better in French and German, *chirurgienne* and *Wundärztin*). But, as the English expression is awkward, I have preferred to keep the original Arabic word in my translation.

was she sunk in the ocean of grief at separation from her dear son that all that pain and torture had no effect upon her. Abiya Sultān, therefore, abandoned this evil plan, and ordered that good-for-nothing band of Turkomāns impudently to enter the houses of all the "congregation of Ardabīl," if haply they might capture Isma'il in the house of one of his supporters. When Uba-i-Jarrāḥa heard of this design of Abiya Sultān, fearing the violence of the Turkomāns, she brought Isma'il into the Great Mosque of Ardabīl, where she watched over him in the vault which is the burial place of Allāh Virmish Ākā. While he was there, she took advantage of a suitable occasion to give 'Alam Shāh Begum news of her son. The Begum, overjoyed at hearing of her son's safety, laid her thanks before the throne of God, and prayed for his safe keeping. After a few days Uba, becoming unquiet for the Prince's safety in that place, resolved to take him elsewhere. At this juncture a Ṣūfī *ghāzī*, who had fled wounded from the battle between Sultān 'Alī and Abiya Sultān, and had hidden himself in the Great Mosque of Ardabīl, while his wounds were healing, came to Uba-i-Jarrāḥa, who told him about Isma'il, and showed him to him. The Ṣūfī, having kissed the ground at the Prince's feet, told him of the Ṣūfis who were in hiding in the mountain of Baghrau, in the vicinity of Ardabīl, and who were longing for the opportunity of serving Isma'il. He then, at the advice of Uba-i-Jarrāḥa, left the mosque, and went and gave news of Isma'il to Rustem Beg Qarāmānlū, who had also fled from the same battle-field and was hiding in that mountain, together with eighty other Ṣūfis, who had escaped from that encounter, and were collected together in that mountain. At midnight Rustem Beg betook himself to the Great Mosque of Ardabīl, and having found Isma'il, carried him off to the mountain of Baghran, where he placed him in the village of Kargān, in the house of Farrukh Zād Kurkānī, the Preacher, who did him fitting service.

Manṣūr Beg Kipchākhī, Husain Beg Lala Kīrk Sayyidi 'Alī, Julbān Beg, Khādim Beg Khalīfa, Dede Beg, Kūk

'Alī Beg, and the rest of the Sūfis now held council as to where Isma'īl had best stay and how he was best to be watched over. They all decided for taking Isma'īl to Rasht, after remaining a few days where they were for making the necessary arrangements. Now, friendly relations such as the continual exchange of messages and of gifts, had long existed between Moḥammadi Beg, husband of Pāshā Khātūn, Isma'īl's aunt, his brother Ahmadi Beg, and Amīra Ishak of Rasht. Being of accord with the above plan, Rustem Beg, Ahmadi Beg, and Moḥammadi Beg, with an escort of eighty Sūfis, conveyed the "Perfect Guide" into the district of Tūl-u-Nāv to the house of Amīra Muzaffar, governor of Tūl-u-Nāv. This man received Isma'īl with all hospitality, and omitted nothing in the matter of devoted attention and service.

When news reached Abiya Sultān, in Ardabīl, that Isma'īl was in the house of Amīra Muzaffar, he despatched a messenger to Amīra Muzaffar saying: "Sultān Haidar's son has sought shelter in your house, the conditions of obedience and subservience demand that you send him and his companions with presents and gifts to Rustem Pādishāh, so that you may profit by the indulgence and kindness of your king. But if you act contrary to this and disobey you will be subject to the wrath and severity of your king." He also sent a message of like purport to Jākīr Beg Parnāk, governor of Khalkhāl and Tūl. Amīra Muzaffar, in his devotion to that holy race, would not agree to Isma'īl remaining any longer in Tūl-u-Nāv, nor was his mind quite at rest with regard to Jakīr Beg. He therefore persuaded Isma'īl to go to Kaskar, and at his bidding the Sūfis, together with Amīra Anūsh, a servant of Amīr Siyāvush, escorted Isma'īl towards that place. Moḥammadi Beg and Ahmadi Beg wrote letters of recommendation for Isma'īl to Amīra Ishak of Rasht, and sent them to Rasht, while they themselves returned to Ardabīl. On learning the approach of Isma'īl, Amīra Siyāvush, governor of Kaskar, came out to receive him in honour, and made him alight in his own house, where he entertained him for three days,

and on the fourth set out with him on his way to Rasht. He escorted him as far as the outskirts of Rasht, but when Isma'il entered the town he bade Isma'il farewell and returned (to Kaskar). The "Perfect Guide" and the Šūfīs alighted at a mosque in Rasht called the "White Mosque," and its architecture and style pleased Isma'il so well that he would not go on to the house of Amīra Ishaḡ or anywhere else. Even the entreaties of Amīra Ishaḡ himself were of no avail. Close to that mosque a goldsmith named Amīra Najm had his shop. Being so near at hand he spent much of his time in attendance on Isma'il, and thereby daily increased his "grade." However, reports are at variance¹ with regard to the length of Isma'il's stay in Rasht. Some state it to have been seven days, others twenty, and others again say a month.

Kārgiyā² Mīrzā 'Alī, governor of Lāhījān, formed an exception to the other rulers in Gilān in his devotion to the cause (of the descendants of Shaikh Šūfī), and when he heard that Isma'il, being compelled by circumstances to quit Ardabīl, had gone to Rasht, he, knowing that Amīra Ishaḡ was not in a position to protect Isma'il and his Šūfī companions, invited Isma'il to come to Lāhījān. On receipt of this friendly invitation from the devoted Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, Isma'il decided to go and stay in Lāhījān. He therefore set out without delay. Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, elated at the joyful news of Isma'il's arrival, rendered him every possible service, and having prepared everything to meet their wants, set apart for him and his companions a dwelling opposite the College of Kai Āfridūn. A short while after this, Sultān Abiya, having received news of Isma'il's departure for Lāhījān, set out for Tabriz, and seized on the person of the woman named Uba-i-Jarrāḡa, and taking her (back with him) extorted from her the whole story in detail of Isma'il's journey, his stay in Ardabīl, the

¹ This is worthy of note as an instance of our author's care for accuracy.

² Kārgiyā, or Giyā=emperor. It is said to be a Gilāni word. We may here note that Mīrzā 'Alī is always given this title in our history, while the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar never applies it to him.

departure of the princes for Gīlān, and the help afforded by each of the "supporters." This he reported to Rustem Mīrzā, who bursting into a fit of rage had that poor pious woman strangled in the market-place of Tabriz. He also poured out his wrath upon Moḥammadi Beg, and had the other accomplices arrested, but finally, at the request of Karā Dede, pardoned them on the payment of a fine of thirty thousand tanga.

ISMA'IL'S STAY IN LĀHJĀN.

[Isma'il, having reached Lāhijān, took up his residence there, while Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī did all in his power to testify to his devotion and willing service.] He appointed Maulānā Shams-ud-Dīn Lāhijī, one of the learned men of that country, to instruct Isma'il in the reading and recitation of the Qurān. Isma'il took delight in the Maulānā's instruction, and with him studied the Qurān and learnt to read Persian and Arabic books. During this period disciples and single-minded Ṣūfis flocked in from all sides, especially from the districts of Rūm, Karāja Dāgh, and Ahar, bringing gifts and offerings for the "Perfect Guide"; but immediately returned, as it was not wise for them to remain there. Amīr Najm, the goldsmith, who had waited on Isma'il in Rasht, together with Giyā Sulṭān Husain and Giyā Amīr Hāshim, brothers of Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, had frequent intercourse with Isma'il, and, from the converse and society of these men, Isma'il's mind became fully developed.

[After a while,¹ Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and Sulaimān Mīrzā formed a desire to return to Ardabīl, and so having doffed the twelve-pointed cap of Haidar, which is the distinctive mark of the Ṣūfis of this branch, and having donned the Parnāki head-dress (*tākiya*), as worn by the "White-Sheep" Turkomāns, they set out for the old residence of their great ancestor.] After the departure of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, Isma'il fell ill, and was obliged

¹ The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says: "after some months."

to keep to his bed for a whole year. Maulānā Ni'mat Ullah tried many remedies in vain, till at length the Absolute Physician sent down miraculous healing, and Isma'īl began to recover. Having regained his appetite, he begged his aunt, Pāshā Khātūn, to send him some dainties [*nān-rīza*]. She thereupon sent him offerings with dainties from Ardabīl, and made enquiries after his health. When her messengers reached Rasht, Isma'īl heard of their approach and sent out Kōk 'Alī to receive them. The messengers, accompanied by Mīr Najm, the goldsmith, Mīr Ḥasan, son of Mīr Mūsā, Amīr Jahāngīr, the *wakils* of Amīra Ishāq Rashtī, were conducted into the presence of Isma'īl by Kōk 'Alī. Having kissed the Prince's feet, and having delivered over the presents and letters from his mother, brothers, foster-brothers, and aunt, they expressed their gratitude to heaven for that they found Isma'īl restored to health. The Prince then entertained them hospitably. He likewise set apart some of the presents to be given to Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī and his brothers. After three days the messengers were allowed to take their leave, and they set out for Ardabīl laden with suitable gifts, such as stuffs and merchandise, fattened birds, fish, rice, oranges, and other products of Gilān. When they reached a village of Ardabīl called Kuraim, Pāshā Khātūn and Moḥammadi Beg, who had heard of their arrival, came thither from Ardabīl, and having taken over from them the gifts they bore, set out for the capital, Tabrīz, hoping that they might by this means obtain the restitution of their effects which had been confiscated¹ from them by Rustem Mīrzā. They again sought the mediation of Karū Dede, who, by means of presents, obtained an audience with Rustem Mīrzā, who, accepting these presents, delivered over their effects, and wrote an order that from thenceforward no one should molest them. Having presented Moḥammadi Beg with a robe of honour, he allowed them to return.

¹ The expression used is *مهرین*. I have been unable to find the word *مهرین* in any dictionary. From the context it would appear to mean "confiscation," or something akin to it.

RUSTEM MĪRZĀ SENDS AN ENVOY TO KĀRGIYĀ MĪRZĀ IN
LĀHĪJĀN TO DEMAND THE PERSON OF ISMA'ĪL.

It was mentioned above that, after the Isma'īl's departure for Gīlān, Abiya Sultān, the Turkomān, and Husain Beg 'Alī Khānī went to Tabriz. They there reported to Rustem Mīrzā the events that have been herein related. Thereupon Rustem Mīrzā sent to ask Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī to deliver up the Princes. On receiving this message Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī sent Isma'īl to a village near Lāhījān called Lashta, where he remained in hiding, and sent Rustem Mīrzā's envoy back to Tabriz with flattering apologies. He then brought Isma'īl back to his own house, where the Prince spent his time in reading the Qurān, and in learning to read and write. On his return, the Turkomān laid before Rustem Mīrzā the cunning excuses of Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī.

Rustem Mīrzā convened repeated assemblies to discuss the best means of capturing Isma'īl, until they finally decided that a party of Turkomāns should be sent out as spies disguised as Šafavī Šūfis, and report any news they might hear of the Prince's whereabouts, and thereby facilitate the capture of Isma'īl. Rustem Mīrzā and Husain Beg 'Alī Khānī therefore selected a few spies and sent them into the surrounding districts. These spies entered Īrān, and brought their spying into Lāhījān; of every Gīlānī¹ they met with they asked news of Isma'īl, and pretended to be disciples of the children of Shaikh Šafī, till at length one day a Gīlānī said to one of them: "If you speak true and really belong to the Šafavī Šūfis, go and present yourself before Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, King of Lāhījān, and tell him of your devotion to the Prince. Haply he will allow you to be honoured with a sight of the Prince. This ingenuous simpleton having thus, in his stupidity, given him a clue, the Turkoman stayed no longer in Gīlān, but went straight to Ardabīl and told 'Alī Khānī

¹ *Gilekī* is the word used in the text; a curious *wish*-formation from *Gīlān*. It is probably dialectic. *Gīlānī* is the more usual form.

Sultān what he had heard; this latter immediately sent on the spy to Rustem Pādishāh with an escort. When Rustem Pādishāh learnt that Isma'il was staying in Lāhijān he consulted his chiefs, saying: "What must I do to capture my enemies, and assure myself that Isma'il will not make a revolt?" Everyone had a suggestion to make, and Abiya Sultān said: "Oh! Prince, the thought has suggested itself to me that since the King of Lāhijān is your friend and ally, he would, at the mere hearing of your wishes, send to you the Princes and those Šūfis who are in his company, or else, being directed by him where to find the Prince, you can send someone to fetch him. But if he make boast of his discipleship and keep them both in hiding, I should suggest another plan, namely, that you write him a letter, saying: 'Being misled and deceived by certain malicious men I put an end to that brave youth, who was a general in my army. At this present I know of no one whom I could confidently raise to power, and with whose help I shall fear opposition from no one. Since matters have turned out thus with Sultān 'Alī, I wish you to send me his two brothers, whom I regard as my own children in rank, that I may educate them as were I their father and be their guardian and protector. Moreover, compensation shall be made them for the blood of their father and brother. Now I have heard that you have shown honour to these two princes, and treated them with the utmost kindness and indulgence. You have done well in this, for they come of an honourable race, and whatsoever you have done for their attendants shall hereafter meet with its due reward. We, too, are desirous of performing the duties of hospitality to them.'"

RUSTEM PĀDISHĀH SENDS A LETTER TO KĀRGIYĀ MĪRZĀ 'ALĪ IN GĪLĀN REQUESTING HIM TO GIVE UP THE PRINCES.

Now when Rustem Pādishāh's letter reached Gilān, Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, although he showed outward satis-

faction, was in reality much alarmed, and said to the Kūrchi,¹ who had brought the letter: "I know nothing of the princes; they may be in Gilān, and I will make enquiries. While you remain here a few days to recover from the fatigues of the journey, I will set on foot a diligent search; have no anxieties." He then entrusted the messenger to the care of one of his attendants, who should hospitably entertain him, while he himself hastened to Isma'īl, and, having called together the Sūfis and "supporters," read them the letter. Husain Beg Lala, Khādim Beg Khalifa, and Dede Beg, said: "Oh! master, what do you think (in this matter)?" He replied: "I was well-pleased that Rustem Mirzā should have written me such a letter as this." They rejoined: "Alas! that thou shouldst be so credulous; Rustem Mirzā wrote this letter out of pure guile; God forbid that you should conform with it. Write in answer: 'I was not aware that those two stars had arisen in the constellation of my kingdom. I swear by the honoured head of the king that I have not with me the sons of Sulṭān Haidar, and I am also able to affirm that they are not even in Gilān; for had they come to Gilān it is impossible that they should not have announced their arrival to me. Let the king rest assured that I will not allow the enemies of that prince to come near me. Above all, keep this secret hidden, and do not make this matter public, or you will regret it afterwards.'" Kārgiyā Mirzā, approving the suggestion of the Sūfis, wrote the answer in this style, and sent the Kūrchi back again with it.

When the answer reached Rustem Pādishāh he said: "Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī certainly speaks truth, and has no news of the princes: what (the others) said was all lies." But a second time his agents² brought Rustem Pādishāh news that the sons of Sulṭān Haidar were in Gilān, and

¹ The Kūrchi were the descendants of the two thousand prisoners who were released by Timūr at the request of Saḥī-ud-Dīn, and among whom some lands round Ardabil were afterwards distributed. Hence were they such faithful supporters of the Safavi dynasty. Cf. Chardin-Langlès, x, 183.

² lit. "refractory persons"—*mu'dnidān*.

that Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī was certainly aware of the fact. He therefore wrote another letter containing many threats: "Why have you played me false, and given shelter to my enemies? If you will send the princes there will be friendship between you and me, but if you refuse, I will send a countless army to come and utterly destroy Gīlān and Lāhijān, and make a general massacre of their inhabitants. Verily, verily, as soon as you have received this letter you must put the princes to death; or, if you do not wish to be a party to taking their blood, you must send them to me, for I shall be watching for them."¹ Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī was very much alarmed at the receipt of this letter, and debated with his people what had best be done, since Rustem Pādishāh had sworn to make a general massacre in Gīlān if he did not send the princes. They said: "The safest plan is that we give the princes over to them to carry away—they know they are related to one another."² But Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī replied: "The more I consider the matter the more convinced I feel that Rustem Mirza would speedily put them to death; and how can I help and encourage him in shedding the blood of these noble youths?" Thus pondering over the matter he retired to his *haram*, wondering all the while how he could possibly deliver the princes over to the envoys of Rustem. In his sleep he dreamed that the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī appeared to him and said: "Oh! Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī, why dost thou hesitate? Take care that thou dost not make so small a sacrifice for my son, that on the morrow of the Resurrection thou stand ashamed before me!" At this vision his whole frame shook, and the shaking awoke him from his sleep. He then arose and went to Isma'īl, in order to kiss his hands and feet, if haply 'Alī might overlook his shortcomings. Now he had given Ishma'īl a dwelling at the back of his *haram*, and at the side of it he had set apart a place for the Šūfīs, while he had appointed some maidens to wait on Isma'īl. When he came

¹ lit. "the eye of expectancy is on the road."

² Sense not very clear.

round to the back he saw that the prince was talking with some person, and, leaning forward, he heard the prince say: "May I be thy ransom? Oh! prince. One of the maidens said to me that a letter was supposed to have come from Rustem Pādishāh, in which he made very urgent demands for me. And Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī will to-morrow deliver me into the hands of Rustem Pādishāh's envoys." Having said this, he paused, and then continued: "May I be thy ransom! The hour of my 'coming'¹ is at hand." When Kārgiyā Mīrzā heard these words he cried out and said: "Oh! son, open the door"; whereupon the prince, who was asleep, awoke, and called out, "Who art thou?" He replied: "I am such and such a prince." (Isma'īl) then said: "How strange a thing this is. Didst thou feel a headache in the middle of the night? Where hast thou been? Art thou come to seize me, and deliver me over to the servants of Rustem Pādishāh?" The other replied: "May I be thy ransom? May the day never come on which I should do such a thing! But tell me with whom you were just now speaking, for though I looked carefully I could perceive no one in this house." The prince replied: "I was conversing with 'Alī." He then related what he had heard. Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī said: "May I be thy ransom! His Holiness has just been with me, and, in the world of visions, recommended you to me. I am now come to kiss your feet, that you may forgive me." The prince then forgave him, and on the morrow Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī returned to his own palace. On that same day, seated (in his audience-room), he sent for the envoy of Rustem Pādishāh, and said to him: "Go now, present my salutations to Rustem Pādishāh, and say to him: 'Falsehoods have reached your ears; for what wrong have I experienced

¹ *khurūj*. The word *khurūj*, which means literally "a coming out," is used throughout the beginning of this work to express the first appearance of Isma'īl to play his part in history. I can think of no better rendering into English than the word "coming," applied in like manner to King Arthur of the Round Table. The word "advent" might also suit were it not for the almost exclusively religious signification this word has acquired.

from the dynasty of Ḥasan Pādishāh that I should give a shelter to their enemies and protect them? If in the course of one hundred years it should transpire that I had any news of the sons of Sulṭān Ḥaidar, then am I guilty, and have committed a sin." Thereupon, having given the envoy a sum of money, he sent him away. This latter, on his return, laid before Rustem Pādishāh what he had heard, namely, that Kārgiyā Mīrzā had taken an oath that he knew nothing of the sons of Sulṭān Ḥaidar, and on account of the good treatment he had received in Lāhijān he deterred Rustem Pādishāh from his design. But yet another of Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī's subjects came and personally represented to Rustem Pādishāh that the sons of Sulṭān Ḥaidar were with Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, who knew all about them. At this Rustem Pādishāh's anger was inflamed, and he despatched 300 Turkomān *ḥurchis*, saying: "Go, and take Isma'īl Mīrzā and Ibrāhīm Mīrzā from Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, and bring them back here. If he ill-advisedly refuse to give them up, remain there, and inform me of the fact." Kāsim Beg Turkomān, one of the "Black Sheep," was sent in command of this party. On his reaching Lāhijān, he entered the palace of Kārgiyā Mīrzā, and handed him Rustem Pādishāh's letter, which ran as follows: "Why do you thus provoke me? Hand over Sulṭān Ḥaidar's sons to Kāsim Khān. For if you refuse I will come myself and make a general massacre in Gīlān." The perusal of this letter filled Kārgiyā Mīrzā with anxiety, and he said: "Perhaps they are in Gīlān; I will make a search." He then invited Kāsim Beg to alight, but he was the while very anxious, and, withdrawing, went and reported the matter to the prince.

Now when Ḥusain Beg Lala, Khalīf ul-Khulafā, and Abdāl Beg Dede heard that Rustem Pādishāh had sent to seize the Princes, they said: "The matter rests in the hands of God." That night 'Alī again appeared to Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī in his sleep, and said to him: "After a few days interval you must summon Kāsim Beg to your palace, and say to him that you have sent men round from house

to house, and from door to door, but the sons of Sulṭān Ḥaidar are not in this kingdom, and then say: 'If you do not believe me, I will take an oath that they are not in the land of Gilān.' Now before taking your oath you must attach a rope to a tree, and to the rope you must fasten a basket, which must thus hang from the tree. In this basket you must place the Prince, and then in the presence of the envoys of Rustem Pādishāh, swear with your hand on the Qurān that Isma'īl is not in the land of Gilān. In this way your oath will not be false." A few days later, in accordance with the directions of the Commander of the Faithful, Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī entered his palace and summoned Kāsim Beg. He then having exactly carried out the instructions of the Prophet 'Alī, sent the envoys back to Rustem Mirzā. This latter now understood by the sending of messengers and Turkomān chiefs to Lāhijān, Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī was in no way to be deterred from his unselfish devotion, or made to confess the presence of the Princes and Šūfīs in his state; he, therefore, determined to send a powerful army into that land, which might with force and violence seize the Princes.

It was while he was engaged in such evil meditations that God filled the cousins¹ with a desire to exterminate one another, and so degenerate had the Turkomān Sulṭāns become that they fell upon one another, verifying the words: "By God, tyrants have to do with tyrants"; and were unable to occupy themselves with anything beyond their own mutual contentions. For this reason the Šūfīs and disciples were able to enjoy free intercourse with Isma'īl, some returning immediately after their interview with him, others remaining in Gilān. Thus, with the approval of Kārgiyā Mirzā 'Alī, they firmly established Isma'īl, in the manner of his great fathers and ancestors, upon the throne of Religious Guidance. In spite of his tender years, for he was at that time but seven years of age, he was a model of intelligence, perspicacity, and sound

¹ Namely, Rustem Beg and Aḥmad Beg.

judgment, and his devoted followers, out of the abundance of their faith, called him "The Perfect Guide" and "Pādishāh." In that beautiful town¹ he grew up and developed. Sometimes he would participate in the pleasures of the chase, or visit the pleasant spots of that country; and he always showed signs of possessing a conqueror's genius. Thus pleasantly did he pass his time, until the hour arrived for him to come out of that country and appear (before the world). After we have spoken of the downfall of the Turkomāns and the extinction of the White Sheep, we will, God permitting, give an account of the "Coming" of Isma'īl.

Here follows the promised account of the "Downfall of the Turkomāns," of which, corresponding as it does to a large extent with the same episode in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, I give a translation only; at the same time showing throughout to what extent the two histories tally with one another.

RUSTEM PĀDISHĀH IS KILLED AND AḤMAD BEG MOUNTS THE THRONE OF ĪRĀN.²

It has been already mentioned that after the death of Sultān Ya'qūb, son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, the Turkomān chiefs split up into two factions, the one supporting Bāisunkar Mīrzā and the other Masīḥ Mīrzā, who was in Sultānlūi³ in Kārābāgh. The party of Bāisunkar Mīrzā gaining the upper hand put Masīḥ Mīrzā to death. [Aḥmad Beg, son of Ughūrlū Moḥammad, son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, escaping from that battle⁴ fled to Rūm, where

¹ = Ardabīl.

² L, fol. 38a.

³ *sic*, in both MSS.

⁴ Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says: "from Kārābāgh."

Sultān İlderim Bāyazīd, the Emperor, gave him one of his daughters in marriage;] and he remained in Constantinople. In this year Hasan 'Alī Tarkhānī,¹ being enraged at the evil deeds of Rustem Mirzā, went to Rūm and begged the Emperor to give him over Aḥmad Beg, declaring that there was no one in Īrān who would not welcome him as king. "If you will send an army with him, he will, in all probability, bring under his sway the kingdom that is his by right of inheritance." In answer to the appeal of Hasan 'Alī Tarkhānī the Emperor sent Aḥmad Beg into Dīār Bakr and [Azarbāijān with a regiment of Rūmis.]² As soon as the rumour of their advance was spread about in the country of Azarbāijān, the Turkomān chiefs, turning traitors, went over to the side of Aḥmad Beg. Husain Beg 'Alī Khānī, having put to death in Sultāniyya, 'Abdulkarīm Beg Lala, one of Rustem Mirzā's chiefs, read the *khutba* in the name of Aḥmad Beg. Rustem Mirzā hearing of these things was dumbfounded, and set out from Tabriz with his chiefs and a large army to repel Aḥmad Beg. [The two forces met³ and fought a pitched battle on the banks of the river Aras. In the heat of the fight Abiya Sultān Turkomān, with a riotous band of deserters, broke the line of the army and went over to the side of Aḥmad Beg. Rustem Mirzā⁴ was thus caught in the claws of fate, and being taken prisoner was hamstrung at the order of Aḥmad Beg, who thus rid of his rival, entered Tabriz and established himself upon the throne.⁵] [He showed special favour to Husain Beg 'Alī Khānī, and distinguished him with increase of dignity and rank. Husain Beg, on account of

¹ Probably a variation of *Tarkhānī*. The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* says that it was merely "the desire to reconquer the country, which was his by right of inheritance," that prompted his leaving Rūm; and ignores this anecdote.

² The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* adds: "and Turkomāns."

³ The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* adds: "without either being aware of the other's movements."

⁴ L. fol. 385.

⁵ The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* gives the date of 902, and mentions that Rustem reigned six years. Kwāndamir here begins a fresh chapter entitled "The Accession of Aḥmad Pādishāh to the throne of Azarbāijān, and his death at the hands of Abiya Sultān."

the enmity he had long cherished for Muzaffar Beg Parnāk, having drawn him into a quarrel, killed him with his sword. When Kāsim Beg Parnāk, Muzaffar's brother, heard of this in Shīrāz, where he was governor, he only waited his opportunity to avenge his brother's blood. At length Aḥmad Beg appointed Abiya Sulṭān governor of Kirmān, from which place Abiya Sulṭān sent a message to Kāsim Beg inciting him to revenge his brother's blood; and a compact was confirmed between the two Amīrs that they should together raise the flag of revolt from that quarter]. For this reason Abiya Sulṭān set out for the tomb of the mother of Sulaimān,¹ where he was met by Kāsim Beg. Here they put to death all the servants of Aḥmad Beg, who were with Kāsim Beg, and read the *khutba* in Abiya Sulṭān's name. They then decided to send for Sulṭān Murād, son of Sulṭān Ya'kūb, son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, who was with his uncle Sulṭān Farrukh Yasār, in Shīrwān, and set him up as king; while the two Amīrs should be his prime ministers (*wakīl*). They therefore sent an *'ahd-nāma* to Sulṭān Murād, in Shīrwān.² After this they began to violate the property of the inhabitants of that country and to extort large sums of money from the men. Then those two ill-starred ones together led a large force against Iṣfahān. And when Aḥmad Beg, in Tabriz, heard of these doings he set out by forced marches with a powerful army to Iṣfahan to oppose them, and overtook them in Alang Kanīz and Khwāja Ḥasan Māzi.³ A party of the Turkomāns, deserting Abiya Sulṭān, went over to the side of Aḥmad Beg, and Abiya Sulṭān, perceiving this, lost confidence and fled. Aḥmad Beg's men seeing the helplessness of the enemy left Aḥmad Beg and gave them chase, plundering as they went the baggage of Abiya

¹ *Mashad-i-mādari-Sulaimān*; this is no doubt a corruption of *maṣḥid-i-mādari-Sulaimān*, a name which the Persians still give to the tomb of Cyrus in the plain of Pasargadae. Cf. Browne, "A Year among the Persians," and Onseley, ii, 44 *et seq.*

² L, fol. 39a.

³ There seems to be some confusion here in the narrative. The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* mentions only one encounter, namely in Kanīz Alang-i-Iṣfahān.

Sultān and Kāsim Beg. Abiya Sultān, recognizing his opportunity, charged down on Aḥmad Beg¹ and threw him from the saddle of glory on to the ground of humiliation, and cutting off his head stuck it on the end of his spear and sounded the horn of triumph. When the soldiers of Aḥmad Beg saw what had happened they turned in flight [while Abiya Sultān, crowned with victory, turned towards the town of Kum, where he read the *khutba* and had coins struck in the name of Sultān Murād.² He then sent a swift messenger to Shirwān to fetch Sultān Murād, while he himself mounted the throne of Kum, and was waited on by the chiefs as a Sultān; and he busied himself daily with the settlement of important business pending the arrival of Sultān Murād.]

ABIYA SULTĀN IS KILLED AND IS SUCCEEDED BY MOHAMMADI PĀDISHĀH, WHO IS IN TURN KILLED AND SUCCEEDED BY SULTĀN MURĀD IN 'IRĀK, AND BY AMĪR ALWAND IN AZARBĀIJĀN.³

Aḥmad Beg, on account of his small stature and short legs and arms, had received from the Emperor Bāyazīd the nick-name of *Kadūcha*⁴ Aḥmad. [When he was killed the sons of Yūsuf Beg son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, Moḥammadi Beg, and Alwand Beg, who had accompanied him in that battle, now made off in opposite directions. Moḥammadi Beg went to Yazd, where the Governor, Murād Beg Bāyandarī, taking advantage of his arrival set him, together with Ashraf Beg, upon the throne. Alwand Beg went to Dīār Bakr] to Dāi Kāsim, Turkomān, who was [uncle

¹ The *Habib-us-Siyar* says Aḥmad had reigned six months.

² The *Habib-us-Siyar* adds: "who, since the death of his brother Bāisunḡar, had been living under the protection of Shirwānshāh."

³ L. fol. 39b.

⁴ This opening sentence is not in the *Habib-us-Siyar*. *Kadūcha*, if the reading be correct, may mean "a little gourd" (*kadū*). MS. C reads *kūchik*, or "small," which is, perhaps, the more correct reading.

to Rustem Mīrzā and governor of Dīār Bakr]. Dāi Kāsim Beg set him likewise upon the throne. The two parties busied themselves with collecting troops and preparing for an expedition. Murād Beg Bāyandārī and Ashraf Beg, having amassed an army, set out under the command of Moḥammadi Pādishāh towards Shīrāz, whose Governor, Kāsim Beg Parnāk, came out with an army to offer him fight. After [the first] encounter Kāsim Beg turned in flight, and with great difficulty managed to throw himself into Šāin Kal'a. Meanwhile [Moḥammadi Pādishāh] having become master of the province of Fārs, appointed Maṣṣūr Beg Afshār governor of Shīrāz, [and set out himself against 'Irāk, which, having conquered, he pitched his camp in Rai.]¹

[But Abiya Sultān, Turkomān, who had fixed his winter-quarters in the town of Kum at the beginning of the spring, set out for Tabriz]. On the road he learned that Sultān Murād, son of Sultān Ya'kūb, son of Hasan Pādishāh, having come out of Shīrwān was in the vicinity of Karāja-Dāgh, where he had been joined by a number of the Turkomān chiefs, who were inciting him to war with (Abiya Sultān),² and that Sultān Murād was bent on killing (Abiya Sultān). This latter, on hearing this news, pushed forward to meet him, and an engagement took place in which he defeated Sultān Murād and made him prisoner, confining him in the castle of Rubandar. Sultān Murād's mother, the daughter of Sultān Khalīl Shīrwānshāh, he made his own wife. He then sent a messenger to Dāi Kāsinī demanding (him to send) Alwand Mīrzā, son of Yūsuf Beg, whom he set upon the throne of Tabriz. Then he and Dāi Kāsim with a large force under the leadership of Alwand Mīrzā [marched against Rai with the intention of seizing Moḥammadi Pādishāh. This latter, fearing the united forces of the Turkomāns, fled to Amīr Ḥusain Giyāi Chalāwī in Firūz

¹ Is Tīhrān here meant, or did the old town of Rai still exist?

² L, fol. 40a.

Kūh.¹ Abiya Sulṭān sent his own brother, Gūzel Aḥmad, with a number of Turkomān chiefs and an army to winter in Varāmīn,² while Kāsim Beg Parnāk, who after the return of Moḥammadi Pādishāh from Sāin Kal'a had joined Abiya Sulṭān, was sent with a squadron of cavalry to Shīrāz. [He himself took up his winter-quarters] with Alwand Mirzā [in the town of Kūm]. [In the meanwhile, Moḥammadi Pādishāh, in conjunction with Amīr Husain Giāyī Chalāwī,³ made an unexpected midnight attack on Gūzel Aḥmad in Varāmīn. He plundered all his baggage, and Gūzel Aḥmad fled "naked" to his brother in Kūm. Abiya Sulṭān, on hearing the sad news of the dispersion of the army, no longer thought fit to remain in the town of Kūm. He therefore in the depth of winter set out with Alwand Mirzā for Tabriz].⁴

In the following passage of my translation I have chosen to give in a parallel column a translation of the corresponding passage in the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*. The account which Khwāndamīr gives of the downfall of the Black and the White Sheep dynasties is not a very full or consecutive one,⁵ but our author tells us even less about them. Seeing that he obviously had independent sources of information for these events, it would appear that he, for preference, did not dwell upon the downfall of the Turkomāns.

¹ The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* says: "to Husain Giyā Jalābī in the castle of Astā."

² The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* reads: Varāmīn-i-Rai.

³ The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* adds: "and Ashraf Beg."

⁴ The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* adds: "and did not stop till he reached Ribāt-i-Dāng."

⁵ A straightforward account of the Ak-kūyunlus and the Karā-kūyunlus is to be found in the *Nākh-i-Jahan-Arā* of Ghaffārī. Cf. Rieu's Catalogue, pp. 111-115.

History of Shāh Isma'īl.

Moḥammadi Pādishāh, who was now sole master of 'Irāk, hastened after them by forced marches, and came upon them in Azīz Kandī.¹

A fierce contest ensued, in which victory finally decided for Moḥammadi Pādishāh; and Alwand Mīrzā was thus defeated. Abiya Sultān being slain, the world was freed from his evil doings.

Moḥammadi Pādishāh, having subdued the whole of Īrān, set himself upon the throne of Tabriz. Alwand Mīrzā escaped with a small body of men to Dīār Bakr, where he was received by the Governor, Dāi Kāsim, and set upon the throne of Dīār Bakr.

The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar.

Moḥammadi having met with all success in the province of Rai, many of the Amīrs of 'Irāk offered him submission and acknowledged his sovereignty. He set out with a large army against Abiya Sultān. This latter, accompanied by Sultān Murād, went to meet him, and the opposing armies met in Azīz Kanīti (?). Without waiting to rest from their march, they immediately engaged. Moḥammadi was assisted by special divine favour, while Sultān Abiya was thrown upon the ground of destruction. Sultān Murād, accompanied by Guzel Aḥmad, fled towards Shīrāz, while Moḥammadi made a triumphant entry into Tabriz, where he mounted the throne.

BEGINNING OF ALWAND'S
REIGN, AND END OF MO-
HAMMADI MĪRZĀ.

When Amīrzāda Alwand came to Dīār Bakr, after the battle of Kaniz Alang, Kāsim Beg conferred on him the title of king. But Kāsim Beg

¹ L, fol. 408.

*History of Shāh Isma'il.**The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar.*

Meanwhile Alwand Mirzā marched on Tabrīz with a well-equipped army; and Moḥammadī Pādishāh, hearing of his brother's advance and of the alliance of the forces, fled from Tabrīz to Sulṭāniyya;

while Alwand Mirzā entered Tabrīz and mounted its throne, appointing Laṭīf Beg Turkomān, his *wakil*.

exercised absolute direction in state affairs, so that not merely did the rest of the nobles have no voice in the government, but even the king was powerless. So arrogant and assuming was he that Alwand Mirzā became disgusted with him, and one night, together with many of the nobles, who shared his feelings, he got away from Kāsim Beg and went to Azarbāijān. When Moḥammadī heard of his brother's advance at the head of a brave army, thinking he could not oppose him, he hastened to Sulṭāniyya.

Alwand Mirzā entering Azarbāijān without (even the hindrance of) the exchange of messages, raised the banner of sovereignty, appointing Khwāja Sābīḳ-ud-Dīn his vizier and Luṭf Beg his *wakil*.

While he was considering how to deal with his brother, news reached him that Sulṭān Murād, son of Sulṭān Ya'qūb, had escaped from the castle of Rubandar.

For Gūzel Aḥmad, when his brother, Abiya Sulṭān, was killed, fled from the battle-field, and, together with Farrukh Shāh Beg Bāyandar, went to the castle of Rubandar, where they brought Sulṭān Murād out of prison; and thence all three proceeded to Shīrāz. Now Kāsim Beg Parnāk, who before that battle in which Abiya Sulṭān was killed, had

started out with a squadron of horse for Shīrāz, and in an encounter in Shūlistān¹ in Fārs, was defeated and taken prisoner by the governor of that district. But as they passed near Iṣṭakhr, he contrived to escape, and shut himself up in that fortress. When he heard of the approach of Sulṭān Murād and Gūzel Aḥmad, he came out of the fortress and joined them, giving them many goods and effects which he had taken from the inhabitants of Shīrāz.² They all now proceeded together to Shīrāz, and Maṣṣūr Beg Afshār, deeming resistance useless, fled.³

Sulṭān Murād, having entered Shīrāz, busied himself with preparations for a military expedition. Having established perfect order in Shīrāz, he appointed Kāsim Beg Parnāk to the governorship, and then set out with a powerful force for Iṣfahān. When Moḥammadī Pādishāh, in Sulṭāniyya, heard of this, he marched out with the chiefs of the 'Irāq frontier towards Iṣfahān, where he heard that Sulṭān Murād was advancing from Fārs. He thereupon hastened out to meet him, and in the summer-quarters [called] Khwāja Ḥasan Māzī, the approximation of the two hosts concluded in a hand to hand engagement. After the ranks had been drawn up in parallel lines, Piri Beg Afshār charged down with a regiment of brave men upon Kāsim Beg Parnāk, and carried all before him, while Kāsim Beg fled, thus throwing confusion into the midst of Sulṭān Murād's army. Sulṭān Murād's banner fell to the ground, but such was the valour of his heroes that they raised it and again flocked round it, and this army which had (just) been scattered in disorder, now reassembled under the shadow of that standard. They now perceived that Moḥammadī Pādishāh was standing without his army, alone at the foot of (his) standard; whereupon Sulṭān Murād, sallying from his ambuscade, charged down upon him, and

¹ The reading is doubtful. It may be a corruption of Shalghistān, which is near Abāda.

² *Garmistāt-i-Shīrāz*, that is, those portions of the district of Shīrāz which lie in the hot climate (*garmist*). The Arabic plural in *āt* being, as is so frequently the case, attached to the Persian word.

³ L, fol. 41a.

his chiefs, being unable to resist this onset, fled, while Moḥammadī Pādishāh, Pīr Beg Afshār, and Ashraf Beg were killed.¹ The chiefs, in the utmost confusion, fled in various directions. Pīr 'Alī Beg and Pīr Moḥammad Beg fled to Sāwa and Ḳum. Pīr Moḥammad Beg stayed in Ḳum. Ḳanāḳ Beg in Kāshān and Pīr 'Alī Beg in Sāwa raised the flag of revolt.

Sultān Murād, having won this victory, entered Isfahān, but hearing of the insurrection of the Turkomān chiefs set out to that district at the head of 50,000 horse and foot men. After much military parleying those men gave themselves up without striking a blow.² Sultān Murād now marched against Sultāniyya.³ [Amīr Alwand Mīrzā, being informed of Sultān Murād's movements, set out from Tabrīz to oppose him with the chiefs of Azarbāijān and a large army. But while the two armies lay encamped] near about Abhar⁴ [there came a certain pious darwish named Bābā Khair Ullah] who dwelt in Abhar⁵ [and spoke to the two kings]. He had received intimation from the hidden world that there would shortly come out of Gīlān a person who would increase the dignity and honour of the Religion of Moḥammad, establish the Faith in the Twelve Imāms, and restore law and order in the land of Īrān. [On this account he entreated the two kings to come to terms, and a peace was concluded under the stipulation that the river Ḳizil Ūzūn should form the boundary between their respective kingdoms. Āzarbāijān,] Mughān⁶ [Arrān, and Dīār Bakr were to belong to Amīr

¹ There is some inconsistency in the narrative here, for the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* clearly states that after this victory Sultān Murād took Moḥammadī with him as a prisoner to Sultāniyya. Khwāndamīr also gives in the following passage some further details with regard to Pīr 'Alī Beg and Bairām Beg.

² The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* differs considerably in this place. Its authors tells us that several small encounters took place, but as none of them proved decisive for either side, a peace was at length made with the following conditions: That Abdāl Beg Pīr 'Alī should quit Sāwa and enter the service of Sultān Murād, who, having abandoned the siege, should appoint Pīr 'Alī Beg as Governor of Sāwa. On the same day that Abdāl Beg entered Murād's service he migrated from Sāwa to Azarbāijān.

³ L. 415.

⁴ The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* says Sāin Kalā instead of Abhar.

⁵ Detail omitted by Khwāndamīr.

⁶ Khwāndamīr omits Mughān from the list.

Alwand, while Sultān Murād was to govern the states of 'Irāk, Fārs, and Kirmān. After the ratification of this treaty, Amīr Alwand returned to Tabriz and Sultān Murād to Kāzwīn.] Many of the Afshār and Turkomān chiefs, who had revolted, now came to Sultān Murād and begged his forgiveness. Some he punished¹ and others he re-appointed governors or amirs.²

The chapters now succeeding, apart from telling us much about Isma'īl that we cannot learn from the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, have a special interest of their own, for Dede Moḥammad's story, whatever may be its historical value, is of sufficient curiosity to merit reproduction. I therefore subjoin the full text and translation of this my last extract:—

[MS. L, fol. 41b.]

ذکر نظر یافتن خاقان صاحبقران شاه اسمعیل بهادر خان
ورخصت خروج یافتن از حضرت صاحب الزمان علیه صلوات
الله الملك المَنَّان

چون خبر انقلاب در ممالک ایران و طغیان امرای ترکمان
بسمع خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران رسید اراده نمود که از
لاهیجان توجّه بدارالارشاد اردبیل نمایند و از ارواح مقدّمه آبا-
گرام و اجداد عظام [42a] استمداد نموده کلزار دین و دولت را از
خس و خاشاک ارباب طغیان و عناد پاک سازند این اراده را

¹ *ba yāsā rasdnidan*, means to try (and condemn) a person by the code called *yāsā*, which is said to have been instituted by Chingis Khān. See *Indian Antiquary*, July, 1882, and *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 22, note.

² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar here adds: At this juncture Sultān Murād was informed that Kāsim Beg Parnāk, Governor of Shirwān, was planning a revolt. (Murād) therefore set out from Kāzwīn with a strong force and marched into Fārs. And when Kāsim Parnāk heard of his approach, feeling he was not strong enough to resist, he came out to meet Murād in Kasr-i-Zard, and, begging his forgiveness, expressed his repentance. All his chiefs were seized by Sultān Murād, who then hastened to Kārzān, where he spent the winter.

بازمرد از مریدان و صوفیان اظهار نمودند ملازمان جاه و جلال دانستند که خروج آن حضرت نزدیک شده است کمر اطاعت و جان فشانی را بر میان جان بسته امیدوار شدند آن قدوة دودمان ولایت و امامت یکی از اهل اخلاص را جهت رخصت طلبیدن نزد کارکیا میرزا علی فرستاد و او از عزم نهضت همیوت کارکیا میرزا علی را خبر داد^۱ مشار الیه از صغرسن و قلت اعوان و انصار آنحضرت اندیشید^۲ زیرا که در آن وقت از عمر شریفش دوازده سال بیش نگذشته بود و کثرت و عظمت مخالفان و اهل طغیان زیاده از حد و حصر بود بنابراین آنحضرت را رخصت بیرون آمدن از آن ولایت نمیداد و می گفت وقت خروج نیست و انسب آنست که یکچندی دیگر توقف نمایند که بصواب اقریبست آن صوفی فدوی بازگشته التماس کارکیا میرزا علی را بعرض خاقان (سلیمان‌نشان) صاحبقران رسانید آنحضرت بنابر التماس مشار الیه قدری توقف نموده^۳ بعد از روزی چند بنفس نفیس با کارکیا میرزا علی ملاقات فرمودند و بزبان الهام بیان در باب عزیمت اردبیل و بیرون آمدن از لاهیجان اظهار نمودند کارکیا میرزا علی دیگر باره التماس فسخ آن عزیمت نمود آن حضرت راضی نشد لاعلاج کارکیا میرزا علی بفکر بعضی از اسباب ضروری پرداخت و آن حضرت روز دیگر باجمعی از ارباب عقیدت بعزم شکار سوار شده در حوالی لشته نشا بکنار بیشه^۴ پر درختی رسیدند و از نهر آبی که در آن حوالی بود عبور نموده بصوفیان رفیق فرمودند که

^۱ (دادند).

^۲ (نمودند).

احدی ازین نهر آب متعاقب من عبور ننماید و در کنار این نهر منتظر مراجعت من بوده باشید و آنحضرت داخل آن بیشه گردید و دیگر کسی از ارباب عقیدت را خبری از آنحضرت نبود تا از آن بیشه بیرون آمدند و آنچه در باب کمر بسته شدن و از بیشه بیرون آمدن آنحضرت باشمشیری که حمایل نموده و علامتی چند (که صوفیان مشاهده نمودند) از تقریر ده ده محمد [42b] روملو که از صوفیان و درویشان صاحب حال اروم ایلی بود در سته سبع و تسعمایه در میدان صاحب آباد تبریز بشرف پایبوس [مرشد کامل] مشرف^۱ شد و دیدن آن حضرت را در بیابان مکه در مجلس حضرت صاحب الزمان علیه السّلم که مرقوم میکرد ظاهر خواهد شد

شرح حالات ده ده محمد و آنچه در سفر مکه معظمه مشاهده نمود

ده ده محمد یکی از درویشان پاک اعتقاد و از مریدان حسن خلیفه تکلو که در میان تکه ایلی و اروم ایلی سکنی داشت بود و حسن خلیفه یکی از مخلصان و مریدان پاک اعتقاد این دودمان ولایت و کرامت بود یک نوبت بخدمت حضرت سلطان مجتهد رسید [ه] و دو نوبت بخدمت سلطانحیدر مشرف شد و آن حضرت او را بچله خانه با چهل نفر از صوفیان فرستاد و هریک از ایشانرا یک کوزه آب و قرصی نان همراه کرد تا (در) مدت چله بآنقدر غذا قناعت کنند بعد از انقضای مدت از

چله خانه بیرون آمدند رفقای حسن خلیفه توشه خود را بکار برده بودند الا او که آنچه برده بود بخدمت آنحضرت آورد مرشد کامل او را رخصت داده روانه ولایت تکه ایلی گردانید و آنحضرت او را وعده در باب ظهور و خروج حضرت خاقان و سلیمان شان صاحبقران فرمودند و چون بمیان ایل مذکور رسید ازو کشف و (کرامات)^۱ بسیار مشاهده میشد مکرر اصحاب طریقت را از وعده خروج آنحضرت آگاه می نمود و در هنگام ارتحال پسر خود بابا شاه قلی را که او نیز صاحب کشف و (کرامات)^۲ بود بر مسند طریقت جای داد ابلقی باو سپرده گفت که در سنه سبع و تسعمایه مرشد ما در تبریز بر رخصت سلطنت ایران جلوس خواهد نمود این امانت آن شهیار است باسلام من باو برسان بابا شاه قلی منتظر وقت می بود تا در سنه خمس و تسعمایه ده ده محمد که مرید خلیفه بود اراده زیارت) مکه معظمه نمود و از بابا شاه قلی رخصت دریافت این توفیق طلبید ده ده^۳ شاه قلی گفت رخصت است برو اما چون از زیارت مکه فارغ میشوی اراده زیارت عتبات خواهی کرد و از آنجانب بدار السلطنه تبریز خواهی رفت روز اول که داخل تبریز خواهی شد در آئروز از اولاد طیبین و طاهرین صاحب خروجی بهمرسیده خواهد بود [43a] پادشاه شده و سکه و خطبه بنام خود زده و خوانده و در میدان تبریز آن شهیار را در چوکان بازی خواهی دید میروی و سلام من بآنسرور میرسانی و این ابلق را

^۱ [کرامت].

^۲ [کرامت].

^۳ Both MSS. read *deh*, but *deh* is obviously the correct reading.

میدهی که بر سر تاج خود بند کردند پس دوده محمد قبول نموده آن امانت را گرفته و بجانب مکه معظمه روان شد بعد از طواف مکه معظمه و زیارت مدینه مشرفه متوجه بغداد شد (در ما بین مدینه باتسکینه و دار السکیم بغداد از قافله جدا افتاده خوابش در ربود وقتی که دیده کشود دید که از قافله اثری نمانده بود مدت سه روز بقوت حال و درویشی در آن صحرا راه میرفت تا کار پرو تنگ گردیده افتاد و زبان از کام او بیرون آمد و (از تشنگی) دل بر مرکب نهاده چون آفتاب بر بالای سر راست استاد دید که از برابرش جوان عربی سواره در رسیده و گفت ای درویش بر خیز که بآبادانی نزدیک رسیده¹ آن (درویش اشاره کرد که قوت رقتن بمن نمانده است) پس آن جوان دست او را گرفته چون دست درویش بدست آن جوان رسید قوت (تمام در خون) مشامده (کرد برخاست² و در رکاب³ او متوجه پشته شد (چون بفراز پشته) برآمد نظر کرد دید که در آن طرف تا چشم کار میکند سبزه و گل ولاله در آن صحراست و خیمه های زربفت و (سایبانهای) اطلس بر سر پای کرده اند گفت ای جوان عرب اینقسم جای در صحرای مکه و محف اشرف هرگز کسی [ندیده و] نشان نداده این چه مکانست و صاحب این خرگاه و بارگاه کیست آن جوان عرب گفت خواهی دانست و درویش در جلو او میرفت تا ببارگاهی رسید که قبه اش با آفتاب و ماه برابری میکرد چون داخل شد

¹ I have added the hamza here.

² MS. C. برخاست.

³ MS. L. has a large hole at the top of this folio.

طَرَفَه جایی بنظر در آورد که هرگز چنان جایی ندیده بود کرسیهای
 زرین در پهلوی یکدیگر چیده و شخصی بر بالای کرسی نشسته بود
 و نقابی بر روی خود انداخته داده محمد دست بر سینه نهاده
 سلام [داد]^۱ و دعا کرد پس صدای جواب سلام از آن نقاب دار
 شنید و گفت ای درویش بنشین پس فرمود تا طعامی جهت او
 آوردند که در جمیع عمر خود مثل آن اطعمه ندیده و آبی سردی
 نیز آوردند [و]^۲ داده محمد [نوشید که] هرگز آبی بآن کوارایی
 نخورده بود [43b] چون از خوردن فارغ شد دید (که) جمعی
 آمدند و پسری [را] آوردند مخمینا در سن چهارده سالگی سرخ
 موی سفید روی میش چشم و تاج سرخی بر سر داشت چون
 داخل شد سلام داده ایستان آن جوان نقاب دار گفت ای اسماعیل
 الحال وقت شده [44a] که خروج کنی گفت امر از حضرتست
 آن شهریار فرمود(ند) که پیش بیا او پیش رفت آنحضرت کمرش را
 گرفته سه مرتبه او را ازجا برداشت و باز بر زمین گذاشت^۳
 و بدست مبارک خود کمرش را بست و تاج را از سرش برداشت
 و باز بر سرش نهاد و کمر خاچری گردی در کمر آن سربود آنحضرت
 برداشت و در پیش درویش انداخت و گفت این را نگاه دار که
 بکارتو خواهد آمد و شمشیری آن حضرت از ملازمان خود طلبیده
 بدست مبارک بر کمرش بست و فرمود برو که رخصتست فاتحه
 خواند(ند) و او را بآن دوسه نفری که او را آورده بودند سپرد چون

^۱ (کرد).^۲ (که).^۳ (گذاشته).^۴ خواهد.

آن جوانرا بردند همان عربرا اشاره کرده که درویش را بقافله برسان و او درویش را آورد و گفت آن قافله ایست که ازو جدا مانده بودی چون دوده محمد قافله را دید گفت ای جوان بعزت خداترا قسم میدهم که آنسرور که بود و آن جوان چه کس بود گفت ای درویش هنوز ندانستی که آن شهریار که دیدی حضرت صاحب الزمان (علیه السلام) بود چون دوده محمد نام صاحب الامر علیه السلام را شنید ایستاد و گفت [ای جوان] بعزت خدا(که) مرا برگردان تا یکبار دیگر بپای بوس آنحضرت برسم و خیری^۱ از آنحضرت طلب کنم بلکه نوعی شوق که در خدمت آن شهریار بوده باشم آن جوان گفت دیگر نمیشود می بایست مرتبه^۲ اول حاجت خودرا بطلبی دیگر برگردیدن ممکن نیست هر جا که خواهی حاجت بخواه که حضرت صاحب الامر در همه جا حاضر است حاجت ترا روا میکند و درویش رفت که برگردد دیگر سوار را ندیده بر فراز پشته برآمد هر چند نگاه کرد علامت آن کلشن و سراپرده و غیره ندید آه از نهادش برآمده دید که قافله دور شد لاعلاج خودرا بقافله رسانید و تتمه^۳ حکایب دوده محمد روملو رسیدن او بخدمت خاقان سلیمان شان (صاحبقران) کیتی ستان در تبریز در طی وقایع سنه سبع و تسعمائة قلمی خواهد شد

بیرون آمدن خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران شاه اسمعیل بهادر خان از آن بیشه و روانه شدن باهقت نفر از صوفیان

چون صوفیان بموجب فرمان و اجب الاذعان خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران [446] در کنار نهرآب حوالی بیشه توقف نموده منتظر قدم میمنت لزوم آن حضرت بودند قریب بدو ساعت شد که اثری از آنحضرت ظاهر نکردید صوفیان را ازین واقعه (اضطرابی)^۱ دست داده متفکر احوال خجسته مآل آن شهریار بودند و هیچ یکت بنابر فرمان آنحضرت از نهرآب عبور ننموده بجانب بیشه نمیتوانستند رفت که مبادا متخلف در امر مرشد واقع شود در آن اثنا چشم صوفیان بر جمال مبارک آنحضرت افتاد که از میان بیشه شمشیری بر کمر بسته بی کمر خنجر با صلابت تمام بیرون آمدند صوفیان از مشاهده آمحال سردر قدم آن شهریار گذاشتند و از بیم سطوت و هیبت احدی از ایشان جرأت تفتیش آن علامات از آنحضرت نتوانستند نمود و همگی باتفاق مرشد کامل آمده مجلس کنکاش برآراسته با صوفیان اخلاص کیش گفتگو کردند که از کدام راه متوجه مقصد شوند قرار رفت که از راه طارم بخطه دلبذیر اردبیل شتابند در آن حین کارکیا میرزا علی با بعضی از اسباب ضروری سفر بخدمت آن حضرت رسیده بار دیگر زبان التماس برآورد در باب توقف آن حضرت مبالغه نموده بدرجه قبول رسید لا جرم مشارالیه بمشایعت آنحضرت عازم شد و در ساعت سعد آنحضرت پای دولت در رکاب سعادت در آوردند (و) از لاهیجان روی توجه بصوب ارجوان نهادند و کارکیا میرزا علی (با جمعی از ارباب اخلاص تا دو فرسخ در موکب عالی)

مشایعت آنحضرت نموده مرشد کاملرا در ضمان امان ملک
 مکان روانه مقصد گردانید و خود مراجعت بقلعه لاهیجان نمود
 خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران از آن مکان باهفت نفر از صوفیان
 مثل حسین بیگ لهله^۱ و ابدال علی بیگ داده و خادم بیگ
 خلیفه ورستم بیگ قرامانلو و بیرام بیگ قرامانلو و الیاس بیگ
 ایغوت اغلی و قراییری بیگ قاجار عنان عزیمت بصوب دیلمان
 انعطاف داده در دیلمان نزول اجلال فرمودند و از دیلمان بجانب
 طارم بحرکت در آمدند در عرض راه ارباب جلالت و صوفیان
 پاک طینت از روی عقیدت در هر منزلی از منازل از طوایف
 روم و شام بموگب عالی می پیوستند چون طارم (محل) نزول
 موگب آنحضرت کردید [45a] بسان عساکر ظفر آثر پرداخته
 موازی یک هزار پانصد نفر از صوفیان فدوی بنظر انور در آمدند که
 ملازم رکاب نصرت انتساب بودند و چون خاطر مبارک از جانب
 امیر [ه] حشام الدین جمع نبود و همیشه مذکور میشد که او راه
 خلاف و عناد باین دودمان ولایت نشان می پیماید از بیجهت
 آنحضرت از طارم عازم خلخال شدند و در قریه برندق نزول
 فرمودند روز دیگر بمزرعه شاملو که بشام قزل اوزن اشتہار دارد
 شتافتند چون بموقف عرض رسانیدند که در مزرعه مذکوره^۲ خبر بوزه
 بسیار شیرین دلپسند بهم میرسد و آنحضرت را میل تمام بخربوزه
 بود بنابراین در آن مزرعه چند روز توقف نمودند شیخ قاسم در
 آنمنزل بلوازم خدمت و ضیافت پرداخته ضیافتی نمود که ما فوق

^۱ (کله).^۲ (مذکوره).

قوت و قدرت بَشَر نَبُود و آنمقدار تکلف که کرده (بود) بآن راضی نشده چهل کوسفند بغیر طعام پریان کرده بود بمیان آورد بعد از چندروز خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران از آن مزرعه کوچ فرموده در قریهٔ نَساز خلخال نزول فرمودند و از قریهٔ نَساز بقریهٔ کوئی خلخال آمده در خانهٔ ملک مظفر توقاچی سلطان شهید سعید سلطانعلی پادشاه که بمخلفا مشهور بود نزول اجلال واقع شد و تا مدت یکماه در خانهٔ خلخا توقف نموده بعد از مدت اقامت روی توجّه بقریهٔ کُخْطاباد اردبیل آوردند و از آنجا بقریهٔ اَلرُّوق شتافته از قریهٔ مذکوره با جهان جهان آرزو عالم عالم اشتیاق متوجّه خطّهٔ فردوس بنیان و روضهٔ جدّت نشان جدّ بزرگوار خود سلطان الاولیا و برهان الانفیا سلطان الحقیقه و الطریقه شیخ صفی الدین اسحق قدس سرّه کردیدند و بطواف مرقد منور مشایخ عظام و اولیاء کرام مستسعد شده در آنمقام فرشتهٔ احترام که محلّ اجابت دعای انامست دست دعا بدرگاه قاضی الحاجات برآوردند و از برای فتح و نصرت براعدای دین و دولت جبین عجز و نیاز بر زمین حاجت سوده از بخشندهٔ بی منت و کریم بی ظنّت مطلبی که داشتند مسئلت میفرمودند چون انوار قبول بر ضمیر منیر [456] فیض تأثیر پرتو انداخت روی نیاز از زمین مراد برداشته بمنزل همیون رجعت فرمودند و در آن زمان سلطانعلی بیگ چاکرلو ترکمان که از جانب امیرالوند میرزا حاکم اردبیل و مغانات^۱ کس نزد آنحضرت فرستاد که در اردبیل توقف نمودن شما

مناسب نیست میباید ازین ولایت بجان دیگر تشریف شریف
 ارزانی دارید یا اینکه آمادهٔ قتال و جدال بوده باشید چون در آن
 وقت [از]^۱ قلت ملازمان موکب عالی و کثرت اعدا مصلحت در
 منازعه و مناقشه نمیدیدند لهذا از خطهٔ طایفهٔ اردبیل کوچ کرده
 بقریهٔ میرمی توجه نمودند قشلاق نمودن خاقان سلیمان شان
 صاحبقران در ارجوان محمدی بیگ زوج پاشا خاتون که بشرف
 پایبوس مشرف گشته بود بمعرضی عرضی رسانید[ه] که اگر نهضت
 همیون از برای قشلاق و جمعیت اعوان و انصار بصوب طوالش^۲
 واقع شود بصواب اقرب خواهد بود آن حضرت قبول فرمودند
 و محمدی بیگ چون (با میرزا محمد)^۳ سلطان رابطهٔ قدیم داشت
 نزد او فرستادند و محمدی بیگ بعد از رسیدن بآستارا نزد میرزا
 محمدی سلطان رفته او را بدلائل نصیحت آمیز بجلادهٔ اخلاص
 و جان فشانی باز آورد چون میرزا محمد سلطان بمخت بلند
 و دولت ارجمند داشت از استماع این خبر بهجت اثر و ورود
 موکب ظفر پیکر بدامحدود بلا توقف باتفاق محمدی بیگ
 و صادق طوالش اقبال مثال با استقبال موکب همیون فال
 شتافتند چون بشرف پایبوس مرشد کامل مشرف شدند بذروه
 عرض رسانیدند که ایندیار تعلق بملازمان عالی دارد چنانچه در
 خاطر خطیر شهریار کشورگیر قشلاق نمودن درین دیار خطور نموده
 باشد بسیار بجا و موافق مطلب این بندهٔ دو لاتخواه است که چند

^۱ (بناو).^۲ [طوالش].^۳ [Lacuna].

روزی کمر بندگی و خدمتکاری بر میان [46a] جان بسته بلوازم
 جان سپاری پردازد حضرت خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران بنابر
 التماس او در قریهٔ ارجوان من اعمال آستارا نزول اجلال فرمودند
 و میرزا محمد سلطان بنوعی در رضا جوئی خاطر مبارک اشرف
 اعلی و بندگی اولیای دولت ابد پیوند کوشید که زبانها بتحسین
 و آفرینش گویا شدند و اکثر [ی] اوقات مرشد کامل بشکار ماهی
 میل نموده بآن امر اشتغال داشتند و میرزا محمد سلطان والدۀ
 [خود را با چند نفر از کنیزان بخدمت و پرستاری آنحضرت مأمور
 ساخته خود متوجه مکان] خود کردید و همیشه آرزوی در یافت
 ملازمت می نمود چون خبر توجه مرشد کامل بجانب طوالش
 بسطان علی بیگ چاکرلو رسید شرح احوالات در عریضهٔ درج نموده
 نزد امیر الوند میرزا به تبریز فرستاد و امیر الوند میرزا از استماع این
 خبر سراسیمه گشته مقرر نمود که چون میانهٔ تو و میرزا محمد
 رابطه و اتحاد قدیمست بهر نوع که توانی او را نمخالقت و قصد
 آنحضرت ترغیب نما و آن ناپاک بعد از فکر و اندیشهٔ بسیار کس
 نزد والدۀ میرزا محمد سلطان فرستاد و او را بوعدهای جمیله
 فریفت که در بارۀ آن حضرت کیدی اندیشد و آن کس ناقص بی
 عقل فریب و عدهٔ [امیر] الوند میرزا را خورده سلطان علی بیگ
 چاکرلو را اعلام نمود که چون حضرت خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران
 هر روز بشکار ماهی مشغولند آنحضرت را بدریا اندازند و با امیر
 حمزه طالش که راتق و فائق مهمات دیوانی میرزا محمد طالش
 بود اتفاق نموده منتظر فرصت می بودند و میرزا محمد سلطان را

ازین معنی اطلاعی نبود نهایت از حرکات آن دو و مفسد ناپاک
 [466] اطلاع یافته والدۀ خود را منع و زجر نمود و امیر حمزۀ
 طالش را اهانت و آزار بسیار نمود و پیوسته در اخفای این معنی
 میکوشید و امیر آقایی کیلانی ازین مقدمه واقف شده خود را نزد
 لاله^۱ بیگ و خادم بیگ رسانیده از غدر آن دو [ناپاک]^۲ و تلاش
 میرزا محمد سلطان در اخفای^۳ این راز بایشان خبر داد لاله بیگ
 و خادم بیگ بی تاب شده این مقدمه را بمعرض عرض مرشد
 کامل رسانیدند میرزا محمد سلطان از اطلاع حضرت خاقان سلیمان
 شان صاحبقران بر این مقدمه آگاه شده سراسیمه بدرگاه معلی
 شتافت و در حضور مرشد کامل قسم یاد نمود که مرا مطلقاً
 ازین اراده خبر نبود چون مطلع شدم والدۀ خود را زجر و منع
 کردم چون مضمون قسم میرزا محمد سلطان بصدق مقرون بود
 صورت قبول آن بر آینه جهان نمائی مرشد کامل و صوفیان صافی
 ضمیر چهره نمود (بیست) هر آن سخن که بود معتبر بصدق و صواب *
 بود حقیقت آن نزد هر کسی ظاهر * و بعضی این حکایت را بدین
 نوع نقل کرده اند که محمدی بیگ برادر احمدی بیگ در آن
 تاریخ نزد میرزا محمد سلطان می بود و امیر الوند میرزا کس نزد
 میرزا محمد سلطان و محمدی بیگ فرستاده ایشانرا بایالت
 اردبیل و خلخال وعده داد بشرط آنکه حضرت خاقان سلیمان
 [شان] را گرفته نزد او فرستند میرزا محمد درین باب متفکر بود که

^۱ (لله).

^۲ (دکار).

^۳ (خفا).

دست از کدام یک ازین دو دولت بردارد محمدی بیک از فکر و تأمل او اندیشیده با او گفتگو نمود که بوعده فریب آمیز امیر الوند دست از دولت دنیا و آخرت نتوان برداشت و خاک ادبار و خیانت بتکلیف ارباب حقد [47a] وحسد بر فرق روزگار خود نباید انباشت که تا انقراض عالم این بدنامی در میانه طایفه طالش خواهد بود و آنچه تقدیر شده غیر آن نخواهد شد و دیگر در غیرت^۱ طالش کی روا باشد که از برای حکومت دنیای دون مرتکب این امر شنیع کردی [بیست] هر که در کارها بد اندیشد * روی نیکی دگر کجایند * هر که شاخ مضرتی کارد * میوه منفعت کجا چیند * و میرزا محمد سلطان از سخنان سودمند [دلپسند]^۲ محمدی بیک بفکر عاقبت خود افتاده آن اراده را ببلکلیه از خاطر بیرون کرد در خلال ایحال سلطان فرخ یسار که شیروان^۳ شاه بود کس نزد میرزا محمد سلطان فرستاد که هزار تومان نقد از برای تو میفرستم که خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران را گرفته نزد من فرستی میرزا محمد سلطان چون چند روز بود که بملازمت آن حضرت نرسیده بود مکتوب شیروانشاهرا^۴ برداشته با جمعی کثیر از مردم طالش روی بدرگاه فلک پیش کاه آورد پیش از رسیدن او خبر بمشرد کامل از حقیقت مکتوب فرستادن شیروانشاه^۵ و آمدن میرزا محمد سلطان با جمعیت و ازدحام تمام رسید امرای دولت و صوفیان صافی طینت مثل حسین بیک لهله و خادم بیک خلیفه

^۱ ? doubtful reading.

^۲ (دلپسند).

^۳ (شیروان).

و بیرام بیگ قرا مانلو و ابدال علی بیگ دوده و الیاس بیگ از
استماع اینخبر بدعظمت شدند که مبارا از میرزا محمد سلطان نسبت
بذات اقدس ضرری رسد از روی احتیاط مقرر شد که ملازمان موکب
عالی زره در زیر قباها ببوشند و همگی مسلح کشته حاضر یق باشند
اگر میرزا محمد و مردم او (در مقام)¹ خلاف باشند [476] صوفیان
نیز از چپ و راست آجماعت در آمده بضرع شمشیر
خونریز دمار از روزگار ارباب عناد بر آورند² و اگر مراد در
یافت سعادت پایبوس مرشد کامل باشد این احتیاط
تصوری نخواهد داشت پس بموجب اشاره امرا و ارباب
طریقت مکمل و مسلح کشته ثریا مثال آنحضرت را در
میان گرفتند درین اثنا میرزا محمد سلطان با مردم خود نزدیک
معسکر همیون رسید خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران خادم بیگ
و دوده بیگ باستقبال او فرستادند که بنظر احتیاط ملاحظه احوال
مشار الیه نمایند و نقود اندیشه او را بر محک امتحان زده آنچه بر
دیده حقیقت بین ایشان در آید بموقف عرض رسانند چون میرزا
محمد سلطان ارکان دولت قاهره را از دور دید از سمنند جلالت
بزیر آمده (با ایشان) مصافحه و مغالقه بجای آورد و اظهار اخلاص
و دولت خواهی خود را با امرای درگاه شاهی و دعوی یک رنگی
و جانسپاری نموده گفت که چون مدتی شد که سعادت پایبوس
مرشد کامل را دریافته بودم بنابر خواهش در یافت این سعادت

¹ [Tacna].² (بر آورند).

احرام ملازمت بسته بعتبه علیّه شتافته آمدم امرا' فدوی باز کشته حقیقت حال را بذروه' عرض رسانیدند مرشد کامل اورا طلب فرموده میرزا محمد بواسطت امرا' عظام بیای یوس شاه فلک مقام مشرف گردید بعد از دریافت این سعادت مکتوب ش[یخ] روانشاهرا بنظر انور رسانیده احوال بداندیشی آن بد ماآرا معروض داشت و در مجلس بهشت آیین در حضور امرا حضرت شاه دست بر کلام الله رسانیده مجدداً قسم یاد نمود که بخاطر این بنده' دولتخواه غیر از بندگی و جان سپاری چیز دیگر نمیرسد [48a] و بسبب حکومت و مال دنیا از برای دو روزه حیات پای از دایره' اخلاص و جان فشانی بیرون نکذاشته فریفته' معاندان این دودمان ولایت نشان نخواهم شد و این بنده' یک جهت دانستم که اینمعنی بعرض مرشد کامل رسیده و آنحضرت کمان غدر و بی وفایی در باب این غلام فدوی برده اند از برای رفع آن [مطلبه] سر قدم ساخته خود را بخدمت رسانیدم امیدوارم که چون مکرر [1] انوار' اخلاص و جان سپاری بنده بر رای عالم آرا پرتو افکنده امثال این حکایات را در ماده' بنده' خود قبول نفرمایند [بیت] کمان بد اندر حق نیک خواهان * روا نیست بگذرا زین بد کهانی * شاه کیتی پناه میرزا محمد را بخلع فاخره' مخلع ساخته و مردم اورا یکان یکان بخلعتهای خاص اختصاص بخشیدند و بمواعید الطاف بیدریغ شهرباری و اعطای بلا نهایت شاهی امیدوار² گردانیدند در آن روز رفیق

¹ (نور).

² repeated in C.

مجلس بهشت آیین و هم بزم خاقان [باداد و دین]^۱ بوده روز دیگر رخصت مراجعت بمحل مکنی حاصل نمود بجانب حکومت گاه خود روانه گردید و حضرت خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران صوفیانرا که [در] موکب معنوی نگاه داشته بودند رخصت اوطان دادند که بمقام مألوف خود رفته در نوروز سلطانی بموکب عالی پیوندند ذکر [توجه] خاقان سلیمانشان صاحبقران از یورت قشلاق بجانب اردبیل بعون عنایت ملک جلیل

چون ایام زمستان به پایان رسیده دیگر باره نسیم بهاری باهتزاز آمده ورود نوروز سلطانی را در اطراف عالم بلند آوازه گردانید اهل روزگار را از رایحه شمیم عنبر آکین کلهای رنگین دماغها [486] معطر گشت و سبزه چمنها که از بیم لشکر سرما سر بکریبان اختفا فرو برده بود از برای استقبال آن روز فیروز سراز خاکت بر آورده باغ و بوستان از کلهای الوان مانند نو عروسان زیب و آرایش یافته کوه و هامون سبز و خرم و از [4] های کوناگون رشک گلستان ارم گردید خاقان سلیمانشان بعد از جشن نوروزی در اندیشه بیرون آمدن از آن مکان بصوب اردبیل بودند که سرمای صعب شده و برفهای سنگین بر زمین افتاده که کسی یاد نداشت ریاحین عنبر آمیز و سبز [4] های نشاط انگیز و کلهای عطر بیز از بیم سطوت سلطان برد و (غارت) وزیدن بادهای سرد در زیر برف مخفی^۲ گشتند و فرمان فرمای [اقالیم] دی (و بهمن) بسیط شبرا کلاه سنجابی از ابر و پوستین قائم

^۱ (سلیمانشان).

^۲ (مخفی).

از برف عنایت فرمود [و بسیط زمین و] قلل جبال از کثرت برف چون دشت و هامون در نظریکث سان می نمود چمن را که چندین اطفال ریاحین در مهد زمین بود بجز نرکس قُتْرَةُ الْعَيْنِ^۱ از و نماند و همگی چون عارض کل پشمرده و چون شمع لاله دل مرده شدند [بیت] بجز مردن آتش تمنا نداشت * که در زندگی تاب سرما نداشت * ز برف اندران وادی جان کسل * زمین و فلک شدیم مَحْضَل * و از شدت سرما طيور هوا و وحوش صحرا بر روی برف افتاده مجال گریختن و پرواز کردن نداشتند و مردم از آنها گرفته بنظر حضرت خاقان سلیمان شان می آوردند و آنحضرت را از مشاهده آنحال تعجبات دست داده بود و مردم معمّر بذروه^۲ عرض رسانیدند [49a] که در هیچ زمانی شدت سرما و کثرت برف بدین نوع کسی یاد نداشت بعد از آن آنحضرت فرمودند که عساکر ظفر متأثر از برف قلعه در نهایت استحکام بسازند فرمان برآن بموجب فرمان قلعه ساختند و بروج عالی اساس و خندق و شیرحاجی^۳ و سه دروازه بآن قرار دادند و آن حصن حصین در رفعت باقلعه^۴ فلک دم برابری میزد خاقان سلیمان شان بعد از اتمام آن قلعه بلند ارکان امر فرمودند که جمعی از صوفیان داخل قلعه شده به قلعه داری به پردازند و جمعی دیگر از فدویان بیورش قلعه مذکور مأمور گردیدند و از دو جانب قلعه طرح جنگ انداختند و آن حضرت از جانب دروازه دیگر متوجه گردیده قدم مردی و مردانگی از روی جلالت

^۱ قُتْرَةُ الْعَيْنِ.

پیش گذاشته بقهر و غلبه قلعه را مستحضر گردانید و چون آنحضرت بنور ولایت که میراث اجداد عالی مقام داشت در یافت نموده بود که جمعی از منافقان باشاره علی بیگ جاکیر در تغیر لباس بصورت صوفیان اخلاص منش آمده اند و منتظر فرصت اند که نسبت بذات اقدس غدیری نمایند بنابراین آنحضرت طرح این جنگ را انداخته و از باطن حضرات ائمه طیبین و طاهرین که حافظان این دین و دولتند در آن یورش آن جماعت نفاق پیشه معدوم و ناچیز کشتند صوفیانرا از مشاهده اینحال اعتقادی که بآنحضرت داشتند از دیاد پذیرفت و غلغله نشاط ارباب طریقت از ایوان کیوان در گذشت بعد از آنکه خسرو ثوابت و سیار [در اوایل برج^۱ ربیع] منزل ساخت آنحضرت از یورت قشلاقی اعلام نصرت فرجان [49b] بصوب کوچی دنکیز برافراختند و روی توجه بد آجانب آورده در لشکرکنان در منزل شاه سوار بیگ نزول اجلال فرمودند و یکشب در آنمنزل توقف نمودند روز دیگر کوچ فرموده در قریه ماتیان^۲ در خانه نوشیر [وان] بیگ طالش حاکم مغانات فرود آمدند و از آنجا متوجه زیارت حظیره مقدسه متوره جد بزرگوار خود گردیدند بعد از طی مراحل در ضمان امان ملک مغان بدار الارشاد اردبیل داخل شده در خانهای والد بزرگوار خود سلطانمحمید انار الله برهانه نزول اجلال فرمودند علم شاه بیگم والده ماجده آنحضرت و برادران و همشیره کان کرامی بعد از مدت ایام

^۱ (ثور را).^۲ [ماتیان] ؟

فراق با جهان جهان آرزو و اشتیاق بدیدار فرخنده آثار آن شهریار
 فایز کشتند و آنحضرت از بیم اهل ظلم و عدوان مصلحت در
 توقف اردبیل ندیده مشورت با ارباب هدایت فرمودند که بکدام
 جانب اراده نما[ییم] امرا همگی مشتق بعرض رسانیدند که چون
 از یورت قشلاق قبل ازین ارقام مطاعه باقاصدان قمر مسیر باطراف
 ولایت روم و شام از عقب صوفیان اخلاص کیش ارسال فرموده‌اند
 اگر بسر حدّ ارزمان از راه کوکجه دنکیز تشریف برند که در آنجا
 هوا خواهان این دودمان ولایت نشان نزدیکند و جمعیت ایشان
 از خیرورون موکب مسعود زودتر خواهد شد بصواب اقربست بعد
 از اجتماع عساکر ظفر مآثر بهر جانب که رای عالی قرار گیرد
 بدانصوب در حرکت آمده تکیه بعون عنایات الهی و امداد
 حضرت ایقّه معصومین علیهم السّلام تموده [50a] متوجّه مقصد
 کردیدن بصلاح انسب¹ خواهد بود

Translation:—

ISMA'ĪL RECEIVES INTIMATION FROM THE LORD OF THE AGE
 OF HIS "COMING."

[When Isma'īl heard of the eruptions in the states of Īrān, and of the rebellions of the Turkomān chiefs, he desired to leave Lābijān and go to Ardabīl, that, with the spiritual aid of his saintly ancestors, he might clear the flower-garden of religion of the chaff and rubbish of insubordination. When he expressed this desire to some of his disciples and Šūfis, they knowing that his "coming" was near at hand, bound the girdle of obedience and self-

¹ (اقرب).

sacrifice round their souls and became expectant. Isma'īl then sent one of his disciples to Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī to announce to him his intentions, and to obtain leave for him to depart. But Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, considering the tender years of Isma'īl (who was then only twelve years of age), and his lack of allies, and the numbers and strength of his enemies, would not allow him to leave the country, but said: "It is not yet time for his 'coming.' It is wisest for him to wait a little longer." The Šūfī returning, delivered Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī's message, in compliance with which Isma'īl remained where he was. A few days later he went and visited Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī in person, and explained to him¹ his project of leaving Lāhījān for Ardabīl. Mīrzā 'Alī again begged him to abandon his plan, but this time Isma'īl refused (to listen to him), and so Mīrzā 'Alī was obliged to turn his attention to some of the necessary preparations.]² On the following day Isma'īl rode out hunting with some of his disciples. Not far from Lashta Nashā they arrived at the edge of a dense forest. Isma'īl, having crossed a river which flowed by there, said to his companions: "No one of you is to follow me across this river, but you are to await my return on the other side." Isma'īl then entered the forest, and no one knew what had become of him until he came out again. How Isma'īl was girt with a belt; how he came out of the forest bearing a sword suspended from a sword-belt,³ and the other "signs" which the Šūfīs witnessed, will appear from the account of Dede Moḥammad Rūmlū, which is given below. This man was a Šūfī and a darwish, gifted with second sight,⁴ an Arūm Īlī,⁵ and in the year 907 had the honour of kissing the "Perfect Guide's" feet in the market-place called Šāhib-ūbād in Tabriz. He also describes

¹ *I.e.*, "said to him with the tongue of divine inspiration."

² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar here mentions that Mīrzā 'Alī escorted Isma'īl on the first stages of his journey to Ardabīl, and then turned back. Khwāndamīr then passes straight on to tell us how Isma'īl made Arjwān his winter quarters.

³ *I.e.*, which showed a "sword-belt" (*hamdīl*).

⁴ *Sahib-Ali*.

⁵ *Rūm-īlī* is the translation of the Greek *Papavla*.

how he saw Isma'īl in the desert of Mekka, in the presence of the Lord of the Age¹ (upon whom be peace).

ACCOUNT OF DEDE MOHAMMAD AND WHAT HE SAW ON HIS PILGRIMAGE TO MEKKA.

Dede Moḥammad was a darwish of pure life, and a disciple of Ḥasan Khalīfa Tikeli,² who dwelt between the Tike Īlī and the Arūm Īlī. Ḥasan Khalīfa, also a darwish, was a disciple of the Ṣafavīs. He had once waited on Sultān Junaid, and twice on Sultān Ḥaidar, who had sent him with forty Ṣūfīs to a *chilla-khāna*,³ where each had a jug of water and a loaf of bread as their sustenance during the period of fasting [*chilla*]. When this period was over they came out of the *chilla-khāna*. All of them had consumed their provisions, excepting only Ḥasan Khalīfa, who brought his untouched to "His Holiness,"⁴ who then sent him back to Tike Īlī, having first given him a promise with regard to the appearance and coming of Isma'īl. When he returned to the aforesaid Īlī he performed many miracles and uttered prophecies, repeatedly announcing to pious Ṣūfīs the coming of Isma'īl. On leaving this world he bequeathed his "throne"⁵ to his son Bābā Shāh Kūlī, who was also a revealer of mysteries and a worker of wonders, and gave him an *ablaḳ*⁶ saying: "In the year 907 our Guide will mount the throne of Īrān in Tabrīz. This is a present entrusted to me [*imānat*]

¹ The Twelfth Imām.

² The Kizilbāsh were composed of seven principal tribes, namely, 1. Ustājīlū, 2. Shāmlū, 3. Tikeli (often falsely given as *Nikalhu*), 4. Bahārīlū, 5. Zu'lqadr, 6. Kājār, 7. Afshār.

³ *Chilla* is a religious fast of forty days duration; the *chilla-khāna* is a place of seclusion to which the pious retire during the fast. For some interesting remarks on the subject, see Olearius, Adam. *Persianische Reise = Beschreibung*, 1656, p. 464.

⁴ Sultān Ḥaidar. See note above.

⁵ Saints are spoken of as succeeding each other to the throne (of spiritual guidance). They many of them even bear the titles of Sultān and Pādīshāh. Thus Isma'īl, before he came to temporal power, is spoken of as a "prince," as are also his brothers.

⁶ *Ablaḳ* must mean a precious stone of some sort, probably of changing colours. (I cannot find it in any dictionary applied to stones or jewels.)

for that prince—give it him with my salutations.” So Bābā Shāh Kulī awaited the appointed time. In the year 905 Dede Moḥammad, who was a disciple of Khalifa, desiring to make the pilgrimage to Mekka, asked the permission of Bābā Shāh Kulī, who said to him: “You have permission, go; but when you have completed your pilgrimage to Mekka you will visit the Holy Shrines¹ (in Babylonia) and thence go to Tabriz. On the first day of your arrival there the time will have come for one of the sons of purity and goodness, and he will have become pādishāh, having caused coins to be struck and the *khutba* read in his name; you will find him playing polo in the square [maidān] of Tabriz. You will go to him and greet him from me and give him this *ablaḥ* to fasten on his crown.” Dede Moḥammad, having accepted the *imānat*, set out for Mekka. When he had performed the circuit of Mekka and visited Medina, he turned towards Baghdād. Between Medina the sanctified² and Baghdād he got separated from the caravan and was overcome by sleep. On awaking he could find no trace of the caravan, and for three days he wandered through that desert, supported only by his spiritual power,³ until at length he fell exhausted to the ground, and his tongue hung out of his mouth: from sheer thirst he longed for death. When the mid-day sun shone straight down upon him he perceived an Arab youth riding towards him, who coming up to him said: “Oh! darwish, arise, for thou art not far from cultivated land.” The darwish indicated by signs that he was too feeble to walk. The youth then took his hand, and no sooner was his hand in that of the youth than he felt all his strength return. So he arose and was led by the youth towards a hill; when they reached the summit of the hill he looked around and saw that as far

¹ *Atalāt*, lit. the thresholds.

² I have thus translated the epithet *bē taskinat*, which means “under divine influence.”

³ *Darwishī*, that is, the degree of continence and endurance he had attained to by leading the strict life of a darwish.

as the eye could reach the plains were covered with verdure and roses and tulips, and that gold-embroidered tents and silk canopies had been spread out. Turning to his companion he said: "Oh! Arab youth, no one ever saw such a place as this in the deserts of Mekka and the Najaf-i-Ashraf.¹ What place is this? and who is the lord of these tents and palaces?" The young Arab replied, "You will know afterward?" He then walked by the young man's side, until they came to a palace, whose cupola out-rivalled the sun and moon. They then entered, and a delightful apartment met his view, the like of which he had never seen. Golden thrones were arranged side by side, and on one of the thrones a person was seated whose face was covered with a veil. Dede Moḥammad, placing his hand on his breast, made a salutation, whereupon an answer to his salutation came from the veiled one, who having bidden him be seated, ordered food to be brought for him. The like of this food he had never seen in his life before. They also brought some cold water, which Dede Moḥammad drank, nor had he ever tasted such refreshing water. As soon as he had finished his repast, he saw that a party of men had entered, bringing a boy of about fourteen years of age, with red (*surkh*) hair, a white face, and dark-grey² eyes; on his head was a scarlet cap. Being entered he made a salutation and stood still; the veiled youth then said to him: "Oh! Isma'īl, the hour of your 'coming' has now arrived." The other replied: "It is for your Holiness to command." The prince then said: "Come forward." He came forward, and His Holiness taking his belt three times lifted it³ up and placed it on the ground again. He then, with his own blessed hands, fastened on the girdle, and taking (Isma'īl's) cap from his head, raised it and then replaced it. He wore a Kurdish belt-dagger; this His Holiness took from him and threw

¹ *Najaf* is the tract of country in which Karbalā is situate.

² *Mish-chashm*, lit. sheep-eyed.

³ This passage is rather obscure. I am not sure whether *hīm* (Isma'īl) or *it* (the belt) is intended.

to the darwish, saying: "Keep this, for it will stand you in stead." His Holiness then told his servants to bring his own sword, which, when brought, he fastened with his own hands to the girdle of the child. Then he said "You may now depart." Having recited the *Fātiḥa* he entrusted the child to the two or three persons who had brought him in. When they had taken the child away, he made a sign to the young Arab to lead the darwish back to his caravan; and having brought him to it, said: "This is the caravan from which you were separated." When Moḥammad Dede saw the caravan he said: "Oh! youth, tell me, for God's sake, who that prince was and who the child?" He replied: "Did you not know that the prince whom you saw was no other than the Lord of the Age?"¹ When Dede Moḥammad heard this name he stood up and said: "Oh! youth, for the love of God, take me back again that I may once more kiss the feet of His Holiness, and ask a blessing of him, perchance I might be allowed to wait on him." But the youth replied: "It is impossible. You should have made your request at the first. You cannot return. But you can make your request where you will, for His Holiness² is everywhere present and will hear your prayers." The darwish then sought to return, but he could no longer see the rider, and ascending to the summit of the hill looked around in vain for any signs of those flowers and palaces. He uttered a deep sigh, and saw that his caravan had gone on far ahead. He was therefore obliged to rejoin the caravan. The rest of Dede Moḥammad Rūmlū's story, and how he went to wait on Isma'il, will be related among the events of the year 907.

¹ The twelfth Imām.

² *Ṣāḥib-ul-aṣr*, the Lord of Command, another epithet for the twelfth Imām.

ISMA'IL COMES OUT OF THE FOREST, AND SETS ON HIS
ROAD WITH SEVEN ŠŪFĪS.

The Šūfīs, who, in obedience to Isma'il's command, were awaiting him on the bank of the river near the forest, at the end of about two hours, seeing no signs of him, began to grow uneasy and anxious for his safety. But since they had been forbidden to cross the river, they could not enter the forest to see if anything had occurred to the "Guide." In the midst of their anxiety they perceived Isma'il emerging from the forest with dignity, with a sword attached to his girdle, but without his belt-dagger. The Šūfīs, on seeing this, prostrated themselves before Isma'il, and so much overcome were they with awe and dread that not one of them dared examine closely those "signs." Having all gathered round Isma'il, they held council as to which road the "Perfect Guide" had better take, and they finally decided that he should go to Ardabīl by way of Tārm. At this juncture Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī arrived, bringing necessities for the journey, and again he tried to persuade Isma'il to remain with him, but to no effect. He was therefore obliged to accommodate himself to his wishes, and Isma'il, placing the foot of success in the stirrup of good fortune, set out from Lāhijān towards Arjwān, while Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī and a party of Šūfīs accompanied him for a distance of two farsangs. He then left the Prince to proceed on his way under the protection of the King of Bounties, while he himself returned to the castle of Lāhijān. Isma'il now turned in the direction of Dailam, accompanied by seven Šūfīs, namely: Husain Beg Lala, Abdāl 'Alī Beg Dede, Khādim Beg Khalīfa, Rustem Beg Karā Mānlū, Bairām Beg Karā Mānlū, Ilyās Beg Aighūth Ughlī, and Karā Pīrī Beg Kājār. They stayed in Dailam, and thence proceeded to Tārm, being joined at every stage on their road by Šūfīs from Shām and Rūm, so that when Isma'il alighted in Tārm he had

an army of about 1500 devoted Sūfīs. But since he did not place any trust in Amīra Hassām-ud-Dīn, for it was always said of this person that he was evilly disposed towards that blessed family, Isma'īl left Tārm to go to Khalkhāl. (The first) halt was made in the village of Barandak, whence they hastened next morning to some cultivated ground belonging to the Shāmlū, and known as Shām Kizil Ūzūn. Now this place was noted for the sweet quality of its water-melons [kharbūza], and Isma'īl being especially fond of this fruit, they remained there several days, and were entertained by Shaikh Kāsim in the most hospitable way possible. And not being satisfied with his own hospitality, he further ordered forty roast sheep to be brought for their consumption. A few days later Isma'īl moved on to the village of Nasāz in Khalkhāl, thence to the village of Kūyī in Khalkhāl, where he stayed with Malik Muzaffar Tūkājī Sultān, son of the blessed martyr, Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, known as Khalfa. After a short stay he set out for the village of Hafzābād in Ardabīl, thence to the village of Alārūk, and thence he came to Ardabīl, where, having visited the tombs of his ancestors and the saints, and having prayed God to help him to overcome the enemies of the Faith, he entered his own dwelling. At this time he received a message from Sultān 'Alī Beg Khākirlū, Turkomān, who was governing Ardabīl and Maghānāt for Amīr Alwand, saying that it was not safe for Isma'īl to remain in Ardabīl. "You must either go to some other country or else be prepared to fight." And since at that time his following was small and his enemies many, Isma'īl did not deem it wise to engage in a battle, and he therefore moved from Ardabīl to the village of Mīrmī.

ISMA'ĪL MAKES ARJWĀN HIS WINTER-QUARTERS.

Mohammadī Beg, husband of Pāshā Khātūn, who had enjoyed the privilege of kissing the prince's feet, now represented to him that it would be wisest for him to take

up his winter-quarters in Ṭawālīsh,¹ and make that his centre for collecting together his helpers and allies; this advice Isma'īl followed, and since Moḥammadī Beg had long-standing ties with Mīrzā Moḥammad Sulṭān, Isma'īl sent him to this latter. When Moḥammadī Beg arrived in Astārā, he went to Mīrzā Moḥammad Sulṭān, and with words of counsel brought him back to the path of discipleship and devotion. Mīrzā Moḥammad Sulṭān, on learning the approach of Isma'īl into his dominions, without delay, hastened out to receive him in State, along with Moḥammadī Beg and the nobles of Ṭawālīsh. Having kissed the feet of the "Perfect Guide," he represented to him: "This country belongs to your servants.² I hear the Prince meditates passing the winter in this country. This slave would be highly gratified if he might be allowed to wait on the Prince for a few days." Accepting his invitation, Isma'īl alighted in Arjwān, one of the villages of Astārā, while (Mīrzā Moḥammad Sulṭān) exerted himself to the utmost to give him pleasure and satisfaction. Isma'īl spent most of his time fishing, of which sport he was very fond. Mīrzā Moḥammad Sulṭān, having appointed his own mother, together with a few maidens, to wait on the Prince, himself returned to his own residence; being, however, at all times anxious to attend to the Prince's wants.

When Sulṭān 'Alī Beg Chākīrlū heard of Isma'īl's migration to Ṭawālīsh, he sent the information to Amīr Alwand Mīrzā in Tabrīz; at the receipt of which news Alwand Mīrzā was dumbfounded, and sent back the following message: "Since there is a long-standing alliance between you and Mīrzā Moḥammad, do all in your power to set him against Isma'īl." Then that wretched man, after much reflection, sent a messenger to the mother of Mīrzā Moḥammad Sulṭān, to deceive her with fine promises, and induce her to plot against Isma'īl. And that foolish woman, having swallowed the vain promises of Alwand

¹ *Ṭūlīsh* or *Ṭawdīsh*; the plural form signifies the district.

² Sense of text a little obscure.

Mirzā, suggested to Sultān 'Alī Beg Chāgīrlū that since Isma'īl went out fishing every day, they might (one day) push him into the water; and so, together, with Amīr Hamza of Tālīsh, chief judiciary of Mirzā Moḥammad of Tālīsh, they were on the watch for an opportunity of doing so. But Mirzā Moḥammad Sultān, getting wind of the plot of these two impious persons, checked and reprimanded his mother, and treated Amīr Hamza of Tālīsh with severity and contempt: he continued also to try and trace the origin of the plot. Amīr Aghāī Gilānī, hearing of these matters, went to Lala Beg and Khādim Beg and told them of the treachery of these two worthless persons, and of the efforts of Mirzā Moḥammad to discover the secret. Lala Beg and Khādim Beg, being much alarmed, went and laid the matter before the "Perfect Guide." When Mirzā Moḥammad heard that Isma'īl had been thus informed, he was confounded, and hastened to his dwelling, and took an oath before him saying: "I knew absolutely nothing of this plot, and when I was informed of it I checked and reprimanded my mother." Since his oath was allied to the truth, it was believed by Isma'īl and the Šūfīs. (Verse) of every word that is allied to good faith and good sense, the truth is apparent to all.

Now some have related this story in the following fashion.¹ Moḥammadī Beg, Aḥmadī Beg's brother, was at that date living with Mirzā Moḥammad Sultān. Amīr Alwand Mirzā sent a messenger to Mirzā Moḥammad and Moḥammadī Beg saying that he would give them the government [*igālat*] of Ardabīl and Khalkhāl, on the condition that they would seize and send Isma'īl to him. Mirzā Moḥammad began to meditate which of these two prizes he would relinquish. But Moḥammadī Beg, concerned at the other's reflections, said to him: "It is impossible that you should, by means of the deceitful promises of Alwand Mirzā, renounce the happiness of this world and the next! You must not, upon the entreaty of the lord of envy and malice, strew upon

¹ Notice again our author's accuracy and care in obtaining information.

your own head the earth of perdition and ignominy! For thereby the people of Tālīsh would enjoy an evil reputation till the end of the world. Only what is decreed by destiny will come to pass. And when would Tālīsh allow you to commit such a heinous offence for the sake of government in this base world. (verses) How can a man who plans evil deeds ever again recognize goodness? How can he that plants the branch of harmfulness cull the fruit of advantage?" Mirzā Moḥammad, at the wise words of Moḥammadī Beg, fell to thinking of his own end, and entirely discarded his intention from his thoughts.

In the meanwhile Sulṭān Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwānshāh, sent a message to Mirzā Moḥammad, saying: "I will pay you 1000 *tumāns* ready money if you will send Isma'īl bound to me." As it was several days since Mirzā Moḥammad had waited on Isma'īl, he now, accompanied by a large number of Tālīsh men, brought Shirwānshāh's letter to him. But before he arrived, the "Perfect Guide" had been informed that Shirwānshāh had written a letter, and that Mirzā Moḥammad was coming to find him with a number of people. On hearing these facts the Sūfis, among them Husain Beg Lala, Khādīm Beg Khalīfa, Bairām Beg Karā Māulū, Abdāl 'Alī Beg Dede, and Ilyās Beg, grew apprehensive lest some harm might befall the Prince at the hands of Mirzā Moḥammad, and by way of caution they decided that all his servants should put on chain-shirts under their cloaks and be all armed in readiness for a conflict. Thus, if Mirzā Moḥammad and his men had hostile intentions, the Sūfis, attacking them from right and left, would put those lords of insubordination to the sword. If, on the other hand, they came to do homage to the "Perfect Guide," there could, at any rate, be no harm in their precautions. So these pious men armed themselves fully, and formed a group around the Prince. At this juncture Mirzā Moḥammad and his men approached Isma'īl's camp. The Prince thereupon sent out Khādīm Beg and Dede Beg to receive him, and to discover warily his real intentions, and report the result of their examination

to the Prince. When Mīrzā Moḥammad perceived these chiefs from afar, he dismounted from his steed, and, having embraced them and expressed to them his absolute devotion to the Prince's cause, said: "Seeing that it is a long while since I had the felicity of kissing the feet of the 'Perfect Guide,' I am now hastening to his blessed threshold with this intent." The chiefs then returned and reported to Isma'īl how matters lay; whereupon this latter sent for Mīrzā Moḥammad, who, through the medium of the chiefs, was allowed the honour of kissing the Prince's feet. After this he showed him Shirwānshāh's letter, and represented to him the evil intentions of that wicked man. Then, in the presence of the chiefs, he placed his hand upon the *Qurān* and took an oath, saying: "No other thoughts than those of service and devotion have entered the mind of this your servant. Nor would I, for the sake of worldly power and riches for the brief span of life, digress from the path of loyalty and self-sacrifice, and thus be deluded by the enemies of this saintly house. Nevertheless I, your single-minded servant, who thus make my representations to the 'Perfect Guide,' well know that the Prince has entertained suspicions of treachery and faithlessness in my regard. In order to dispel these misgivings and doubts, I have rushed headlong to wait on the Prince, and I hope that in the light of my devotion to himself he will refuse to listen to such stories about his servant." (verse) It is illicit to entertain evil thoughts of well-wishers, give up such bad notions! The Prince then bestowed splendid robes upon Mīrzā Moḥammad, and to each of his men he gave a robe of honour. With promises of unstinted bounty and royal favours, he reassured (Mīrzā Moḥammad of his satisfaction). That day Mīrzā Moḥammad was the Prince's companion at his meals, and on the next day, having obtained permission to return to his home, he set out for his seat of government. Isma'īl furthermore allowed those *Sūfis*, which he had retained in his army, to return to their homes, to rejoin him on the New Year's Day.

ISMA'ĪL MOVES FROM HIS WINTER-QUARTERS AND (BY THE
HELP OF GOD'S FAVOUR) COMES TO ARDABĪL.

The days of winter having reached their limit, again the fanning breezes of spring noised abroad in every quarter the advent of the royal New Year's-Day: while the senses of all men became perfumed with the odorous, amber-scented breath of the variegated flowers. The vegetation of the meadows, which from fear of the army of Cold had withdrawn its head beneath its cloak, now lifted its head above the ground to welcome that victorious day, and decked garden and field with flowers of various hues, as had they been brides. Hill and dale, verdant and bright with their many coloured tulips, became the envy of the garden of Iram.

Isma'il, having celebrated the festival of New Year's Day, meditated moving from that spot to Ardabīl. The cold had been most severe, and heavy snows had fallen on the ground such as none remembered ever to have seen. The fragrant odours, the refreshing verdure and the sweet-smelling flowers, fearing the violence of King Cold and the forays of the bitter winds, had remained in hiding under the snow. By the command of Dai and Bahman¹ the surface of the earth had been presented with a grey cap of clouds and an ermine mantle of snow, so that from the quantity of snow the tops of the mountains looked like the level plains. Of all the sweet children which the meadows nursed in the cradle of the earth none remained but the refreshing narcissus, and all of these were like faded roses and withered tulips. [verses]—

Unable to withstand the bitter cold,
The fire wished for nothing but to die.
The snow lay piled above the dismal wold,
And seemed to join together earth and sky.

¹ Names of two winter months. Dai corresponding to our December and Bahman to January.

So severe, indeed, was the cold that the birds of the air and the beasts of the field fell powerless to the ground, unable to take wing or flee away. Some of these animals were brought before Isma'īl, who was astounded at the sight. Old men, also, came to him and declared that no one remembered having ever seen so severe a winter or so much snow.

Isma'īl now ordered his soldiers to build up out of the snow a strong fortress. They therefore built a fortress with turrets, trench — (?) and three gates, and when it was completed Isma'īl gave instructions to his chiefs that a party of Sūfis should enter the fort and busy themselves with its defence, while another party should be told off to attack it, and thus engage in a fight. Isma'īl advancing against another gate with great personal valour took the fort by storm. Now Isma'īl by the blessed intuition which he had inherited from his noble ancestors foresaw that certain hypocrites, at the instigation of 'Alī Beg Jākīr, had come to him disguised as Sūfis and with professions of discipleship, to watch for a suitable opportunity to betray him. That is why he planned this fight, for in it he annihilated all that band of hypocrites. After this action the faith of the Sūfis in Isma'īl greatly increased At the beginning of the spring Isma'īl set out from his winter-quarters towards the Gökoha Dengis. On reaching Langarkanān¹ he alighted at the house of Shāh Suwār Beg, and remained there one night. Next day he moved to the village of Mātibān, where he was entertained in the house of Nūshīrwān Beg Tālīsh, governor of the Mughānāt. Thence he proceeded to Ardabil, where he alighted at the mansion of his noble father, Sulṭān Haidar. Here he found his mother, 'Alam Shāh Begum, his brothers and his foster-brothers, who, after all this long period of separation, were longing to see him. But since Isma'īl, fearing his cruel enemies, did not deem it wise to remain in Ardabil, he discussed with the leading Sūfis what road he had better

¹ Perhaps another name (an older form) of Lankurān (?).

take. They being all of one mind, suggested that before he left his winter-quarters he should send orders by swift messengers to the Šūfīs in Rūm and Shām, and then betake himself to the frontiers of Arzinjān by way of Gökcha Dengīs, for there he would be near his "supporters," who, on hearing of his arrival, would the more speedily assemble. Such was the most reasonable plan. Having collected an army he might then, with the help of Divine favour and the assistance of the Imāms, turn whither he would.

At this point the two histories begin to coincide very exactly; our author has a chapter on Isma'il's march from Ardabil to Arzinjān, and his encounter with Sulṭān Husain Bārānī, which corresponds most closely with Khwāndamīr's account, commencing at the bottom of page ۷۱ of the Bombay edition of the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*. It is here, where the two histories so to speak unite, that I have chosen to end my article, in which I hope to have shown that our author has at least, for the early history of Shāh Isma'il, much to tell us that Khwāndamīr was either ignorant of or chose to omit.

P.S.—This article was originally submitted to Professor Th. Nöldeke at Strassburg as my dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. I have been obliged to reduce its bulk by about one half of the original. All the most important matter has, however, been retained. I here take the opportunity of acknowledging the various corrections and suggestions which Prof. Nöldeke was kind enough to note upon during his perusal of my work.

ART. VIII.—*Mahuan's Account of Cochin, Calicut, and Aden.* By GEO. PHILLIPS, M.R.A.S.

IN the July, 1895, number of this Journal I gave a description of the kingdom of Bengala (Bengal) from the pen of a Muhammadan Chinaman named Mahuan, who on account of his knowledge of Arabic was attached as Interpreter to the suite of Chêng Ho, when he made his voyages to India and other places in the Eastern seas at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

His accounts of the places he visited are in many particulars not perhaps quite new, but coming as they do midway between the descriptions of the East, given us by mediæval travellers, and those given us by the early Portuguese voyagers, they form, I think, a link connecting these two periods. To give a lengthy translation of these travels would, I fear, take up too much valuable space; therefore I propose in this paper to give a *précis* of the most important details contained in the description of the seaports of Cochin, Calicut, and Aden, to be followed later on by an account of Ormus, the Maldives, and Arabia.

柯枝國 *Ko-chih*, COCHIN (A.D. 1409).

Cochin, the first port of which we shall treat, is described as a day and a night's sail from Coilum 小葛蘭, the present Quilon, most probably the Kaulam Malai of the Arabs (*vide* Yule's Glossary under Malabar), known to the Chinese navigators of the Tang dynasty, A.D. 618-913, as Muhlai 沒來.

The king or ruler is of the Solar race,¹ and is a sincere believer in Buddhism,² and has the greatest reverence for elephants and oxen; and every morning at daylight prostrates himself before an image of Buddha. The king wears no clothing on the upper part of his person; he has simply a square of silk wound round his loins, kept in place by a coloured waist-band of the same material, and on his head a turban of yellow or white cotton cloth. The dress of the officers and the rich differs but little from that of the king. The houses are built of the wood of the cocoanut-tree, and are thatched with its leaves, which render them perfectly water-tight.

There are five classes of men in this kingdom. The Nairs³ rank with the king. In the first class are those

¹ Mahuan's text has Wang-so-li-jen-shih 王鎖儼人氏, and the Ming history has Wang-su-li-jen 王所里人. So-li and Su-li = Suri are, I venture to suggest, intended to represent Surya, or Surya Vana, or Race of the Sun.

王
崇
信
佛
教

Mahuan's text.

尊
釋
教

Ming history text.

² Our traveller makes no distinction between Buddhism and Hinduism. The Chinese text, which I give at the side from Mahuan's text and the Ming history, is clear as to Buddhism being meant.

³ The characters which I have interpreted as representing the Nairs, the ruling class of Malabar, are written Nan-k'uên 南昆 in Mahuan's text. A Chinese scholar suggested to me that the characters in question might probably be an error in transcription for Nan-li 南麗. The Ming history, as quoted in the Hsi-kuo-t'u-chih, Keuen 17, when speaking of the castes of Ko-chih (Cochin), also writes Nan-k'uên, and states that the ruler of that country belongs to that class. Another work, the Huang-ming-szu-i-k'ao 皇明四夷考, when speaking of the ruler of Calicut, calls him a Nan-p'i-jen 南毗人, but his brother of Cochin is styled of the Nan-k'uên class. Here is great confusion, and it is difficult to say which reading is the right one.

Dr. F. Hirth has in his paper, "Das Reich Malabar," which appeared in the T'oung-pao in May, 1895, treated of a kingdom called Nan-p'i 南毗國. Dr. Hirth seems to think that this kingdom stands for the country of the

who shave their heads, and have a thread or string hanging over their shoulder; these are looked upon as belonging to the noblest families.¹ In the second are the Muhammadans; in the third the Chittis, who are the capitalists; in the fourth the Kolings, who act as commission agents; in the fifth the Mukuas, who are the lowest and poorest of all. The Mukuas live in houses which are forbidden by the Government to be more than three feet high, and they are not allowed to wear long garments; when abroad, if they happen to meet a Nair or a Chitti they at once prostrate themselves on the ground, and dare not rise until they have passed by; these Mukuas get their living by fishing and carrying burdens.

The merchants of this country carry on their business like pedlars do in China. Here also is another class of men, called Chokis 濁臘 (Yogi), who lead austere lives like the Taoists of China, but who, however, are married. These men from the time they are born do not have their heads shaved or combed, but plait their hair into several tails, which hang over their shoulders; they wear no clothes, but round their waists they fasten a strip of rattan, over which they hang a piece of white calico; they carry a conch-shell, which they blow as they go along the road; they are accompanied by their wives, who simply wear a small bit of cotton cloth round their loins. Alms of rice

Namburi Brahmans of Malabar. There is nothing unlikely in this, but whether their country has any connection with the Nan-k'uên of Mahuan and the Nan-p'i of the Huang-ming-szû-i-k'ao I am not prepared to say.

It is well known that the rulers of Cochin and Calicut were Nairs, and such being the case I have ventured to assume that Mahuan intended to speak of them when he uses the characters Nan-k'uên. I would also suggest that by Nan-k'uên, Mahuan may possibly have intended to represent the title Naik. *Vide* Yule's Glossary under Naik, p. 470.

¹ Most probably the Brahmîna. "The Zennâr, or sacred string" (worn by Brahmîna), says Craufurd, is hung round the body from the left shoulder (Maredau's "Marco Polo," p. 856). 回回 Hui-hui, Muhammadans. 哲地 Chih-ti, Chittis; 革令 Ko-ling, Kling; 水爪 Mu-kua (*vide* Yule's Glossary).

and money are given to them by the people whose houses they visit.

In this country there are two seasons, the wet and the dry. In the first two months of the rainy season there are only passing showers, during which time the people lay in a stock of provisions; in the next two months there is a continual downpour day and night, so that the streets and market-places are like rivers, and no one is able to go out of doors; during the last two months the rain gradually ceases, and then not a drop falls for another six months. The soil is unproductive; pepper, however, grows on the hills and is extensively cultivated; this article is sold at five taels the P'o-ho,¹ which is 400 cattis of Chinese weight.

All trading transactions are carried on by the Chittis, who buy the pepper from the farmers when it is ripe, and sell it to foreign ships when they pass by. They also buy and collect precious stones and other costly wares. A pearl weighing three-and-a-half candareens can be bought for a hundred ounces of silver. Coral is sold by the cattis; inferior pieces of coral are cut into beads and polished by skilled workmen; these are also sold by weight. The coinage of the country is a gold piece, called a Fa-nan,² weighing one candareen; there is also a little silver coin called a Ta-urh,³ which is used for making small purchases in the market. Fifteen Ta-urhs make a Fa-nan. There are no asses or geese in this country, and there is neither wheat nor barley; rice, maize, hemp, and millet abound. Articles of tribute are sent to China by our ships on their return voyage.

¹ 播荷 P'o-ho. Bahar. A commercial weight which differs greatly in many places. Pepper at Cochin apparently sold, reckoning the tael at 6s. 8d., at £1 13s. 4d. for 534 lbs., or less than a penny a pound.

² 法南 Fa-nan. The Fa-nan is a small piece of gold worth fifteen Târis. 苔兒 Ta-urh. The Târi is a small coin worth a halfpenny. (Extract from Dr. Dillan in Elliott's "Coins of Southern India," p. 57.)—I am indebted to Dr. Codrington for the above note, and also for other valuable help.

古里國 *Ku-li*, CALICUT (A.D. 1409).

This seaport, of which Mahuan gives us a most lengthy account, is described as a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants from all quarters. It is three days' sail from Cochin, by which it is bordered on the south; on the north it adjoins Cannanore (猥奴兒 *K'an-nu-urb*); it has the sea on the west; and on the east, through the mountains, at a distance of 500 *li* (167 miles), is the kingdom or city of *K'an-pa-mei*,¹ a great seat of cotton manufacture, where is made, as also in the surrounding districts, a cloth called *Chih-li* (指黎布 *Chih-li-pu*) cloth. It is made up into pieces, four feet five inches wide and twenty-five feet long; it is sold there for eight or ten gold pieces of their money. They also prepare raw silk for the loom, which they dye various shades of colour and then weave into flowered pattern goods, made up into pieces four to five feet wide and twelve to thirteen feet long. Each length is sold for one hundred gold pieces of their money.

To return to Calicut, much pepper is grown on the hills. Cocoanuts are extensively cultivated, many farmers owning a thousand trees; those having a plantation of three thousand are looked upon as wealthy proprietors. The king belongs to the Nair class, and, like his brother of Cochin, is a sincere follower of Buddha, and as such does not eat beef; his overseer, being a Muhammadan, does not eat pork. This led, it is said in times past, to a compact being made between the king and his overseer, to the

¹ *K'an-pa-mei* 坎巴美, read also *K'an-pa-i* 坎巴夷, and in the Amoy dialect *K'am-pa-i*, may possibly be a Chinese rendering of Koyampudi, a former name of Coimbatore, a town and district in the Madras Presidency, a great centre of weaving and cotton manufacture.

Ibn Batuta informs us that at *Shälyët*, a town a little to the south of Calicut, they make the stuffs that bear its name (*Yule's Glossary*, p. 139). This stuff made at *Shälyët* must be, I think, the *Chih-li* cloth of our Chinese traveller, but he says it was made at *Kampamei* and its district; he may possibly include *Shälyët* in the term district.

effect that if the king would give up eating pork the overseer would give up eating beef. This compact has been most scrupulously observed by the successors of both parties up to the present day. The king at his devotions prostrates himself before an image of Buddha every morning; which being over, his attendants collect all the cow-dung about the place, and smear it over the image of the god. Some of the dung the king orders to be burnt to ashes and put into a small cotton bag, which he continually wears upon his person; and when his morning ablutions are over, he mixes some of the powdered dung with water and smears it over his forehead and limbs; by so doing he considers he is showing Buddha the greatest reverence.

Many of the king's subjects are Muhammadans, and there are twenty or thirty mosques in the kingdom, to which the people resort every seventh day for worship. On this day, during the morning, the people being at the mosques, no business whatever is transacted; and in the after part of the day, the services being over, business is resumed.

When a ship arrives from China, the king's overseer with a Chitti go on board and make an invoice of the goods, and a day is settled for valuing the cargo. On the day appointed the silk goods, more especially the Khinkis (Kincobs), are first inspected and valued, which when decided on, all present join hands, whereupon the broker says, "The price of your goods is now fixed, and cannot in any way be altered."

The price to be paid for pearls and precious stones is arranged by the Weinaki broker,¹ and the value of the

¹ 哲地未訥九 Chitti Weinaki. Chittis are merchants who are called in when anything is to be sold, and who are retained by the king to conduct his trading transactions ashore and afloat. These Chittis are divided into four classes, each dealing in their own particular wares. The Waligi Chitti (doubtless the Chinese Weinaki Chitti) trades in corals, rubies, and bangles made of glass, earth, lead, tin, copper, or any kind of metals. (Valentyn, "Description of Ceylon," vol. v, p. 8.)

Chinese goods taken in exchange for them is that previously fixed by the broker in the way above stated.

They have no abacus on which to make their calculations, but in its place they use their toes and fingers, and, what is very wonderful, they are never wrong in their reckonings.

The succession to the throne is settled in a somewhat curious manner. The king is not succeeded by his son, but by his sister's son, because his nephew, being born of his sister's body, is considered nearer to him by blood. If the king has no sister the succession goes to his brother; if he has no brother it goes to a man of ability and worth. Such has been the rule for many generations.¹

Trial by ordeal is much practised in this country, such as thrusting the finger of the accused into boiling oil, and then keeping him in jail for two or three days. If after that time the finger is ulcerated he is pronounced guilty and sentenced to punishment; but if his finger has received no injury he is at once set free, and escorted home by musicians engaged by the overseer. On his arrival home his relatives, neighbours, and friends make him presents, and rejoice and feast together.

The jack fruit and the plantain abound in this country, which is also well supplied with melons, gourds, and turnips, and every other kind of vegetable. Ducks, herons, and swallows are numbered among the feathered tribe, and there are bats as large as vultures, which hang suspended from the trees.

As in Cochin, the money in circulation is the Fa-nan and the Tn-urh. Their weights are the P'o-ho and the Fan-la-shih, and there is a measure called a Tang-ko-li.²

¹ This is still the order of succession in Travancore.

² 番刺失 *Fan-la-sek*. An error in transcription, most probably for *Fan-sek-la*. The Arab *Farsala*, a weight formerly much used in trade in the Indian seas; it seems to have run from 20 to 30 lbs. (*Yule's Glossary*, p. 273). 亮曼黎 *Tang-ko-li*. This may possibly represent the *Curia* of *Varthema*, p. 170. In a note on the same page *Curia* is said to stand undoubtedly for *Kôraja*.

The king's present to the Emperor is usually a gold-plaited girdle set with all kinds of precious stones and pearls.

It may not be out of place to note that Mahuan states that the commander of the Chinese fleet which left China in 1408, did on his arrival at Calicut erect a stone with a Chinese inscription on it to commemorate his visit. Are there any traces of it still remaining?

阿丹 *Ahtan*, ADEN (A.D. 1423).

This kingdom can be reached from Calicut in a month with a favourable wind by shaping a due westerly course.

The country is rich, and the people prosperous. The king and his subjects are all Muhammadans, who speak Ah-la-pek (Arabic); they are haughty and overbearing in their manners. They have a force of seven or eight thousand military, consisting of infantry and cavalry, which causes them to be greatly feared and respected by their neighbours.

In the nineteenth year of Yung-lo (1422) an Imperial envoy, the eunuch Li, was sent from China to this country with a letter and presents to the king. On his arrival he was most honourably received, and was met by the king on landing and conducted by him to his palace. During the stay of the embassy the people who had rarities were permitted to offer them for sale. Cat's-eyes of extraordinary size, rubies, and other precious stones, large branches of coral, amber, and attar of roses were among the articles purchased. Giraffes, lions, zebras, leopards, ostriches, and white pigeons were also offered for sale.

The dress usually worn by the king is a long white garment, and a turban of fine white cloth, with a knob of brocade on the top; when he goes to the mosque to worship he changes this dress for a yellow robe, fastened at the wrist by a girdle adorned with precious stones, and on his head he wears a golden crown. He goes abroad in

a carriage escorted by a company of soldiers. His officers have each a particular dress appertaining to their rank. The head-dress of the men is a turban; their garment is made of woollen, silk, or cotton stuff. The women wear a long robe; from their shoulders hangs a chain made of pearls and precious stones with silken tassels at the end like that worn by the Goddess of Mercy; from each of their ears hang four pairs of gold inlaid ear-rings,¹ golden bracelets on their arms, and rings on their fingers. They also wear a silk brocaded handkerchief over their heads, merely showing the upper part of their faces.

The jewellers of this country are skilled in the manufacture of gold enamelled hair-pins, and other gold and silver ornaments for the hair, which are lifelike in their representation of natural objects. There are in the town market-places, bathing establishments, eating-houses, and shops for the sale of sundry wares. The coinage of the country is a gold piece called a *Poololi*, engraved on both sides; there is also in circulation for small purchases a copper coin called *Pu-kio-szû*.²

The climate of the country is always warm, with a temperature like our eighth and ninth months. The year is made up of a certain fixed number of days and months, twelve of the latter making a year, and these are divided into great and small months. They have no intercalary

¹ "Ear-rings. 'Tankisa' exactly resembles the Klusfa, but is one inch in diameter, and is frequently bound with gold wire half its circumference. Six of these rings are worn in the upper membrane of each ear." (Hunter's "Statistical Account of Aden," pp. 58, 59.)

² *Poo-lo-li* } 哺 嚙 嚙.

Poo-kio-szû } 哺 嚙 斯.

I am indebted to Professor de Goeje, of Leiden, for the following explanation of the above names of the Aden coins, which he has kindly given me through Professor G. Schlegel, also of Leiden.

The syllable *Poo*, says the Professor, represents the Arabic *Abu*, Father. It occurs in many vulgar names of coins, as in *Abu Madfa*, Gun Father, or rather Father Gun, the name of the Pillar Dollar, which the Arabs compare to two guns.

Poo-lo-li is *Abu Loo-loo*, Pearl Father, possibly so called on account of there being a circle on the coin resembling beads or pearls.

Poo-kio-szû is *Abu Kans* or *Kas*, Father Arch or Bow, on account of the coin having the figure of an arch or bow on it.

months; the first day of the month is the day following the night on which they first see the new moon.¹ Their four seasons are not fixed, but are regulated by an astronomer, who reckons the time for their commencement; the eclipses of the sun and moon are also foretold by him, as well as the time for wind and rain and the ebb and flow of the tide: he is never at fault in his calculations.

The necessities of life of all kinds are abundant. Much butter, oil, and honey are to be had there; rice and other cereals, pulse, and every kind of vegetable are obtainable. Their fruits are the date, almond,² dried grapes, walnuts, a kind of wild apple, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, and a seedless white grape.

The animals found there are elephants, camels, mules, asses, sheep, cows, dogs, and cats; they have also fowls and ducks, but no pigs or geese. There is a kind of sheep found here with white hair, but without horns; where they should be they have two round black spots; the flesh underneath the neck hangs like the dewlap of a cow; the hair is short like that of a dog, and the tail is as big as a bason. Here also is found the zebra, 化福鹿 Hua-fu-lu: this animal is about the size of a mule; its body and face are white, lined with dark stripes, which begin in the middle of its forehead, and are distributed at regular intervals over its whole body and down its legs, just as if they were painted. The giraffe is also found in this country: its fore legs are nine feet high, and its hind legs about six feet; its neck is sixteen feet long; owing to its fore-quarters being high and its hind-quarters low it cannot be ridden. It has two short horns at the side of its ears; the tail is like that of a cow, and the body like that of a deer; the hoof is divided into three sections, the mouth is flat, and it feeds on millet and pulse. The

¹ Les Mahometans comptent leur mois selon le cours de la lune; le premier soir où ils voient la nouvelle lune, est le premier jour du mois. Quand le soir où elle doit paraître, le temps est couvert, ils ne sembleraient pas de commencer le mois un jour plus tard. (Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 96. Amsterdam, 1774.)

² Badan. Persina Bādām (Bretschneider).

lions resemble tigers; they are black and yellow, but without stripes; they have large heads, wide mouths, and pointed tails, on which hang tufts of long black hair; their roar is like thunder, and when heard by other beasts, these latter crouch with fear and dare not stir. Truly this is the king of beasts, says the traveller.

Their houses are built of stone, roofed in with tiles or earth; some of their buildings are forty to fifty feet high, and have three storeys.

Their king, grateful for the condescension shown him by the Chinese Emperor, had specially made for His Majesty two gold enamelled belts, set with pearls and precious stones. These, with a cap of gold, rubies, and every other kind of precious stones, two rhinoceros horns, and a letter written on gold leaf, were sent as tribute by our fleet on its homeward voyage.

ART. IX.—*Remarks on the Etymology of Šabbath.* By H.
HIRSCHFELD.

THE latest researches on the noun in Semitic languages, in particular those of Prof. Barth and the late Prof. Lagarde, have opened up a vast field for discussion. Although starting from quite heterogeneous principles, yet, as they develop, they show many a point in common if examined more closely. The greater or lesser inclination of the student for speculative philology will lead him to devote his main interest to one of the two theories, but it will not absolve him from bestowing full attention on the other also, on account of its numerous important details. It would, however, be a delusion to think that either theory has completely solved the questions of the Semitic noun. No language allows itself to be confined by hard and fast rules, and Hebrew, like others, has developed many words which will not bear uniform treatment. In particular, words which lived in everybody's mouth, and had to undergo constant wear and tear, defy, more or less, violent attempts to force them within concise rules. An instance of those will form the object of the following remarks.

After W. Lotz published his little book, *Quaestiones de historia Sabbati* (Leipzig, 1883), the discussion on the etymology of שַׁבָּת ceased for a time. Without offering any new and plausible theory, he rejects an ancient one, which will have to be mentioned again later on, and adheres to that of Kimḥi, Olshausen, Lagarde, and others, viz. that שַׁבָּת is a contracted form of שַׁבְּתָה. König ("Lehrgebäude," Hälfte ii, Th. 1, p. 180 *sq.*), as recently as last year, reduces this form to שַׁבְּתָה; whilst Ewald's

explanation that שֶׁבֶת (is a form like נָנַב and) means *Der Feierer* has, I believe, been abandoned by most scholars.

The foregoing etymologies have only been adopted for want of a better one, and, indeed, leave many questions open, of which I will only mention one, viz. how שֶׁבֶתָּה was condensed into שֶׁבֶת. That the omission of the final ת is intimated by the *Dāgeš forte* in the ת of forms with suffix like שֶׁבֶתוֹ, has been already justly urged by Barth ("Nominalbildung," 1st ed., p. 24), since this *Dāgeš*, in fact, owes its existence to quite different causes.

Prof. Barth, in his very ingenious book, places שֶׁבֶת among the *transitive* forms with sharpened 2nd radical and originally short vowel (*qāttāl*), which would, at any rate, be an improvement on the derivations mentioned above. Now, if derived from a root שֶׁבֶת, the transitive character of the noun is embarrassing, because, apart from its being quite contrary to the idea hidden in the same, it is always of feminine gender (in Isaiah lvi, 2 and 6 the word יוֹם is to be supplied). If, then, the ת in שֶׁבֶתָּה stands to designate the *genus femininum*, we would have to look for another radical letter, and return to the theories of Olshausen, König, etc., and thus move in a circle.

The late Prof. Lagarde has on several occasions treated on the etymology of שֶׁבֶת, finally in his "Uebersicht" (p. 113), where he simply places it side by side with Arabic مُتَبَاعِدَة ("long space of time"). While abandoning in part an older theory given in his *Psalterium Hieronymi* (pp. 158-60), he, in a note, admits the existence of Assyrian *sabātu* "to rest." As he, however, does not say how far his older theory is to be given up, we must take the points common to both, and assume that he derives שֶׁבֶת from the intensive stem of the root שֶׁבֶת in a manner similar to that of Olshausen and his followers, whilst the comparison with سَبَّحَ only adds another difficulty.

Now if these derivations fail to give us a clear and concise etymology of the word in question, we are obliged to look for another one, and this was certainly given as early as in the fourth century of our era by Lactantius,¹ who rightly maintains that the *noun* was derived from the *number*; in other words, that שבת is nothing but a contracted form of the old Semitic form of the numeral שבעת. This assumption is strongly supported by Theophilus Antiochenus,² who wrote even earlier that what the Hebrews call σαββατον is in Greek "week." Writing as they did at a date so much nearer to the period when Hebrew was a living language, their almost unanimous verdict reveals a tradition (the origin of which was unknown to them) which still existed in the memory of the public, and these circumstances should not have been overlooked or rejected by Lotz without proof.

We have now two points to consider—

- (1) The linguistic possibility of reducing שבת to an original שבעת.
- (2) The relation of שבת to the root שבת.

As regards the first point, שבעת represents the construct state of the masculine form of the (classical) Hebrew numeral for *seven*, and occurs in the connection שבעת ימים nearly a hundred times in the O.T. against about thirty in connection with other nouns. The archaic form of the absolute state of the same numeral was evidently שבעת, and the *a*-sound of the first syllable is not only retained in Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, but also in שבע, the feminine form in Hebrew, whilst the change of the Patah

¹ Instit. vii, 14 (Patrologia vi, p. 781): Dies sabbati, qui lingua Hebraeorum a numero nomen accepit, unde septenarius numerus legitimus ac plenus est.

² Ed. Caillan, p. 151: Quod enim apud Hebraeos sabbatum dicitur Graece redditur hebdomas, quae quidem apud omne humanum genus appellatur; quam autem ob causam ita vocem ignorant.

into Hîreq is only a modification just as in Assyrian *sibitti*.¹ Now it is a very common phenomenon in Hebrew that a guttural in words of frequent use is so worn away as to disappear entirely,² whilst, according to the position of this guttural in the word, either the preceding or the following consonant is doubled; otherwise we would have a short vowel in an open syllable, which the Hebrew language has a strong tendency to avoid. This would explain the Pataḥ in the first syllable of שֶׁבֶת, whilst the Qāmeẓ of the second one is due to the weight of the accent. Of other instances of the same phenomenon in Hebrew I merely mention the following. The proper noun יֵשׁוּעַ³ (Ezra x, 31; 1 Chron. vii, 3) is contracted from יֵשׁוּעַ יְהוָה "my help is Yāh" (=יֵשׁוּעַהוּ), whilst שְׁמִי⁴ (1 Chron. ii, 28) is evidently originally שְׁמִיעִי (or שְׁמִיעִיה); the verbal form וְנִשְׁקָה (Amos viii, 8) is the Ktîb for וְנִשְׁקָה. All these cases are such in which ף forms the third radical. Of instances where the guttural standing as second radical was omitted, I only mention צִיּוֹן=צִיּוֹן and רֵעוֹת=רֵעוֹת⁵ (both also mentioned by Lagarde, *ib.* p. 84). As the last, but not the least striking instance, may serve the word הַטָּאָה "sin," which Barth (p. 146) places under the group *qātālāt*,⁶ Lagarde under *qattāl*. But it seems rather to be a form *qattlat*, in which the quiescent guttural א caused its vowel to be pronounced

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar* (1889), p. 163.

² Cf. Wright, *Compar. Grammar* (1st ed.), p. 48.

³ Gesenius explains יֵשׁוּעַ יְהוָה, and derives the first part of the name from יֵשׁוּעַ, which is hardly correct.

⁴ Gesenius' *verruendet* from √ שָׁמַע, but most improbable. LXX. Σομαι, the ף seeming to have still been sounded.

⁵ I omit בָּעַל=בָּעַל, but see Wright, *ib.* p. 48 sq.

⁶ Coincides with הַטָּאָה, Gen. xx, 9.

immediately after ש, which then had to be repeated for the same reason as the instances mentioned previously. In one instance, indeed (Numb. xv, 24), we find the same word written without that ש, viz. שבת, which furnishes the exact parallel to שבת. The possibility of the contraction can therefore not be doubted.

We have now to investigate the relation existing between our word and the root שבת. From what preceded we gather that *a priori* they have nothing in common. The idea of resting for religious reasons after a certain spell of working days is far too complicated to be the original meaning of a primitive root. In Arabic سبت has two significations—"to cut off" and "to be motionless"; but we will not discuss here any connection which might exist between them. Qor. lxxviii, 7 contains the phrase وَجَعَلْنَا نَوْمَكُمْ سُبَاتًا "we made your sleep motionless," which al-Beidhāwī explains as "cutting off from perception and movement," therefore المسبوت "the corpse." As the original meaning of سبت he gives "to cut off." In Hebrew the first signification of שבת seems to be "to cease," in its more profane sense: *e.g.* Job xxxii, 1; Lam. v, 15; also Gen. ii, 2, particularly in the derived forms. Now when the *seventh* day was appointed for leaving off work, the noun שבעת and the verb שבת were brought into immediate practical connection with each other, and thus the fusion of both was prepared in the minds of the people, who are the real enrichers of a language. Furthermore, to regard the ת in שבת as radical is of comparatively recent date, as this seems not to have been the case in Aramaic. In Syriac the word is ܡܫܬܐ, ܡܫܬܐ *pl.* ܡܫܬܐ, in Jewish Aramaic (Targūm) שבתא, שבתא *pl.*

שָׁבִין, שָׁבִין.¹ Now if the Qāmeẓ in שָׁבֵת would correspond to long *ā*, and would not be merely heightened from *a*, the Syriac form, if derived from a root שבת, should have been *šabbāthā*. The Qoranic form سَبَّات, as well as the Ethiopic form, are nothing but reproductions of the Aramaic form, otherwise we should also expect (*subbāt* or) *sabbāt*. From the Ethiopic plural *sanbatāt* Lagarde infers the radical character of the ת. This is, however, not the case. When the word in Hebrew had once received its official stamp, and had to be inflected, the ת was retained for reasons of triliterality. There are many instances of exactly the same character, as שְׁקִתוֹת, קִשְׁתוֹת, הַנִּיתוֹת, עִתוֹת, דְּלִתוֹת (Phoen. דללות),² etc., in which neither ת is originally radical. Not to be overlooked is the Hebrew proper noun שְׁבֵתִי (Ezra x, 15), in which the Qāmeẓ could not have been dropped, had שָׁבֵת been a form like שָׁבֵב; on the other hand, had the word been condensed from שְׁבַתָּה we should expect this name to be שְׁבֵתִי.

Of particular interest is the record which Assyrian documents furnish for Šabbāth. Schrader (KAT², p. 20 *seqq.*) reproduces a tablet in which the "seventh day" is called an "evil day," on which no work should be done nor business transacted. A passage in another inscription calls this day *šabat-tur*, but writes it with only one ב. An explanatory note attached to this text derives the word from *ša-bat*, and translates *ūm-nūh-libbi* "the day of the rest of the heart." This clearly shows that to the annotator the real meaning of the word was anything but clear, but that his translation only gives what he knew of the character of that day, and that he never thought of tracing it to the root *šabātu*.

¹ Levy, TW to be corrected.

² See Barth in ZDMG. xli, 607, 622.

This will allow us to draw some conclusion as to the age of the Hebrew word שֶׁבֶת, which must be considerable, and the word was shaped before the language assumed that form which we find in the O.T. Other conclusions dealing with the age of the week, etc., are beyond the scope of the present observations.

In summing up the preceding remarks, I should like to comprise the same in the following theses:—

(1) The derivation of שֶׁבֶת from √ שבת offers difficulties which it has been hitherto impossible to remove, in spite of many efforts.

(2) The word is rather contracted from שֶׁבַעַת, and this is not only possible but highly probable.

(3) That contraction was greatly accelerated by the resemblance of the religious idea hidden in the expression "seventh day" with the meaning of the root שֶׁבֶת "to cease (work)," and thus שֶׁבֶת offers an interesting example of what is called popular etymology.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE PILLARS OF THE THUPĀRĀMA AND LANKĀRĀMA
DĀGABAS, CEYLON.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—The concentric pillars which surround the Thupārāma and Lankārāma dāgabas at Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon, have long been a puzzle to the archæologist. These pillars are tall and slender; the Thupārāma dāgaba has four concentric circles of them, and the Lankārāma has three. The first guess as to their purpose—and a very natural one—was that they had supported some kind of a roof to protect the pasadas, or procession paths, from the sun: Fergusson, with his wide knowledge of Buddhist architecture, conjectured that these pillars were only another and a developed form of the posts which form the pradakshina, or procession path, of the Sanchi and other stūpas. To this he added the further suggestion that, as sculpture had not been developed in Ceylon to the same extent as painting, pictures on cloth or canvas of some kind had been hung upon them with scenes representing the life of Buddha. The hanging of lights, or garlands of flowers, was another possible theory in keeping with Buddhist practices. The difficulty up to the present has been to know which of all these guesses might be the correct one.

The Ceylon Government has lately published a very large and important work on the "Architectural Remains of Anurādhapura," by Mr. J. G. Smithers, F.R.I.B.A.,

late Architect to the Government of Ceylon. The book is almost wholly devoted to the *dāgabas* of the old capital, and it contains no less than sixty-seven large plates, which, from their size, appear to give an exhaustive account of the details of the old monuments. Mr. Smithers, as a practical architect, rejects the supposition that the slim pillars of the two *dāgabas* could possibly have supported any kind of roof; but he makes the suggestion that they may have been surmounted by Buddhist emblems. On reading this it recalled to my mind that the pillars known as "Buddhist *lāts*" were, as their name implies, long and slender, and they were all surmounted by emblematic objects, such as lions, elephants, or wheels. There is a pillar still standing in front of the Karli cave, with four lions on the summit, and Fergusson supposes that above these there was originally a *chakra*, or wheel. Hiuen Tsiang supplies an additional evidence. In describing Ceylon this pilgrim says: "By the side of the king's palace is the *vihāra* of Buddha's tooth, several hundred feet high, brilliant with jewels, and ornamented with rare gems. Above the *vihāra* is placed an upright pole, on which is fixed a great Padma *rāja* [*ruby*] jewel."¹ This was at the Thupārāma *dāgaba*, where the position of the tooth temple, which was then at that place, may be seen on Mr. Smithers' plan, and here we have a pole, or pillar, surmounted by a Buddhist emblem. The slender form of the pillars at the Thupārāma *dāgaba* show that they are only copies of poles or wooden originals. The word "*lāt*," which is applied to the Buddhist pillars in India, indicates the same character.

Perhaps the best evidence for this theory of the pillars may be derived from a late *Progress Report* by Dr. Führrer, which recounts an archæological survey he has made in Burma. In writing of the Sandō Payā, the largest pagoda in Prome, he states that the platform on which it is constructed is paved with stone slabs, "and all round its outer edge is a continuous series of carved wooden image-houses,

¹ Beal's translation, vol. ii, p. 248.

and between these and the pagoda are *garuntaings*, or sacred posts, surmounted by *garuda*, with long streamers dependent from their summits." The word "pagoda" in Burma means a similar structure to the stūpa of India, and the dāgaba of Ceylon, and here we have it surrounded with "sacred posts," which support a figure of Garuda, the Waban of Vishnu. It is understood that up to the fifth century Burma derived its faith and an architectural influence from India; but after that date it looked also to Ceylon, and this would explain where the models for the Garuntaings had been found. Why the Buddhists of Burma had chosen the Garuda of Vishnu is not explained; but that is of no moment here, the point being that the posts are surmounted by emblematical figures.

Columns, with emblems upon them, at temples were not confined to the Buddhists; the Brahmins had them at their temples as well. At the rock-cut kailasa of Ellura there are two columns, and on the top of one there is still the fragment of a *trisula* which surmounted it. At the well-known temple of Jagannātha at Puri there is a pillar called the Aruna Stambha; it stood originally before the Sun temple at Konārak, and bore a monkey on its summit. There were others in Orissa, and one still stands at Jagepur (see illustration in Fergusson's "Indian and Eastern Architecture," p. 433) which supported a "garuda," the same fabulous creature that is borne on the "sacred posts" at Prome.

The following by Dr. Bühler, if correct, seems still further to confirm this. Dr. Führer had discovered some very interesting Jaina sculptures in the Kankāli Tila at Mathurā; among the objects represented on the sculptures were stūpas—showing that the Jainas also erected monuments of that character—and regarding these Dr. Bühler writes: "With respect to the stūpa, which we shall meet again more than once in the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monument once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñāna* and *Bhakti Mārgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory

to my article *Vienna Or. Journal*, vol. iv, pp. 328 f. I may add, however, that Brahminical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Thus we read (*Mah.* i, 109, 13, 14): 'That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhishma, in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of *chaityas* and sacrificial posts.' The juxtaposition of the *chaityas* and *yūpas* shows that Brahminical sacred buildings, probably stūpas, were meant."¹ This quotation from the *Mahābhārata*, if Dr. Bühler be correct in his interpretation of it, although slight enough, would pass for a description of the Thupārāma and the Lankārāma dāgabās; but it will be rather a surprise if it turns out that the pillars at these dāgabās had their origin in the *yūpas*, or sacrificial posts, to which the victims were tied at an early period, when, as we know, the sacrifice of animals was a part of the Brahminical system.

W. SIMPSON.

2. KURAṆḌA.

SIR,—In Jātaka, No. 172 of Mr. Rouse's translation, there is a remarkable passage which appears to be the result of a mistake in Childers' Dictionary: it is as follows:—

Page 46. "The yellow robe which he put on was blue as a bluebell."

If the colour of the robe was really blue, the word "kāśāva" had better not have been translated "yellow robe," but "robe."

However, on turning up "kaṇṭa-kuraṇḍa" in Roxburgh Flor. Ind., vol. iii, p. 37, I find that the *thorny* kuraṇḍa has a yellow flower. Childers gives "*Barleria cristata*," which is not thorny and has a blue flower, whereas the proper name is "*Barleria prionitis*."—Yours truly,

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

March 21st, 1896.

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 313.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1896.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

January 14th, 1896.—The Rev. Dr. Gaster in the Chair.

Mr. Phillips read a paper on "Mahuan's Account of Cochin, Calicut, and Aden."

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Tahl Ram, Mr. Baynes, and Dr. Codrington took part.

The paper is published in the present issue.

February 11th, 1896.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The President, on behalf of Prince Roland Bonaparte, presented to the Society a copy of the Prince's "*Documens de l'Époque Mongole.*"

The President called attention to the severe loss the Society had suffered by the death of Dr. Rost, and gave expression in sympathetic words to the high estimation in which the deceased scholar was held. He concluded by moving the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: "The Royal Asiatic Society desires to express its very deep sympathy with Mrs. Rost under her recent sudden bereavement by the death of her husband, who as successively Secretary, Honorary Member, and Member of Council, not only rendered most valuable services to the Society, but was personally endeared to all such of its members as had the privilege of his personal acquaintance."

The President, being obliged to leave on account of the ceremony at the House of Lords, resigned the Chair to Dr. Gaster.

It was announced that—

Mr. E. P. Ker, China Consular Service,

Mr. W. Gordon Campbell, Vice-Consul, Constantinople,
and

Mr. T. J. Desai

had been elected members of the Society.

Dr. Hirschfeld read a paper on the derivation of the word "Šabbāth"; and Dr. Friedlander and Dr. Gaster discussed the points raised.

Mr. Herbert Baynes also read a paper on the "Māṇḍūkya Upanishad"; and Mr. Desai, Mr. Sturdy, and Prof. Bendall joined in the discussion.

March 10th, 1896.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that Mr. J. Elmsley Wood, of Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, had been elected a member of the Society.

A paper was read by Mr. A. Rogers on "A Persian History of Christ and St. Peter," by Jerome Xavier, S.J.

Dr. Thornton, Mr. Beveridge, and Dr. Gaster took part in the discussion.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Band xlix, Heft 4.

Praetorius (Fr.). Rede gehalten am 2 October, 1895.

Delbrück (B.). Rudolf Roth.

Zenner (J. K.). Arabische Piūṭim.

Simon (R.). Nachträge zum Amaruśataka.

Meissner (B.). Mubassīrs Akhbār al-Iskender.

Marquart (J.). Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān.

Fischer (A.). Noch einmal Aus b. Hağar.

Justi (F.). Miscellen zur iranischen Namenkunde.

Weissbach (F. H.). Anzanisches.

Fischer (A.). Heinrich Thorbecke's handschriftlicher Nachlass.

2. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. N.S. Tome vi, No. 3.

Sauvage (H.). Description de Damas (suite).

Berchem (Max van). Recherches archéologiques en Syrie. (Lettre à Mons Barbier de Meynard.)

Henry (V.). Mudgala, ou l'Hymne du marteau.

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Dr. Reinhold Rost.

[The following is based on the obituary in the *Academy* of February 15, 1896.]

Dr. Rost has not long survived his retirement from the India Office. He died very suddenly on February 7 at Canterbury, whither he had gone on duties connected with St. Augustine's College. He had just completed the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Reinhold Rost was born in 1822 at a little manufacturing town in the duchy of Sax-Altenberg, where his father was a Lutheran Minister, holding the office of Archdeacon. After attending the Gymnasium in the capital of his native state, he entered at the neighbouring University of Jena, where he graduated as Ph.D. in 1847. Having already determined to devote himself to Oriental studies, he came at once to England, the great storehouse of Sanskrit MSS. His first post was that of Oriental Lecturer at the Missionary College at Canterbury, with which he remained associated till the last. From 1864 to 1869 he was Secretary to the

Royal Asiatic Society, and was then appointed Librarian to the India Office in succession to Dr. Fitzedward Hall, who survives him. This is one of the few posts in England that may be regarded as an endowment for Oriental research. The official duties are not heavy, but the collection of MSS. is one of the largest in the world, and their custodian is necessarily brought into contact with students of all countries. In addition he acts as adviser in philological matters to the Secretary of State for India, who still dispenses some of that literary patronage in which the old Company was so profuse.

Dr. Rost will long be remembered as Librarian to the India Office. If he left it to others to catalogue and edit the MSS., this was not through incapacity for either task. Though primarily a Sanskritist, he had to consider the claims of Arabic and Persian, of Pāli, Burmese, and Sinhalese, of Tibetan and Malay, and of countless vernaculars. Of all these languages we have mentioned, he possessed a competent knowledge; and he had further to give his attention to questions relating to archaeology, ethnology, and Indian history. In brief, Dr. Rost elected to turn himself into an Oriental encyclopædia, which no one ever consulted in vain. Through his initiative MSS. were lent freely to foreign scholars; and it is hardly too much to say that on the Continent he was regarded as a steward of Oriental knowledge to whom everyone might appeal without hesitating for assistance and advice. This feeling was strongly expressed in a testimonial presented to him in 1892, when it was rumoured that he was to be retired compulsorily from his post. Frenchmen joined with Germans in testifying to the kindness and impartiality which he had always displayed towards fellow-students. The Government allowed him one year more of office and of work; but he was superannuated (sorely against the grain) in 1893.

Dr. Rost wrote little under his own name. His first publication was a short essay (1850) on a Pāli law book from Burma law, and he also compiled a Catalogue of the

Palm-leaf MSS. in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. He was content to be known as the editor of H. H. Wilson's Selected Works, of Brian Hodgson's Collected Papers, and of four volumes of Miscellanies relating to Indo-China. He edited for Messrs. Trübner and Co.'s publishing firm a series of "Simplified Grammars," and for many years contributed literary notes to their trade circular, the "Oriental Record." But his modesty did not deprive him of all public recognition. Edinburgh made him LL.D., and Oxford conferred on him the rarer distinction of Honorary M.A. He was an Honorary or Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of many learned Societies on the Continent and in the East. Prussia, Russia, and Sweden gave him decorations; and our own Government appointed him Companion of the Indian Empire in 1888.

Abel Hovelacque, of Paris.

Science and Oriental studies have suffered a great loss by the death of M. Abel Hovelacque, which occurred on Saturday, February 22nd, 1896. Born in Paris, Nov. 14th, 1843, he studied first for the Bar, but, at the same time, he was induced to take interest in linguistics, and attended Prof. H. Chavée's classes, who taught him comparative philology. He particularly devoted himself to Sanskrit and Zend, and published some valuable pamphlets. He was a founder of the *Revue de Linguistique* (1867), where his first essays appeared, and of which he became Director in 1869; in 1877 he resigned the task, having for several years been deeply interested in anthropological researches. In the year 1876 a public school for Anthropology was founded in Paris, with five professors; among them Hovelacque was engaged to teach the science of language, and he fulfilled the task most successfully. In 1891 he was appointed, by his fellow-professors, Director of the school, which comprises at present

no less than ten professors. For ten years his health had suffered, and from 1894 the illness seriously increased and led to the fatal issue, which the best care and attention were unable to prevent.

In the meantime he occupied himself with politics, and was elected in 1878 a member of the Paris Municipal Council, of which he was the President in 1886 and 1888; in 1889 he was sent to the Parliament as Deputy of the XIII^e Paris district, but resigned in 1894.

His principal works are the following ones:—*La théorie épécienne de lautverschiebung* (1869), *Racines et éléments simples* (1869), *Grammaire de la langue zend* (1869; 2nd ed. 1878), *Instructions pour l'étude élémentaire de la linguistique indo-européenne* (1871), *Euphonie sanskrite* (1872), *La France et les Slaves de Sud* (1872), *Langues—races—nationalités* (1873; 2nd ed. 1875), *La linguistique* (1876; 2nd ed. 1877; 3rd ed. 1881; 4th ed. 1887: English translation, London, Chatham, 1877), *Notre ancêtre* (1877; 2nd ed. 1878), *L'Avesta Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme* (1880), *Études de linguistique et d'ethnographie* (with Prof. J. Vinson, 1878), *Mélanges de linguistique et d'anthropologie* (with Profs. J. Vinson and E. Rost, 1880), *La langue khasia* (1880), *L'enseignement primaire à Paris: laïques et congréganistes* (1880), *Les débuts de l'humanité* (1881), *Les races humaines* (1882), *Morceaux choisis de Voltaire, J. J. Rousseau, et Diderot* (1883), *Précis d'anthropologie* (with Dr. G. Hervé, 1887), *Les Nègres de l'Afrique sus-équatoriale* (1889), *Recherches ethnologiques sur le horvan* (with Dr. G. Hervé, 1894). Moreover, he contributed to many periodicals and other publications—the *Dictionnaire des Sciences anthropologiques* (1886), *L'homme* (by Prof. de Morlet), *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, *Revue de Linguistique*, etc.

G. VINSON.

Paris, March, 1896.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

Notice to Members.—A series of three maps was issued in 1855 to illustrate a paper, in Vol. XV, o.s., J.R.A.S., by Captain Felix Jones, on "The Topography of Nineveh." These maps were issued apart from the Journal, and were in three large sheets. The Society is desirous of purchasing one or more sets of these maps, and the Secretary would be glad to hear from any member who wishes to dispose of a set.

Caste Rules in Manu.—Prof. Hillebrandt, of Breslau, in an interesting paper in vol. xii of the "Germanistische Abhandlungen," has pointed out that many of the supposed caste rules in Manu—under which the unfortunate Qūdra can be mutilated or tortured or killed for offending a Brahmin, and is declared to be incapable of holding property or of learning the Vedas—can be matched by similar rules as to the treatment of slaves in German, Greek, and Roman law. Brahmanism, therefore, in this point, was not the maker of harsh rules, but was only preserving and carrying on social customs which had become historic facts in India, just as they had under similar circumstances elsewhere.

The Dharma Śāstras.—In a dissertation presented to the University of Leipzig for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Mr. G. B. Beaman takes the second chapter of the Mānava Dharma Śāstra, and dividing the whole into 167 paragraphs, discusses the source of each. He argues that of the whole, 46 were due to Sūtras now lost, 16 are pure interpolations, 4 have been derived from the textbooks of the Sāṅkhya, and 99 (or 60 per cent.) are derived from extant Dharma or Gr̥hya Sūtras. Taking the passage of Yājñavalkya dealing with the same matter, and dividing it into 46 passages, he argues that 15 have been drawn certainly, and 5 doubtfully, from non-extant, and 26 (or 53 per cent.) from extant Dharma or Gr̥hya Sūtras. In only 4 cases can we be sure that the author has borrowed from Manu. The argument is well and carefully conducted, and it is

a distinct advantage to have the results stated in this quantitative manner. It touches, it is true, only the passages referred to, but the author thinks these are a fair sample of the whole of *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya* respectively.

Baldous and his Work on Ceylon.—Under this title Mr. Donald W. Ferguson, M.R.A.S., has published (Colombo: *Observer Office*) a reprint of his very careful and accurate articles on the life of Baldous, and on the bibliography of the early editions of his work, which contained in its slight notice of Tamil grammar the first Tamil printing in Europe.

Buddhist Texts.—Dr. K. E. Neumann, of Vienna, is bringing out a complete translation into German of the Dialogues of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, and the first fasciculus, containing the translation of the first 63 pages of Trenckner's edition for the Pāli Text Society, has already appeared (8vo, pp. 96. Fr. Friedrich: Leipzig, 1896). We congratulate Dr. Neumann on so useful and important an undertaking, and trust it will receive adequate support. It is a bold step to commence such a work before the commentary (an edition of which is in preparation for the Pāli Text Society) has been published. In his introduction, which makes no mention of previous work in the same field, the author makes light of the value of Buddhaghosa's commentary. But the published fasciculus shows how thoroughly Dr. Neumann is at home with the texts of which he proposes to give us a version, and with his training and ability and enlightened sympathy he bids fair to contribute work of the first importance for the elucidation of Buddhism.

The Mahā-bhārata.—Professor Ludwig has published as a reprint from the "*Sitzungsberichte der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*" a paper on the mythical basis of the *Mahā-bhārata* (8vo, pp. 26. Rivnac: Prag), in which he maintains the proposition that we have in that poem the working together of two distinct elements—a poem on the struggle between the sun and the

darkness of the night, and a kind of bardic poem (a *sūta*) on a possibly actual war; but the former of the two, and not the latter, is the actual basis of the whole. The gods have, in fact, here become men, and we have before us a case of the anthropomorphic treatment of mythical tradition.

Gandhāra Sculptures.—Mr. Anderson, at vol. i, p. 221, of his Catalogue of the India Museum, describes one frieze (G 36) without being able to identify it further than thinking that two of the figures are Buddha and Devadatta. Professor Serge D'Oldenbourg, at p. 274 of "Zapiski" (the Journal of the Oriental Section of the Russian Imperial Archæological Society), very ingeniously points out that this frieze is an illustration of the episode of Jaya and Vijaya recorded at pp. 366 foll. of the *Divyāvadāna*. This is no doubt correct. And it shows the importance, from the point of view of archæology, of such texts being translated. There are so many in charge of museums in India who are in the first place naturalists, and who therefore do not read, and cannot be expected to read, Sanskrit and Pāli, that translations of the texts referring to the objects in their charge is absolutely essential.

Buddhist Text Society of India.—The Government of Bengal has made a grant of 2000 rupees to this Society towards the publication of the series of rare Buddhist texts, collected at Government expense during the last fifty years, from Nepal, Tibet, and Burma.

Assyrian Text Book.—Eighty-three plates of cuneiform, a title-page, five pages of preface, a list of contents covering three pages, and a cover with two pages of advertisements, is the amount that an outlay of £1 6s. obtains from the reckless purchaser who buys Prof. Craig's "Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts." As far as a comparison of one or two of the pages goes, they are very correctly reproduced, but the publishers could easily have given students the benefit of cuneiform type in place of the rather unsatisfactorily printed autographed plates of which

the work is composed. Though several of the plates have already been published, the texts given by Prof. Craig form a very interesting collection, and students will look forward to the translations and notes, which he promises to give in the second volume.

Chronology of Genesis.—Prof. J. Oppert's "*Chronologie de la Genèse*," published in the *Revue des études juives* (tome xxxi, 1895), shows all the originality and deep learning that characterize this veteran Assyriologist's work. Prof. Oppert points out that the Creation, for which the Bible allows seven days, occupied, according to the Chaldean system, 1,680,000 years. He examines the dates of Genesis and of Berosus, with special reference to the Patriarchs before and after the Flood. The totals of the years they lived may be divided, as he points out, into epochs, which are multiples of the number 23; and other calculations reveal the existence of the numbers 70, 90, and 100 as multiplicands. He also points out that the figures in Genesis, to all appearance so dry, nevertheless enable one to guess the existence of myths current in early ages, but lost to us, in all probability, for ever.

Pandit Īṣvarācandra Vidyāsāgara.—Mr. Sricharan Chakravarti has published at Calcutta a very appreciative little account of the life and work, literary and philanthropic, of this fine representative of the native scholar and patriot. A portrait is given (not a very flattering one), but there is unfortunately no bibliography, and the scholar is rather overlooked, throughout the book, in the philanthropist.

Prof. Sayce, Vice-President of the Society, has been re-appointed to the Chair of Assyriology at Oxford for a further term of five years.

Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Erlangen, Germany, has arrived in Ceylon for the purpose of studying the Sinhalese language, which is his chief object in going out to the island. He is fully equipped with letters of introduction from the Colonial Office in London, and from his Government,

and trusts that every help will be rendered him by the scholars in Ceylon. He is writing an account of the Sinhalese language for Dr. Bühler's *Encyclopædia*.

The Council of the Senate at Cambridge recommend that the Panjab University be adopted as an affiliated institution, subject to the condition that the privileges of affiliation be extended only to graduates in Arts.

We would call the attention of our readers to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co.'s Catalogue of Oriental Books for sale, which will be found at the end of this issue of our Journal.

V. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A FIRST CATECHISM OF TAMIL GRAMMAR. By the Rev. G. U. POPE, D.D., with an English Translation by the Rev. D. S. HERRICK. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1895.)

Dr. Pope has rendered essential service to Tamil literature. He has written three Grammars for the students of that language, besides editing in it several classical works. After many years of study, he is still profitably occupying himself in perfecting his former works, and in making them more extensively useful; and it is touching to read the following sentence from the prefatory note to this little volume, which shows how his heart still turns with affectionate remembrance to the language and the people among whom he laboured so long: "Fifty-eight years' work at Tamil has made the writer ever more and more sensible of the beauties of the language, and his only wish is that this little book may still help forward the cause of sound education among those whom he loves."

This Catechism was written so far back as 1842. It was composed in Tamil, and has been extensively used in schools for Tamil children. It is now accompanied by an English translation by one of Dr. Pope's former pupils at Oxford; and has thus been made available for Europeans studying

the Tamil language. Dr. Pope also wrote a second Catechism of Tamil Grammar, which he proposes to publish in the same diglot form; and a third or Complete Grammar of the Tamil Language, in which the higher or the classical dialect of that very fertile tongue is included, should there be a demand for it, and should the issue of the two former be successful enough to give him sufficient encouragement.

The translation of this little book into English, thus making it bilingual, will effectually unlock its mysteries for English students. It is partly written in the Tamil method and partly in the English, and this combination will be good practice for the European, who usually goes to India at a comparatively late period of life, and is made competent by previous training to assimilate both methods. We have glanced through the book, selecting passages here and there, and it seems to us well and adequately translated. It must necessarily be a very great help to one who may honestly desire to become thoroughly acquainted with the language of the people among whom he is to dwell, and over whom he may possibly have to work and rule.

One good point about the book is that the student must learn the Tamil character, or he cannot perfect himself in the language. There is very little transliteration into the Roman character; but on that little we cannot help making just a remark or two. We observe that ṣ is transliterated both in this book and in the First Lessons in Tamil, which was recently published by Dr. Pope at Oxford, by ṣ , whereas in Dr. Pope's books published at Madras s was used. It is a matter of taste, but to us the old love seems the better. Would it not be advisable to omit altogether such awkward forms as the double short accent ā and ī ?

As usual, the book is beautifully and accurately printed by the Clarendon Press, and we have scarcely detected a single printer's error. Oriental students in South India are much indebted to Dr. Pope for this handy Introduction to the Tamil language.

H. M.

MĀRA UND BUDDHA. VON ERNST WINDISCH. 4to, pp. 348.
(Leipzig: Hirzel, 1895.)

This monograph, published as Part iv of the Proceedings of the Historical Division of the Royal Society of Science of Saxony, is devoted to a discussion, firstly, of the legend of Māra, as handed down in the early Buddhist records (pp. 1-220 and 322-327); and, secondly, of the early accounts of Gotama's first meeting with King Bimbisāra at Rājagaha (pp. 220-322). All the text passages relating to both of these subjects are here collected and contrasted (where possible in parallel columns), and translated with numerous notes, in which the readings are discussed and a number of difficult or doubtful words are elucidated. The historical relationship to one another of these different texts, and of various paragraphs or even phrases used in them, is carefully discussed; and the question of the origin and gradual evolution of the conception of Māra is elaborately and convincingly worked out. No portion of the vast field of the history of Buddhist ideas has been hitherto treated with anything like the same completeness and thoroughness; and in applying to this particular portion the recognized canons of a strict historical criticism, the more general problem of the right treatment of the Buddhist records as a whole is incidentally dealt with in a similar spirit—a spirit utterly opposed to the absurd and uncritical way of muddling up all the different versions of each episode as if they were of equal value (or rather of equal worthlessness).

Naturally, in a monograph dealing with so great a mass of detail there are some points on which scholars may differ from the author. One of these is the reiterated use, when referring to the death of the Buddha, of the phrase 'enter in to Nirvāna.' There is no word in the texts corresponding to any one of the four words thus chosen to reproduce the sense of the Pāli word *parinibbāyati*. The Buddha, like every other Arahāt, was supposed to have attained the state of mind called Nirvāna during his life, and in his case the precise time of that event was on the day of his Enlightenment.

under the Bo Tree. *Nibbāna-dhātuyā* (as the author rightly points out on p. 74) is, of course, a locative; but it is a locative, not in the sense of 'entering into' (which would require an accusative), but in the sense of a locative absolute. The meaning of the expression is really placed beyond doubt by such phrases as 'the wise [speaking of the Arāhats] go out like this lamp' (Ratana Sutta 14), or 'the dying out of a flame,' used as a metaphor of the death of the Buddha at Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, p. 62. The expression 'entering into Nirvāna' is only a very old Anglo-Indian blunder, dating from the time when the first writers on Buddhism, saturated with modern Western ideas, took for granted that Nirvāna must be some state beyond the grave. But the universal Indian usage of the time, whether in Pāli books by Buddhist authors or in Sanskrit books by both Buddhists and Hindus, confines the connotation of the word exclusively to the state of mind of a living Jīvanmukta or Arāhat.

Another matter of detail, of equal importance, is the use of the phrase 'Northern and Southern' for the Sanskrit and Pāli books. When Buddhism first became known in the West, it had been driven out of India, and the Sanskrit Buddhist MSS. came to us from Nepal in the north, while the Pāli ones came from Ceylon in the south. It was natural, therefore, then to distinguish them as Northern and Southern, and in that sense the distinction was quite correct. Insensibly, however, the use of the words was supposed to mean much more, namely, that the Sanskrit books were all written in Nepal, and the Pāli Pitakas composed in Ceylon. Such an inference is entirely unjustified. And no one would object to it more strongly than our author. But it leads to so complete a perversion of the history of Buddhist literature that the only way to avoid endless confusion is to drop the use of these ambiguous words altogether. So far as our present information goes, it is most probable that nearly all the early books—that is, the books, whether Sanskrit or Pāli, earlier, or not much later, than the Christian era—were composed in the valley

of the Ganges. But we do not know the exact place of origin of any one of them. And no one can say for certain that the *Dīvyāvadāna*, for instance, or the *Lālita Vistara*, was written in a spot to the north of the place where the *Padhāna Sutta*, for instance, or the *Kathā Vatthu* was composed. Why, then, continue the use of a phraseology which ignorant or careless readers may, and probably will, understand in a sense different from that intended? It should be added that the author very seldom does use it, and in the majority of cases has been led, by a sound instinct, to the use of more exact and less ambiguous terms.

The question raised in the last paragraph really lies at the root of all critical judgment of Buddhist questions. Even the terms *Pāli* and *Sanskrit* are objectionable, though in a less degree, and though they do not contain the *suggestio falsi* lurking in the terms *Northern* and *Southern*. There is no such thing as a *Pāli* Buddhism, much less a *Sanskrit* Buddhism. It is therefore a matter of the first importance that the present author has made the great advance (conspicuous, not only in the terms he usually uses when comparing the books, but also in the whole tone of his monograph) of specifying in each case the book itself by name. This is not only the safest way, it is the only right way. But when it has become universal (as it certainly will some day) it will render necessary the re-writing of much that has been written by *Sanskritists* on Buddhism. What would become of such a statement as this, found in the latest book of the kind?—

"The distinction between *Northern* and *Southern* doctrine is indicated by the terms 'Great Vehicle' and 'Little Vehicle' respectively."

To point out the blunders, both of fact and of implication, in this striking announcement would become unnecessary if our author's excellent plan were followed of saying rather—"Such and such a doctrine is to be found in such and such a book," and then proceeding to discuss the historical position of the doctrine in question.

The crux of *Patlakhandho*, p. 119, has already been

solved at "Vinaya Texts," iii, 13—and compare Milinda 5; Anguttara, iii, 73. 4; Divyāvadāna 633. Dīgha Nikāya should be read for Majjhima Nikāya at pp. 33, 39. It is strange that at p. 118 no mention is made of the parallel passage at Majjhima i, 234 (where the right readings are given), and the meaning of *kaṭhala* 'potsherd' seems clear enough from Culla Vagga, v, 22. 1; Dīgha, 2. 98; Puggala Paññatti, 3. 14; Saṃyutta, iv, 313. *Cankamā orohitā* on p. 150 is not merely 'gave up walking,' but 'stepped down from the place [cloister one might call it] where he had been walking up and down meditating.' Such a *cankama* was a constant appendage to a *vihāra*. So on p. 151, lines 21 and following, the meaning is surely rather that Sañjīva used easily to attain the state called Saññā-vedayita-norodha, whether he might have gone into a wood, or sat at the foot of a tree, or, etc. On p. 191 (last line), what the hearer gets to know is, *inter alia*, that there will be no rebirth for him into this world. The words to be supplied in the text at Saṃyutta, 2. 195, are, of course, the same as in Vinaya, vol. i, p. 14, and often found elsewhere. On page 75 (four lines from the bottom), for Halbgoth read Mensch. On pp. 65, 81 the author, on the supposed authority of the Divyāvadāna, understands Gotamaka Cetiya to mean the Bo Tree. But it is quite clear that this pre-Buddhist sacred place was close to Vesālī—so Jātaka, ii, 259—and cannot therefore have been the Bo Tree at Gayā, which was an Assattha, not a Nigrodha tree. The interpretation of *deariyakam* at p. 71 is scarcely consistent with Mahā Vagga, vi, 37. 1, and the Sonadaṇḍa Sutta at Dīgha, 1. 119; and on the same page the expression 'wonder-working truth' is, after all, supported by the use of the opposite phrase *appāṭihāram katham* 'ineffectual talk,' of the talk of the Brahmans in the Tevijja Sutta. On p. 80, line 12, the *ti* on the last line of p. 32 of the text and the *bhante* on the first line of p. 33 show that in the latter case it is Ānanda who is speaking, and not the Buddha; and the logical sequence of the thought was already visible enough in the version in "Buddhist Suttas," pp. 54, 55. Why

should the word *Zufall* have been chosen at p. 61 to express the similar result of similar causes?

The general results of the author's investigation into the history of the Māra legend are as follows:—

(1) That the Buddha had so far overcome both death and transmigration that for him and his disciples death led no longer to a new life and a new death.

(2) Buddha himself made use of a poetical expression, drawn from existing beliefs and expressions in the pre-Buddhistic Brahmanical literature, in which he apostrophized Māra, the personification of death or evil, as defeated.

(3) After his death these expressions were held to be not only poetical but historical. And as they are related to have been used at various times and places during his long career, so the earliest versions of the legend represent the attacks or temptations of the Evil One as having been continuous throughout his life.

(4) But gradually the legend gets more and more to regard the victory of the Buddha as won, once for all, under the Bo Tree. And the episode of Māra's daughters is then introduced.

(5) Last of all comes the long description of the Buddha's victory then and there over the hosts of Māra's army.

(6) Together with this last phase we have the commencement of the train of ideas by which the Bodhisat is brought ever more and more into prominence.

(7) It is in the Sutta Nipāta and the Samyutta Nikāya that we have the oldest form of the legend. The Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta account is later, and the account in the Sanskrit books, as a whole, later still. But these last have, in many details, preserved reminiscences of a form of the tradition older even than the oldest of the Pāli books, and are invaluable for a right understanding of the whole question.

All these conclusions will, we believe, be sooner or later accepted. But it is not so much on that account, or on account of the large number of philological points elucidated, as on account of the admirable critical spirit shown

throughout the work, that we think this monograph will make an epoch in the study of Buddhism, and of the history of Indian thought.

It will be a fortunate day when we get any one of the essential doctrines of Buddhism—such, for instance, as Arahatsip, or the doctrine of the Sankhāras, or the scheme of causation, the *Paticca-samuppāda*—treated in the same masterly way; and we trust the author may be encouraged by the complete success of his present effort to deal hereafter with the daily increasing material for the treatment of one of these questions.

RA. D.

CATALOGUE OF HEBREW BOOKS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
ACQUIRED DURING THE YEARS 1868–1892. By S. VAN
STRAALEN. 4to, pp. vi+532. (London, 1894.)

The Library of the British Museum has increased its treasures continually, since the time of the first Catalogue compiled by the masterly hand of Zedner twenty-five years ago. To Mr. Van Straalen we owe the Catalogue of the new acquisitions, elaborated in great part on the lines laid down by his predecessor. It would be out of place to speak here of the nature and value of the new acquisitions. They do not come up in the remotest way to the extreme value of the earlier collection, which abounds in *Unica* and *Incunables*. To acquire scarce books is, however, not a thing that depends upon the Librarian; chance will often throw a book in his path for which he may have been looking in vain for years. But as far as I have been able to ascertain, the efforts of the new Librarian are directed to obtain all those works which appear in the East, and are often printed in so very limited a number that they seldom reach the European market. In one point this Catalogue is superior to Zedner's, viz. in the addition of the pressmark, by which the student is saved a great deal of trouble and search. An excellent index, comprising both volumes, fills almost one-half of this Catalogue (pp. 311–532). It is a pity

that the pages of vol. i have not been given in the reference. The work is done conscientiously and carefully, and the Catalogue will prove a boon to students of Hebrew literature in one of the greatest libraries of the world.

I cannot let this occasion pass without expressing my regret that this volume has not been issued by the Trustees in the same size as the previous one of Zedner. The last-named is a beautiful handy octavo volume, whilst this new one is a large unwieldy quarto. The price of £3 3s. is also almost prohibitive, and the type leaves much to be desired. It contrasts very unfavourably with, for instance, the beautiful Catalogue of Greek Papyri, issued also by the Trustees of the British Museum.

M. G.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. ENGLISH LIVES OF BUDDHA.

Edited and Indexed by JOSEPH JACOBS. 8vo, pp. cxxxii + 56. (London: D. Nutt, 1896.)

In an attractive, skilful, but sometimes flippant style, Mr. Jacobs has retold the old tale of the wanderings and transformations of the great legend of Renunciation, told of Buddha. He recasts in an easier form the solid work of Prof. Kuhn, which I brought under the notice of the readers of our Journal in 1894 (pp. 402-404). A general introduction, in which, I am sorry to say, I have not found any progress over Kuhn's elaborate and minute study, leads up to the summary of the framework and the short description of the Parables, with full but not complete bibliographical notes.

It is surprising that Mr. Jacobs should not have taken any notice in his introduction of Mr. Conybeare's important discovery of the Armenian version. The antiquity of the Armenian literature gives it, on account of this fact alone, a prominent position in the history of literary tradition; and the dependence of the Georgian and Gruzinian literature—the latter also not mentioned by Mr. Jacobs—upon

the Armenian, points to this version as the connecting link between the lost Pahlavi and those versions which are independent of the Greek. A direct translation from Arabic, as is assumed by Mr. Jacobs, is entirely out of question, and a Syriac intermediary is, to say the least, very doubtful. Mr. Jacobs has also not made use of the information contained in Mr. Ward's Catalogue, to which I referred in my last review, and from Slavonic and Rumanian literature many more parallels could have been added, even from my "*Literatura populara*" and Pypin's old but still valuable "*Očerki*." For those who have no access to Kuhn's book, Mr. Jacobs' will prove very useful.

M. G.

PANCA-KRAMA. By L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. 8vo, pp. 56. (Engelcke, Ghent.)

This little manual of the later Tantric Buddhism is divided into five chapters, four of which are assigned in the colophons to Nāgārjuna, and the fifth to Śākyamitra. The present editor is inclined to think that the work, as we now have it, has been recast by Śākyamitra on the basis of an older work of Nāgārjuna. The latter's date is uncertain, but Śākyamitra was, according to Tārānatha, a contemporary of Devapāla, son and successor of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, and would have lived therefore in the ninth century A.D. Both his teacher Śākya-prabhu, and the latter's teacher Panyakīrti, came from "the East" (probably Bengal), and he himself, who also wrote a work entitled the "*Kośalālankāra*," was born in Kośala. He belonged, therefore, neither to the North nor to the South, but to the famous Middle Country of Buddhism, in which almost all the Buddhist works known to us were composed. The whole of the little work is here edited from a single MS. in the Bibliothèque

Nationale, and in the roman character; and it is accompanied by the commentary also found in the same manuscript. The edition has all the advantages (and, it may be added, the inevitable shortcomings) incidental to such an edition from a single MS. Short as it is, it throws very valuable and welcome light on the mystic side of later Buddhist speculation, of which the germs, as the author rightly points out, can be clearly traced already in the Pāli books. The thanks of students are due to him for taking up this unexplored field in the Buddhist history of Indian thought; and they will look forward to the further labours in the same direction of which he holds out the promise, and more especially to a detailed comparison of the five stages of this treatise with the ancient five Jhānas on the one hand, and the Yoga system on the other.

RH. D.

JINĀLANKARA BY BUDDHA-RAKKHITA. Edition with Introduction, Notes, and Translation by JAMES GRAY. 8vo, pp. 112. (London: Luzac, 1894.)

This little Pāli poem of 250 stanzas is a very interesting and curious production. The editor accepts, without question, the tradition (for which he gives no authority) that ascribes to the author the astounding date of 426 B.C. But the poem, if such it can be called, is a series of puzzles and *tour de force* in Pāli based on the legend of Buddha, and incorporating all the latest phases of it. It must be later, therefore, than any of the works in which that legend is set forth in gradually growing absurdity. And the only safe course is to argue from the fact that Buddhaddatta, the cotemporary of Buddhaghosa, wrote the only existing commentary upon it, that it must be at least as old as the fourth century of our era. Even so it is interesting, as probably the oldest specimen in Pāli of this kind of literary bad taste. Its sole importance is the light it can thus shed on the history of Indian literature; for it has

no beauty of style, nor does it contribute anything to our knowledge of Buddhism. One line reads—

Namo tassa yato mahimato yassa tamo na,

which is very forced as Pāli, but has the supposed excellent advantage of being able to be read either backwards or forwards. So verse 105 (comp. *Kirātārjunīya* xv, 14) runs—

Nonānino nanūnāni nanenāni nanānino

Nunnānenāni nunā na nānanam nānanena no,

which, as Pāli, is abominable, but is a very pretty trick with its *n*'s only and its vowels. With the help of the commentator it is possible to puzzle out some sort of a meaning. Then we have a verse of four lines, each containing the same letters, but having four quite different meanings; and rhyming verses of many sorts, and alliterative puzzles of various kinds. It is really very ingenious, and it is good to have a correct edition of it; and the translation loosely reproduces Buddhadatta's solutions of the various puzzles. It is a pity the editor has not compared his author's work with the corresponding efforts in Sanskrit, which are usually placed a century or more later.

RH. D.

THESAURUS SYRIACUS: collegerunt Quatremere, Bernstein, etc., auxit, disposuit, digessit, edidit R. PAYNE SMITH, S.T.P. Fasc. 1-9. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)

It would be impossible to commence a review of this book without an expression of sorrow that the learned author should not have been spared to finish the work of his life. When the first fasciculus appeared in 1868, it was calculated that the remaining nine would be published in as many years; in the twenty-eight years which have elapsed since then eight parts have appeared, bringing the dictionary down to the nineteenth letter of the Syriac alphabet; the part which is to contain the last three letters

is not likely to be finished before the end of this year, and even then the advice of those German scholars who demand a volume of *addenda* and *corrigenda* can scarcely be neglected. There has, therefore, been a mistake of eighteen years in the original calculation; a mistake which probably compares favourably with that committed with regard to another great lexicon also published by the Oxford Press.

Of the life of the author this is not the place to speak, though it may be mentioned that at the commencement of middle life he gave up a lucrative headmastership in London in order to pursue his Syriac studies as sub-librarian of the Bodleian, and that we are indebted to him for a Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in that library, as well as for several editions of Syriac texts. The founding of the Houghton Syriac prize, which has led many young scholars to study the language, was also due to his suggestion. However, the need of a new Syriac dictionary had probably been brought home to him before he returned to Oxford by the study of the Nitrian collection in the British Museum—that famous collection of which the “plums” were picked by Cureton, Lagarde, and Land, but of which there still remains not a little for the student who is anxious to do original work.

“It never rains but it pours,” and the learned world having been scantily provided with Syriac dictionaries until two years ago, has now quite a number at its disposal; and the late Dean’s daughter and collaborateur is well forward with another. But when the collection of the Thesaurus commenced, the amount that had been done for Syriac lexicography was by no means considerable. While the native Arabic dictionaries are so scholarly and exhaustive that Golius, Freytag, and we may even add Lane, have had little to do beyond translating and rearranging to make them serve for the use of Europeans, the Syro-Arabic glosses of Bar-Ali and Bar-Bahlul, on which the Syriac lexicographer has to build, are on the level of Hesychius and Suidas. Till very lately copies of

these glossaries could only be seen at a few public libraries; however, an eminent French Semitist, M. Duval, has now nearly completed his elaborate edition of Bar-Bahlul, while an American scholar has, at any rate, made great preparations for editing Bar-Ali, of whose book one-half had previously been lithographed by Dr. Hoffmann, of Kiel. The only dictionary till recently in the hands of Europeans was the reprint made by Michaelis of the Syriac portion of the Heptaglott Lexicon of the Cambridge professor, Edmund Castell, bearing the date 1788, which, as has been well said, by no means came up to what the world might have expected of so eminent a scholar. Between the dates of Castell and Michaelis had come the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemani, and the Roman edition of S. Ephraem, placing Syriac scholarship on a very different level from the time when the literature was almost entirely represented by the Peshitta version of the Bible. Several persons before the Dean of Canterbury attempted to improve on Michaelis, but either gave up the idea or were prevented by death from carrying it out. Such among Dr. Payne Smith's own contemporaries were Cowper and Lagarde; earlier in the century the French Orientalist, Quatremère, and Bernstein, whose Glossary to Kirsch's *Chrestomathy* still arouses admiration for its consummate scholarship.

The materials collected by these two scholars were procured by the Clarendon Press for Dr. Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*; the notes of Quatremère were mainly based on the study of MSS. in the Paris Library, while Bernstein had worked through printed books. To these materials were added the notes collected by a Swedish scholar, Agrell, who had also planned a Syriac lexicon early in the century; and the valuable collections of Field, the editor of the "Hexapla," and of Rödiger, the distinguished colleague of Gesenius, afterwards came to swell the work. Although Dr. Payne Smith modestly placed the names of all these scholars on his title-page, as the collectors of the *Thesaurus*, claiming for himself only the merit of having increased, arranged, explained, and edited their materials, his own

contribution of words, phrases, and references, obtained from an exhaustive study of the Syriac MSS. in the Bodleian Library, as well as from perusal of many of those in the British Museum, and by excerpting each new Syriac publication as it came out, must be greater than that of any of his predecessors. Very few of the editors of Syriac texts have done anything to help the lexicographer; Lagarde, who surpassed his contemporaries in the number and importance of the texts he issued, published them quite "naked," as he phrased it, *i.e.* without note, comment, or index; the collation of these texts with their Greek originals, where preserved, especially in the case of the *Geoponica*, where the order of the Greek differs entirely from that of the Syriac version, means a very serious task, which those who study these books with the aid of the Thesaurus will acknowledge that the Dean has faithfully performed. Where the texts have been translated and criticized, as is the case with Wright's *Apocryphal Acts* and Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, due notice has been taken in the Thesaurus of the opinions of the critics. Although, as appears from his review of Land's *Anecdota*, the Dean was a confirmed opponent of conjectural emendation, the columns of the Thesaurus abound in judicious emendations of the texts, suggested by a profound acquaintance with Syriac idiom.

In the matter of etymology and comparison with the cognate dialects, the Thesaurus is at least as scientific as any other of the great storehouses of the Semitic idioms, and far less fanciful than some of them. The best work in tracing Aramaic words to Aryan sources has been done by Lagarde, whose acquaintance with Zend, Armenian, and modern Persian in all probability far surpassed that possessed by any other Semitic scholar; but his results were not always tenable, and Dr. Payne Smith was doubtless right in rejecting many of them. The cognate roots in Hebrew, the Jewish Aramaic, and Arabic were supplied, to some extent, out of the materials of Bernstein; but many of these would suggest themselves to any scholar, and it is likely that there are subtle rules of sound-change

yet to be discovered which may bring many more affinities to light.

The inclusion of the Mandaic, Jerusalem Syriac, and New Syriac dialects is justified by convenience; the language of the *Evangelium Hierosolymitanum* has closer affinities with the Jewish than with the Christian Aramaic, but the "Chaldee" lexica do not recognize it; and the vocabularies of the other two dialects have hitherto been given only in out-of-the-way publications. The use of the Latin language, always hampering to the lexicographer, is to be defended by the interest taken by Roman Catholic scholars in the study of Syriac, and the Dean's example has been followed in Germany and at Beirut.

To estimate the amount that the *Thesaurus* has done for the furtherance of our knowledge of the language, a student has but to contrast his acquaintance with the words beginning with the last three letters of the alphabet with what he can learn from the *Thesaurus* about the others. The extraordinary wealth of vocables and of phrases brought to light lends some sort of colour to the claim of some of the Syrians, ridiculed as an idle boast by Gibbon, that their language was superior to that of the Arabs. Fifty years ago it would have been sufficient to confront a Syriac vocabulary with the *Kamus* to refute such a pretension. Equally important are the serried ranks of carefully selected and accurately referenced examples, accompanying each word and teaching the history of the language and its local distribution. Only possible in a dictionary on this scale, these collections are the indispensable foundation for the scientific study of a great literary idiom. Perhaps the chronological arrangement in the *Thesaurus* is sometimes defective, but this the student can easily remedy for himself.

It may be hoped that the completion of the work may be carried out with little delay, and with little deviation from the ideas and methods of the late Dean. With these the scholar who has been charged with the task is, through long co-operation, familiar.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF KATIIWAR, ETC.

Published by order of H.H. the Mahārāja of Bhāvnagar.

This is a collection of fifty-four inscriptions from Kāthiāvād and neighbouring parts of India, with English translations and forty-one plates. It is published by the Bhāvnagar Archæological Department, under the auspices of His Highness the late Mahārāja of Bhāvnagar, whose liberality deserves, indeed, most cordial acknowledgment.¹

Some of these inscriptions are of very great interest, and have played an important part in the history of Indian epigraphy, and more than half of them have been published at least once before. Although the new editors² must have been well aware of this fact, they, I regret to say, have neglected to take full advantage of it; and the result is that the texts and translations of the more important and difficult inscriptions here offered to the public fall far short of the standard of scholarship that had already been attained by previous workers in the same field. Of the smaller number of inscriptions which are now published here for the first time, a few bring to light historical details of some value. But as the editors themselves confess that some of this fresh material has been taken from "written copies," not from the originals or impressions, it is indispensable to have it re-edited critically before it can be utilized with confidence. Of the plates which accompany the texts some are fair, while others cannot for a moment be compared with the previously published plates of the same inscriptions.

Instead of entering upon a detailed criticism of individual texts, for which I should have ample material, I propose to give here a short summary of the contents of the whole collection, in order to show, what the editors have failed to do, where and by whom some of these inscriptions have

¹ In this I quite agree with Prof. Peterson, who has written an introductory note on the earlier inscriptions of this collection.

² Their names are not given in the book.

last been edited before, and to indicate briefly the nature of those records¹ which are now brought to public notice for the first time. In doing so I shall follow the order and divisions adopted by the editors themselves.

Maurya Dynasty, pp. 1-16.—The Girnār rock edicts of Aśoka, with a Sanskrit version by Paṇḍit Gattulālāji, and with photolithographs. Last edited by Prof. Bühler, with excellent photolithographs from estampages by Dr. Burgess, in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, pp. 448 ff.

Kṣatrapa (here still called 'Śāh') *Dynasty*, pp. 17-23.—Five inscriptions, all with photolithographs—

1.* Fragments of 4 lines of an inscription of the time of the Kṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasimha (?), found at Junāgaḍh.

2. Junāgaḍh rock inscription of the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. Last edited from Dr. Bhau Dāji's version (revised by Prof. Eggeling) in *Archaeol. Surv. of W. India*, vol. ii, p. 128, with a plate, and by Dr. Bhagvanlāl Indraji and Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii, p. 259.

3. Guṇḍā inscription of the time of the Kṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasimha (whose name has been omitted in the translation). Edited by Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 157.

4. Jasdan (Gaḍha) inscription of the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena. Last edited by Dr. Hoernle in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 32.

5.* Mulavāsara (now Dvārakā) fragmentary inscription (4 lines) of the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena, of the year 232 (?).

Gupta Dynasty, pp. 24-29.—Junāgaḍh rock inscription of *Skandagupta*, with a plate. Last edited, with a photolithograph, by Dr. Fleet in *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 58.

¹ These are marked with an asterism.

Valabhi Dynasty, pp. 30-66.—Seven inscriptions, all with photolithographs—

1.* Fragment of a stone inscription from Bāṅkoḍi (now in the Bhāvnagar Museum), 20 syllables, with the name *Guhasena*.

2. Jhar plates of *Dharasena II*, of the year 252. A full summary of the contents was given by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xv, p. 187.

3.* Katapur (now Bhāvnagar Museum) plates of *Dharasena II*, of the year 252.¹

4. Boṭād (now Bhāvnagar Museum) plates of *Dhruvasena II Bālāditya*, of the year 310.² Edited, with plates, by Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 13.

5. Luṇsaḍi (now Bhāvnagar Museum) plates of *Śīlāditya III*, of the year 352. Edited by Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 306 (where two lines of the second plate have been omitted).

6. Devali (now Bhāvnagar Museum) plates³ of *Śīlāditya IV*, of the year 375. Edited, with plates, by Mr. V. G. Ozhā in *Wiener Zeitschrift*, vol. i, p. 253.

7. A single first plate, found at Gopnāth, giving the genealogy as far as *Dharasena III*. Edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 148.

Guhila (here called *Sūrya*) *Dynasty of Mewāḍ*, pp. 67-157. Fifteen inscriptions—

1. Udaypur inscription (6 long lines, apparently well preserved) of *Allaṭa*, the father of *Naravāhana*, dated in *Vikrama-saṁvat* 1008 and 1010, with a useless photolithograph. Known to me from *Prācīnalekhamālā*, vol. ii, p. 24, where it is taken from an earlier publication of the

¹ The exact date, *śaka* 252 *Vaiśākha-ṣa* 15 (not, as given here, *Vaiśākha-ṣa* 5), corresponds perhaps to the 10th April, A.D. 571, when there was a solar eclipse which was not visible in India. In the first line of this inscription the plate has *śaṣṭha* (not *saṁpanna*, as given in the text), which is important: see Dr. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 319.

² The date of this inscription perhaps corresponds to the 24th August, A.D. 629, when also there was a solar eclipse which was not visible in India.

³ The photolithograph of the first plate, now published, is a reverse.

Bhāvnagar Archaeol. Department, which I have been unable to secure.

2.* Udaypur inscription (fragments of 18 lines) of *Naravāhana*, the son of Allāṭa (not, as stated by the editors, of Bappa Gohila), dated in Vikrama-saṁvat 1028.¹

3.* Udaypur fragmentary inscription (6 lines), containing the names of (Naravāhana's successor) *Śaktikumāra*² and his son *Śucicarman*; with a photolithograph.

4. Chitor inscription of the Guhilas from *Bappa* to *Naravarma*,³ dated in Vikrama-saṁvat 1331 (not, as stated by the editors, 1339); taken from 'a written copy.' The contents have been given by myself, from a rubbing, in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, p. 80.

5. Mount Ābū inscription of *Samarasimha*, of Vikrama-saṁvat 1342, with a photolithograph. Last edited by myself in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvi, p. 345.

6. Chitorgaḍh inscription of *Mokala*, dated in Vikrama-saṁvat 1485,⁴ again given from 'a written copy.' Edited by myself in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 408.

7.* Nāgaḍā Jaina inscription (8 lines) of the reign of Mokala's son *Kumbhakarna*, with a date in Vikrama-saṁvat 1494, corresponding to Thursday, the 6th February, A.D. 1438.

8. Sādaḍī Jaina inscription (47 lines) of the reign of *Kumbhakarna*, with a list of the Guhila chiefs of Mewāḍ from Bappa to Kumbhakarna, dated Vikrama-saṁvat 1496. Known from *Prācīnalekhamālā*, vol. ii, p. 28.

9.* Udaypur inscription of the reign of Kumbhakarna's son *Rājamalla*, with a date in Vikrama-saṁvat 1545, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th March, A.D. 1489; again

¹ The dates of the inscriptions 1 and 2 are the earliest known dates for the list of Guhila chiefs given in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvi, p. 345.

² The name of this chief also occurs in a fragmentary inscription at Ar, near Udaypur, published with a photolithograph by Prof. Bendall in his *Journey*, p. 82.

³ In the translation the prince Siṁha has received here the name *Aghasimha*, which is deduced from the words of the text *babhaṇa tasmād aṭha Siṁha-namā*. Mallata in the text is *Mamata*, and in the translation *Moptata*.

⁴ The date given here is *saṁvat 1485* *śukla 1350* *carṇa Māghaśukla 3*, while in reality the original has *saṁvat 1485* *carṇa Māghasudi 3* *Guru-dina*.

from 'a written copy.' The writer especially eulogizes the chiefs from Arisimha to Rājamalla; at the end he repeats part of the contents in the vernacular.

10. Śatruñjaya inscription on the seventh restoration of the temple of Puṇḍarika, dated Vikrama-saṁvat 1587; mentions Kumbharāja, his son Rājamalla, his son Saṁgrāmasimha, and (his son) Ratnasimha. Edited by Prof. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 42.

11.* Nārailai Jaina stone-pillar inscription (56 short lines) of the time of Kumbhakarṇa's son Rāyamalla, and (his son) the Mahākumāra Pṛthvirāja, with a date in Vikrama-saṁvat 1597;¹ mentions Yaśobhadrasūri with the date 'saṁ 964.'

12.* Sādaḍi inscription (22 short lines) of the time of the Mahārāṇā Amarasiṁhaji, with a date in Vikrama-saṁvat 1654 and Śaka-saṁvat 1520, corresponding to Thursday, the 13th April, A.D. 1598; records the construction of a tank.

13* and 14.* Rājanagar-Kāṅkaroli inscriptions, with dates in Vikrama-saṁvat 1718, 1722, and 1732, containing the second and third *sargas* of Raṇacchoḍa's *Rājaprasasti-mahākāya*. Some twenty-five such inscriptions are said to exist 'on the Navachoki ghaut of the Rāyasāgara lake.' The specimens here given are of no historical value.

15.* Udaypur inscription (29 lines), recording the construction of a Śiva temple during the reign of Saṁgrāmasimha, in Vikrama-saṁvat 1770.

Gohilā Dynasty (?), pp. 158-171.—Eleven inscriptions²—

1. Maṅgrol inscription of the reign of the Caulukya Kumārapāla, with a date in Vikrama-saṁvat 1202 and

¹ I very much doubt the correctness of this. At any rate, the given date is wrong for Vikrama-saṁvat 1597, and Rāyamalla's rule must have ended long before that time. For the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1557 the date (Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Vaiśākha, with the *nakṣatra* Punarvasu) would correctly correspond to Friday, the 23rd April, A.D. 1601, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 56 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu for 7 h. 13 min. after mean sunrise.

² No. 1 clearly belongs to the Caulukya dynasty. No. 3 is a copy of the last leaf of a MS. of Nṛsiṁharāya Muni's *Vijayabhaktiśūndarāya*.

Śiṃha-saṃvat 32, corresponding to Monday, the 15th October, A.D. 1145; with a photolithograph. Records the foundation of a temple, etc., by a subordinate chief of the Gūhila family. Published in *List of Antiquarian Remains Bom. Pres.*, p. 179.

2.* Ghelāṇā inscription (2 lines, damaged), recording the gift of a seat, dated in Valabhī-saṃvat 911; with a photolithograph.

4. Mahuvā inscription, with a date in Vikrama-saṃvat 1500, corresponding to Thursday, the 23rd April, A.D. 1444; with a photolithograph. Records the construction of a tank by the Śreṣṭhin Mokala, in the land of the Gohilla Sūraṅga. Known from *Prācīnalekhamālā*, vol. ii, p. 26.

5-12*. Eight short inscriptions of no importance, dated between Vikrama-saṃvat 1674 and 1876, all except one in Gujarāṭi.

Caulukya (here called Solanki) *Dynasty*, pp. 172-233.—
Fourteen inscriptions—

1.* Kerāḍu stone pillar inscription (fragments of 17 lines and 4 complete lines) of the reign of *Kumārāpāla*, with a date in Vikrama-saṃvat 1209, corresponding to Saturday, the 24th January, A.D. 1153; contains an order of the *Mahārāja Ālhaṇadeva*, forbidding the killing of animals on certain days of the month.

2. Mount Ābū inscription of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, composed by Someśvara, and dated¹ here in Vikrama-saṃvat 1267; mentions the Caulukyas (of Dholkā) *Arjorāja*, *Lavanaprasāda*, and *Viradhavala*, and gives a list of the Paramāras (of Candrāvātī) ending with *Somasimha* and his son *Kṛṣṇarāja*. Translated by H. H. Wilson in *As. Res.*, vol. xvi, p. 302, and edited by Mr. Kāthavate in his edition of Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, Appendix A.

¹ The date of this inscription has met with a most extraordinary fate. According to the translation in the *As. Res.* it is 'Sunday, the 3rd of the light fortnight of Phālguna, in the year of Vikrama 1287'; Mr. Kāthavate's text has '1203 *varga śri-Śrāṅga* badi 3 *Ravan*,' while his translation gives 'the year 1287,' and his introduction '1297 Samvat'; and now the present edition has '1267 *varga Phālguna-vadi* 10 *Saunhya-dina*, Wednesday, the 10th of Phālguna Vadi (dark half) of the year 1267 of the Vikrama Saṃvata.'

3.* Junāgaḍh inscription¹ (fragments of 34 lines) of the reign of (?) *Kumārāpāla*; said to be dated '*Valabhī-saṃvat* 850 *śri-Simha-saṃvat* 60 *varṣe*,' which cannot be right.

4. Somnāthpattan (Verāval) inscription of the temple-priest Bhāva Brhaspati and the Caulukyās *Jayasimha-Siddharāja* and *Kumārāpāla*, dated in *Valabhī-saṃvat* 850. Edited by Mr. V. G. Ozhā and Prof. Bühler in *Wiener Zeitschrift*, vol. iii, p. 7.

5. Rādhampur plates of *Bhīmadeva I*, of *Vikrama-saṃvat* 1086; with photolithographs. Edited by Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 193.

6. Somnāthpattan inscription, being Śrīdhara's *prabasti* of the Vastrākula family and of the Caulukyās from *Mālarāja I* to *Bhīmadeva II*, with a date in *Vikrama-saṃvat* 1273, corresponding to Friday, the 22nd April, A.D. 1216. Edited by Prof. Bühler and Mr. V. G. Ozhā in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 439.

7.* Bharānā fragmentary inscription (9 lines) of the reign of *Bhīmadeva II*, dated in *Vikrama-saṃvat* 12[7]5.

8.* Ratnapur (in Mārṇād) inscription (11 lines) of the reign of *Kumārāpāla*; contains an order of *Pānapāḥṣadeva* (?), forbidding (like No. 1) the killing of animals on certain days of the month.

9.* Kerāḍu fragmentary inscription (only a few words), containing the name *Bhīmadeva*.

10.* Verāval inscription (45 lines, damaged) of the temple-priest Bhāva Brhaspati (above, No. 4) and his family, and the Caulukyās from *Siddharāja* to *Bhīmadeva II*.

11.* Cambay inscription (19 lines, incomplete), eulogizing the Caulukyās (Vāghelās) *Arjorāja*, *Lavaṇaprasāda*, *Viradhavala*, and *Viśvaladeva*.

12. Mount Ābū inscription of the time of *Bhīmadeva II*, of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Somasimha* of Candrāvati, and the *Rājaka Viradhavala* (of Dholkū), dated in *Vikrama-saṃvat* 1287, on a day corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd March,

¹ On 'a hard black stone, measuring on its surface 20 ft. by 12 ft.' The size of this stone is beaten by that of the stone which contains the preceding inscription, No. 2, '39 ft. by 31 ft.'

A.D. 1230. Edited by Mr. Kāthavate in his edition of Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, Appendix B.

13. Verāval inscription of the reign of the Vāghelā *Arjunadeva*, with a date corresponding to Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264. Edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 242.

14.* Cambay Jaina inscription (29 lines, some of them much damaged) of the time of the Vāghelā *Sāraṅgadeva*, dated in Vikrama-samvat 1352; mentions Lūṇigadeva, Viradhavala, Pratāpamalla, and Arjuna.

F. KIELHORN.

ANÉCDOTA OXONIENSIA. Mediæval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes, edited by AD. NEUBAUER. II. 4to, pp. liii+254. (Oxford, 1895.)

To the indefatigable zeal of Dr. Neubauer we owe this second volume of his great publication of mediæval Jewish chronicles. The historical literature of the Jews is very meagre in independent compositions. Only a few have enjoyed a comparatively wider circulation, whilst many lay unnoticed on the shelves of libraries or of cloisters. The former have also not had the good fortune of a critical edition. As a rule only one MS. was printed, without taking into consideration other MSS. of the same text. Of these three appear in Dr. Neubauer's edition, with *variae lectiones* and in a carefully prepared text. The first is "The Scroll of Fasting," dating probably in its inception from the era of the Maccabæans, for which Dr. Neubauer has made use of at least eight MSS. (p. 3). The second is "The Order" (*i.e.* the Chronological Order) of the world, from the printed edition, with which he has collated a MS. representing the so-called Franco-German tradition, and at least eight more fragmentary MSS. (p. 26). For completeness' sake Dr. Neubauer has added the so-called "Minor Order" (p. 68) in three recensions. He does

not assign great value to this compilation, a view from which I dissent. If anything, we find in this "Minor Order" traces of the old Hellenistic biblical chronology and of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in the dates assigned to the twelve children of Jacob.

Thus far we have been dealing with texts which had been printed previously, but not critically. All the rest is quite new, and if Dr. Neubauer would have published only these, his publication would have ranked very highly in the literature of chronicles. The next text is now an Arabic short chronology from the Creation down to 1159, taken from MSS. discovered recently in Egypt (p. 89). The gem of this collection is undoubtedly the chronicle in doggerel rhymes discovered by Dr. Neubauer in the Cathedral Library of Toledo. It deals with the early settlements of Jews in South Italy, the invasion of the Saracens in 872, the conquest of Egypt, etc. It was composed c. 1055, and throws a vivid light upon a period and circumstances hitherto totally unknown (p. 111).

Next follows the diary of the famous David Reubeni, 1522-1525, from the facsimile of the unique MS. which once belonged to the Bodleian, but had disappeared since 1867. D. Reubeni pretended to be the emissary of the King of Ten Tribes, who had come to Europe to seek the assistance of the Pope and the King of Portugal against the Muhammedans. The description of his journey through Habor, Egypt, Palestine, etc., turns out to be accurate. Whatever may have been the true origin of his pretended mission, there is no doubt in my mind that D. Reubeni was anything but an impostor; and how Dr. Neubauer can say that his Hebrew style is that of a German Jew, is to me incomprehensible. It shows throughout traces of Arabic influence, and one has only to compare non-religious writings of the Jews in Yemen to find absolutely striking parallels to that style, which at the first glance is rather startling (p. 133).

Dr. Neubauer has added further eight appendices (p. 224 ff.) from scarce books on chronology and fragmentary MSS.,

which complete the material thus richly brought together from various quarters.

An exhaustive Index of Names, elaborated by Dr. Greenburg (late of the Montefiore College), enhances the value of this excellent publication, which, moreover, is not marred by the omissions in which Dr. Neubauer indulged in the first volume. He has given us this time all the texts in full, leaving the student to pick and choose those portions in which he takes a special interest.

One would like to add a humble request to the Clarendon Press to do away with their Hebrew type. It is antiquated, thin—a sore to the eye and a trouble to the reader.

M. G.

THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA. By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Bryn Mawr College. (Boston, U.S.A., and London: Giun and Co., publishers, 1895.)

This volume opens a new series of "Handbooks on the History of Religions," under the general direction of Prof. Morris Jastrow, jun., of the University of Pennsylvania. The editor's plan is broad and comprehensive: he will deal himself with Babylonia and Assyria; the ancient Teutons are to have their turn next, at the hands of Prof. Chantepie de la Saussaye; and Prof. Jackson, of Columbia College, will then describe the religion of Persia. The series is based on large and generous ideas of the value of the study of religious history; and Prof. Hopkins is not hampered in his ethical or philosophical appreciations by any dogmatic restraints or ecclesiastical reserve.

Prof. Hopkins warns us at the outset that he does not desire to compete with Barth's well-known book under the same title. His aim and method are rather different. In the great procession of religions which passes across his stage, he proposes to introduce each successive figure, and

let her speak for herself. So his pages are rich in illustrative quotations, which will undoubtedly be of great service to the general reader; they are often selected with sympathy and insight; and the chapters on the Hinduism of the Epics will open up to many students more at home in the earlier literature, most interesting glimpses into the development of moral and religious ideas. Excellent bibliographical summaries will also point the way to those who seek further acquaintance with the original sources, and the more technical discussions of modern scholarship.

In so vast a range, from the era of the Vedic hymns to the preaching of Keshub Chunder Sen, every reader is sure to desire that more stress should have been laid on the particular aspects of the great religious evolution in which he is especially interested. Criticism of Prof. Hopkins will, therefore, mostly take the form of pointing out omissions, trying to rectify wrong proportions, or protesting against false emphasis. The treatment of the Vedic hymns is moderate and cautious in its attitude to different schools of interpreters; but betrays an infirm philosophic basis in the adoption of the Hindu division of the gods into "Upper," "Middle," and "Lower," apparently for no better reason than because it is as good as another, for it can hardly be seriously pleaded that there was a chronological order either of worship or of hymn-production "from above earthwards." The want of definite criteria, whether theoretic or practical, seems most apparent in this section. Moreover, the historical background is never clearly filled in: all through the book the details that are supplied enter only fitfully, and in unexpected places; and the presentment is at first too closely confined to the literary monuments, in forgetfulness of the fact that the Brahmanical schools, after all, only represented the views of a select aristocracy. There is only a brief glance at the unrecognized cults, of the existence of which later literature bears such ample traces; and the numerous signs of the survival of the lower animism pass almost unnoted. In the description of the Brahmanic worship most students will probably

feel that the chapter on the same subject in Hardy's volume (in the Münster series) conveys much more information, and in much more systematic fashion. The importance of ritual in modern study should have secured a fuller exposition of the leading ideas and practices. Still stranger, as it seems to us, is the neglect to trace the rise of the doctrine of transmigration, and the law of moral causation summed up in the one word *karma*. Prof. Hopkins justly repudiates the view (p. 425) that the *samsāra* was a Buddhist invention; but his early references to it (pp. 199, 204) strike us as quite inadequate in view of the immense importance of the belief for all subsequent phases of Hindu thought.

The transition from the account of ritual and philosophic Brahmanism to Buddhism is effected in a chapter on "Popular Brahmanism," which enables Prof. Hopkins to make interesting use of some of the materials in the Law-books. A great deal more might have been added from the Buddhist texts (to say nothing of the Jātaka stories) had Prof. Hopkins been more familiar with them. As it is, the reader does not gather anything like a sufficiently vivid picture of the eager intellectual activity which marked the valley of the Ganges in the days when Jainism and Buddhism arose. Here and there an apt remark, such as that on p. 280, "One cannot read the Upanishad without feeling that he is already facing an intellectual revolt," creates an expectation which the subsequent narrative fails to satisfy. This is particularly the case with the whole treatment of Buddhism. Like Jainism, this is presented as a great "heresy" (pp. 3, 283) or "schism." This unfortunate limitation grievously contracts our author's view. In his sketch of the personality of Gotama, he is sympathetic enough—"no man had ever lived so godless, yet so godlike"; but he makes no attempt to analyse the elements of the ideal type of the Buddha, or to explain its enormous influence on the subsequent history of India. The originality of the conception of the Order, and the nature of its early missionary spirit, do not seem to receive sufficient recognition. The ambiguity of the

following sentence (which is not a favourable specimen of our author's style) betrays, perhaps, the weakness of his grasp of this portion of his subject. After affirming that the monasteries are plainly of secondary growth, he continues :—

"If one limit their national and political importance to a period one or two hundred years after the Master's time, he will not err in attributing to this cause, as does Barth, the reason for the rapid rise and supremacy of Buddhism over India."

The period named by Prof. Hopkins carries the story down to the reign of Aśoka, but this is dismissed in a few lines (p. 340), and after two pages more Buddhism expires in the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. Different opinions will of course be formed as to the religious and philosophical value of the teachings of the later books of the Great Vehicle. To some minds the theistic evolution represented in the "Lotus," for example, is an extremely interesting instance of the influence of a powerful school of metaphysical speculation on a system of ethical culture which had started by repudiating it. We do not quarrel with Prof. Hopkins for not stopping to expound it. But the influence of Buddhism on art and architecture ought to have received some notice; and the famous edicts of Aśoka surely deserved more notice than the bare allusion to the "*credo* which is engraved all over India." The archæological side of his whole subject, however, is left by our author in obscurity; nor has he any word of the suggestive pictures which Hiouen T'sang has drawn for us of life in the University of Nālanda, or the great Quinquennial Assembly celebrated by Śīlāditya at Prayāga. In literature, on the other hand, the recognition of Buddhist traces in the later epic, though cautious, is careful and discriminating (pp. 423-426).

There are other large questions touched by Prof. Hopkins in the interesting chapter on India and the West. Through Pythagoreanism, from which all subsequent philosophies borrowed, India, he thinks, helped to form the mind of

Europe. He is more confident of the indebtedness of both neo-Platonists and Gnostics to Indian thought than we can be. But we must not open up these far-reaching themes. In another edition misprints, such as *Brittanica* and *Māgadha*, should be avoided. Some words—"chrematheism," "esian," "triality," "rubricated," "coralled the kine," "mangonize"—sound curious to English ears. Prof. Hopkins's book will not supersede that of Barth, but it will be a very useful supplement to it.

CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. By E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B.

To all who are interested in Persian literature the name of the compiler of this Catalogue will be a sufficient guarantee for its accuracy and scholarship. Mr. Browne, in this handy and most clearly printed volume, gives us the fruit of four years' "arduous though intermittent labour." It is a work that should have been carried out long since, for a collection of MSS. without a published catalogue is of little use to any but those living on the spot. In the present case they were well-nigh inaccessible to students living in Cambridge itself, owing to the chaotic way in which all MSS. in Arabic character had been turned into the shelves without regard to language, subject, or even to size. Thus, before the Persian MSS. could be catalogued they had to be sorted out carefully from their Arabic, Turkish, and other companions.

The collection comprises some 340 MSS. in all. Among these Mr. Browne has found—one may almost say discovered—several rare and interesting works. Foremost among these with regard to antiquity comes the *Commentary on the Qur'ān* described on page 13 *et seq.* This work, of which no other copy seems to be known, has been subjected to a very careful examination, the results of which have in part already been made known to scholars through this Journal.¹

¹ J.R.A.S., July 1894, pp. 417-524.

In the present Catalogue the compiler gives us some further extracts, and reproduces interesting opinions with regard to authorship and date communicated to him by various eminent Orientalists on the Continent, such as Nöldeke and De Goeje. This commentary is of the greatest linguistic value, as the various peculiarities of writing, spelling, grammar, and vocabulary furnish us with fresh material for research into Iranian philology. The probable date of this MS. is fully discussed: it cannot, at any rate, be much later than the fifth century of the *Hijra*. The whole text, though the actual matter it contains is of little interest, is well worth a careful edition.

Of really old texts little beyond the invaluable *Materia Medica* of Abú Maṣṣūr Muwaffaq (about A.H. 360) is accessible to the student. Our MSS.—and hence our editions—of the *Shahnama* are all more or less corrupt and much modernized.

Next in interest we would place the *Jācidān-i-Kabir*, which is described on page 69 *et seq.*, a curious work on Isma'īlī doctrines. It possesses a twofold interest: firstly, from an ethical point of view, as representing the tenets of the hitherto little known Hurúfī sect of the Isma'īlīs; and, secondly, from a linguistic standpoint—for a considerable portion of it is written in a dialect which Mr. Browne recognizes to be one of the West Persian dialects (akin to Lurī and Kurdish), which M. Huart collectively designates *Pehlvi-Musulman*. It is not dated, but appears to be of the fifteenth century. A brief list is appended of some of the dialectical words and forms, together with their Persian equivalents, as given in the interlinear glosses; and in conclusion a few specimen extracts illustrating the dialect.

A very full notice is given (p. 122 *et seq.*) of an interesting collection of *ta'ziyas*. History and poetry are represented by the usual standard works, already treated of in other catalogues, so that it was only left for Mr. Browne to identify and describe them briefly. The work as a whole leaves little or nothing to be desired, and can only add yet

further to Mr. Browne's well-earned reputation for Persian scholarship. A few notes on the Persian Histories of India contained in the collection will be found below.

E. D. Ross.

Notes on some of the Works relating to Indian History contained in Mr. Browne's "CATALOGUE OF THE PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE."

Page 63, line 10.—This Mīrzā Muḥammad is probably identical with the Mīrzā Muḥammad, son of Mu'tamad Khān, mentioned on p. 167. He was the author of a most interesting memoir (finished in 1131 H.; there is a good copy in the India Office Library), and of the *Tārikh-i-Muḥammadī*, an excellent obituary. His nephew, Muḥammad Bukhsh, Āshob, tells us that he had a large library (see preface to the *Shahādāt-i-Farrukhsiyar o jalūs-i-Muḥammad Shāh*).

Page 118, line 2 from end.—I would suggest that as the text has احمد ابدانی, it would be preferable to read Aḥmad Shāh *Abdālī*, and not, as Mr. Browne proposes, Aḥmad Shāh *Durrānī*. He was of the Abdālī tribe, and the one epithet is as often attached to his name as the other. The omission to mention Gentil as Muḥammad Aslam's patron is due, I presume, to the fact that Rieu, 151, has already done so (see also Elliot, *Mahomedan Historians*, viii, 163). Gentil's *précis* of this work is in the Orme Collections, now in the Record Department of the India Office. It is in an unnumbered folio volume of 65 pages, in black binding, inscribed "Pour M. Orme historiographe de la Compagnie des Indes à Londres," and the title is "Précis sur l'Empire Mogol depuis Azam Shah, fils d'Aurangzab, 1707 jusqu'en 1774." It bears the following note, apparently in Robert Orme's hand-

writing: "Received June 21, 1785, at Colney: it was accompanied by a letter from Mons. D'Aragon, Secretary to the French Ambassador, to whom M. Anquetil Duperron had sent it with a letter dated June 4: I read it June the 22nd." See also Orme's *Historical Fragments*, 171, note to Note vi, and 237, Note xlix. Muḥammad Aslam's work must also have formed the basis for the historical part of Gentil's *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan ou l'Empire Mogol* (Paris, 1822), published by his son.

Page 167, line 10.—A.D. 1701. Is there not some misprint here? Sambat 1785=1728 A.D., and Mubārir-ul-Mulk, Sarbuland Khān, who was sent as governor to Aḥmadābād Gujarāt in 1138 H. (1725), held it till the eleventh year of Muḥammad Shāh (1141-2 H.=1728-9): see *Ma'ds̄ir-ul-Umarā* (Bibl. Indica), iii, 803, 805. The same noble held the same government for a few months in 1712, but not at any earlier period. Thus 1701 A.D. must be due to an error of some sort.

Page 168, lines 4 and 5.—This entry of a purchase in 1167 H. of a book that had belonged to Mīrzā Muḥammad (b. Mu'tamad Khān) is interesting as throwing some light on the date of Mīrzā Muḥammad's death, which is disputed. His nephew, Muḥammad Bakhsh, Āshob, in the work already referred to, tells us that his uncle's library was dispersed and sold after his death by an unworthy son. Therefore, as this book was sold in 1167 H., it is legitimate to infer that Mīrzā Muḥammad was then dead. See the difficulty as to the continuation of his *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* after 1163 H. raised by Rien, *Catalogue*. The last entry in it is of 1208 H. But how could he have been alive then? For we know from his *Tazkirah* that he (Mīrzā Muḥammad) was born at Jalālābād (province of Kābul) in 1098 H. His nephew mentions him as alive in 1151 H. at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion, but the year of his death is nowhere given. We may now assume that he died a little before 1167 H., and

that the later entries in the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* are due to a continuator.

Page 171, line 3.—23rd Muḥarram of the ninth year of Muḥammad Shāh = 1139 H. = Sept. 19th, 1726. Properly, 22nd Muḥarram 1140 H. = Sept. 8th (N.S.) 1727. In the last line, same page, 1143 H. is correctly given for the 21st Muḥarram of the twelfth year, and that being so, Muḥarram 1139 H. would fall in the eighth and not in the ninth year.

Page 174, line 4 from end.—For اَدْنَام, *Adnām*, read اُدْنَام, *Ūdnām*. The name is also spelt Ūnāo (the *o* being nasalized). It is now the headquarters of a district in the Audh province between Cawnpore and Lakhnau: see plate 28 in Constable's *Hand Atlas*. The Persian extract shows that village Rāwatpur was not in the province of Lakhnau (read *Audh*). It was in *sarkār* Korā, and that was a subdivision of the Allahābād province: see the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, vol. ii (translated by Jarrett), p. 167, where under *sarkār* Korā, *ṣubāh* Allahābād, the last entry is of Maḥāl (or parganah) Muhsinpur.

Page 179, lines 1 and 9.—For سِنگان read سِگان, the reference being obviously to the Sikhs, and the word is usually spelled *Sik* in the Persian character.

Page 183, No. cvii.—I think that this work is also to be found in the India Office Library, No. 1608 (in Etche's printed but unpublished Catalogue, Nos. 472 to 477).

Page 184, line 8.—*Jama'-kāmil* in the official language of India does not mean "gross receipts," but "full or total demand"—as in the phrase *Jama'-wāsīl-bāqī*, i.e. Demand, Collections, Balances.

Page 193.—The *Khizānah-i-Āmirah* has been lithographed, Cawnpore, Nawal Kishor Press, Sept. 1871, p. 462.

Page 282, No. exc.—This work has been printed at Calcutta under the title of *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, folio, p. 236, Islāmi Press, 1270 H. (=1853 A.D.). The beginning of the

Cambridge MS. appears in this on p. 7 as the exordium of the third letter of the series written to Amīn-ud-Daulah's father. This is preceded by—

- p. 2. Preface—*Ṣanūs afrinandah-i-nūr dar chaahm o rūh dar jism kih mardān*, etc. In the course of this Preface the title is given as *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*.
- p. 4. Has a heading "Letters written on behalf of Nawwāb Amīn-ud-Daulah Bahādur."
- p. 4. 1st letter. To his father — *qiblah-i-del ojan*, etc.
- p. 5. 2nd letter. To his father—*qiblah-i-sāyah parwardan*, etc.
- p. 7. 3rd letter. To his father. [Here the Cambridge MS. begins.]

I bought my printed copy at the Blochmann sale in 1879, and Mr. Blochmann has written on the first page "a collection of most interesting letters." This is a true description. Those written for Amīn-ud-Daulah were used by Ghulām Husain Khān as historically genuine in composing his *Sair-ul-mutākhharin*: see p. 29 of Briggs' translation (O.T. Fund), vol. i, 1832, and p. 8 of the Calcutta printed text.

Page 306, line 11.—Could *Doria* be read Dorin? The latter was a well-known Anglo-Indian name early in this century.

W. IRVINE.

DAS BABYLONISCHES WELTSCHÖPFUNGSEPOS. VON FRIED. DELITZSCH. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)

Fried. Delitzsch's *Babylonisches Weltschöpfungsepos* show the Professor's usual grasp of his subject. For the first time all the fragments of the Semitic Babylonian Creation-story known are put together and translated, and there is a description and short history of every piece. The legend is examined from a poetical standpoint,

and it is shown that it is mainly composed in four-line stanzas, the cesura in each line being well marked. The Professor does not give the cuneiform text, but the very careful transcription of the tablets supplies its place fairly well, enabling the student to restore the original characters, should he wish to do so; and a second transcription enables its poetical form to be seen and examined. The labours of others in the field are referred to, in some cases at full length, but the "philological commentary" is not so full as it might have been.

T. G. P.

VI. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the India Office.

Taw Sein Ko. Monograph on the Pottery and Glassware of Burma, 1894-5.

pamphlet. 8vo. *Rangoon*, 1895.

Sāstrī, Haraprasād. Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Pt. 11.

8vo. *Calcutta*, 1895.

Sāstrī, Hrishikeṣa and Śiva Chandra Guī. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Nos. 1, 2, 3.

8vo. *Calcutta*, 1892-5.

Travancore. Report on the Census on the 26th February, 1891, by Nayam Aiyā. 2 vols.

8vo. *Madras*, 1894.

Cochin. Report on the Census, 1891, by C. Achyuta Menon.

fol. *Trichur*, 1893.

Maconochie (E.). Monograph on the Pottery and Glassware of the Bombay Presidency. Fol. 1895.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. MSS. Arabes par Mons le Baron le Slane. 4to. *Paris*, 1883-95.

Presented by the Author, H.I.H. Prince Roland Bonaparte.

Documens de l'Époque Mongole. fol. *Paris*, 1895.

Presented by the Authors.

- Alexander (General G. G.). Lao-Tsze, the Great Thinker, with a translation of his Thoughts on the Nature and Manifestations of God.
8vo. *London*, 1895.
- Baynes (H.). The Idea of God and the Moral Sense in the Light of Language. 8vo. *London*, 1895.
- Dalton (C.). Memoir of Captain Dalton.
8vo. *London*, 1886.
- Thomsen (Professor V.). Inscriptions de l'Orkhon Dechiffrées. 8vo. *Helsingfors*, 1896.
- Brown (Robert, jun.). Euphratean Stellar Researches. Part 5. pamphlet. 8vo. *London*, 1895-6.
- Landberg-Hallberger (Dr. C. Graf von) und Dr. J. Goldziher. Die Legende vom Mönck Baršišā. pamphlet. 8vo. *Kirckhain*, 1896.
- Brown (R., jun.). Tellis and Kleabeid.
post 8vo. *London*, 1895.
- Rusden (G. W.). History of New Zealand. 2nd ed. 3 vols. 8vo. *Melbourne*, 1895.
- Ferguson (D. W.). The Rev. Philippus Baldaeus and his Book on Ceylon. 12mo. *Colombo*, 1895.
- Poussin (L. de la Vallée). Études et Textes Tantriques. Pañca-krama. 8vo. *Gand*, 1896.
- Muir (Sir W.). The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt, 1260-1517. 8vo. *London*, 1896.
- Finot (Mons. L.). Les Lapidaires Indiens.
Roy. 8vo. *Paris*, 1896.
- Greenup (Rev. A. W.). Commentary of Rabbi Tobia ben Elieser on the Book of Lamentations, edited for the first time from the MSS. in Cambridge, Oxford, and Munich, with Introduction and Notes.
8vo. *Hertford*, 1896.

Presented by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

- Cambridge University Library Catalogue of the Persian MSS., by E. G. Browne. 8vo. *Cambridge*, 1896.

Presented by Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot.

Geneva Congress of Orientalists, 1894. Partie 2.
Sections I: Inde; Ibis: Linguistique et Langues
Aryennes. 8vo. Leide, 1895.

Presented by the Ceylon Asiatic Society.

Catalogue of the Library. 8vo. Colombo, 1895.

Presented by Lady Meux.

Budge (E. A. Wallis). The Life and Exploits of
Alexander the Great, being a series of Ethiopic Texts,
edited from MSS. in the British Museum and the
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with an English Trans-
lation and Notes. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1896.

Presented by Professor P. Mukerji.

Chakravarti (Sricharan). Life of Pandit Isvarachandra
Vidyasayara. 8vo. Calcutta, 1896.

Presented by Framjee Hormasjee Settna.

Karaka (D. F.). History of the Parsi. 2 vols.
8vo. London, 1884.

Sanjana (D. D. P.). The Dinā i Mainūikhrāt.
8vo. Bombay, 1895.

Darmesteter (J.). Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, translated
with Notes by H. P. Wadia. 8vo. Bombay, 1888.

The Dinkard. Vols. vi and vii; edited, translated, etc.,
by P. D. B. Sanjana. 8vo. Bombay, 1891-4.

Presented by the British Museum Trustees.

Rieu (C.). Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian
MSS. 4to. London, 1896.

Presented by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

Sacred Books of the East. Vol. xxxviii: Vedānta
Sūtras, pt. 2. By G. Thibaut. 8vo. Oxford, 1896.

Presented by the Editor.

Studia Sinaitica, No. 5. Apocrypha Sinaitica, edited
and translated into English by Margaret Dunlop
Gibson. 4to. London, 1896.

Presented by the Leiden University.

Yahyā ibn Ādam. Le Livre de l'Impôt Foncier, publié
d'après le MS. unique appartenant à Mons C. Schefer
par Th. W. Juynboll. 8vo. Leide, 1896.

Presented by the Fürstlich Jablonowskische Gesellschaft zu Leipzig.

Delitzsch (Fr.). Das Babylonisches Welterschöpfungsepos.
Roy. 8vo. Leipzig, 1896.

Presented by the Publishers.

De Castries (Comte H.). Les Gnomes de Sidi Abd er
Rahman El Medjedoub. (Les Moralistes Populaires
de l'Islam : I.) 8vo. Paris, 1896.

Grube (Dr. W.). Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen.
8vo. Leipzig, 1896.

Purchased.

Beaman (G. B.). On the Sources of the Dharma
Sūtrās of Manu and Yājñavalkya.

Roy. 8vo. Leipzig, 1895.

Lidzbarski (M.). Die neu-aramäischen Handschriften
der k. Bib. zu Berlin. Teil 3. 8vo. Weimar, 1895.

Ludwig (A.). Ueber die Mythische Grundlage des
Mahābhārata. pamphlet. 8vo. Prag, 1895.

Dvivedi (Manilal). Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad, with Ganda-
pāda's Kārikās and the Bhashya of Śaṅkara, trans-
lated into English. 8vo. Bombay, 1894.

Foy (W.). Die Königliche Gewalt nach den alt-
indischen Rechtsbüchern, den Dharmasūtren und
älteren Dharmaśāstren. 8vo. Leipzig, 1895.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. X.—*Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism: a Translation of Buddhaghosa's Samanta-pāsādikā, a Commentary on the Vinaya, found in the Chinese Tripitaka.* By J. TAKAKUSU, B.A.

WHETHER we possess among the numerous Buddhist books preserved in China any text translated from a Pāli original, is a question which has not as yet been quite settled. Several scholars have answered it positively or negatively, but no one until now has brought forward an undeniable fact in support of his opinion. The object of my present note is to decide this point, and to introduce to the Society a text of Pāli origin in Chinese.

The canonical Buddhist books are collectively called by the Japanese, as well as by the Chinese, the San-ts'ang, "Tripitaka" (三藏), though we must never understand by this term what is meant by the term "Piṭakattayaṃ" in Pāli. The former contains, as Professor Rhys Davids has rightly pointed out,¹ a number of works outside of the canon, and even Brahmanical treatises—for instance, the Sāṅkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya (Nanjio's Catal., No. 1300). The Chinese translations of Indian works are arranged in three Piṭakas, Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma, as in the Pāli.

¹ See Milinda, pt. ii, p. xi, note (S.B.E., vol. xxvii).

These amount to some 1320 texts, some of which are a second or third translation of one and the same original. Besides these there are the so-called "Indian Miscellaneous Works," numbering 147. That these 1467 texts might include some of the Pāli works now existing in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, was an opinion advanced by some scholars. We are, however, left ignorant of the names of the dialects from which the translations were made, for no Chinese author mentions them distinctly. The Indian language in general, whether Prākṛit, Pāli, or Sanskrit, is indiscriminately called the "language of Fan,"¹ i.e. Brahmaṇṣ, which is generally understood to be identical with Sanskrit. But there is no reason whatever why it should not mean also any other Indian dialect,² for India is called the "Kingdom of Fan," perhaps meant for "Brahma-rāṣṭra."

As to the existence of the Pāli elements in China, Prof. Max Müller says in his "Introduction to the Science of Religion"³: "In China, although the prevailing form of Buddhism is that of the Sanskrit canon, commonly called the northern canon, some of the books belonging to the Pāli, or southern canon, have been translated, and are held in reverence by certain schools."

Dr. Eitel, in his "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism" (1870), seems to think, as his preface and the article "Saṃskṛita" show, that the Chinese texts are from Pāli as well as from Sanskrit. He says:⁴ "The most ancient Chinese texts seem to be translations from Pāli, the more modern texts from Sanskrit. Hiuen Tshang found (about 635 A.D.) in the Punjab little difference between Sanskrit and Pāli."

I do not know, however, on what ground his conjecture is formed, and I doubt whether Hiuen Tshang really meant Pāli and Sanskrit. It is certain that most of the texts

¹ See Julien, "Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits," etc. (1861), p. 2 note; p. 8.

² Saṃghabhadra actually calls the Pāli text "fan-pên," i.e. "Text of the Brahman (language)."

³ 1873; 2nd ed. 1893, p. 63.

⁴ 2nd ed. 1888, p. 144^b.

which, for instance, Hiuen Tshang or I-tsing had before them were Sanskrit, for their transliterations are so clear and accurate that we can easily trace the words to the original sounds. But in the case of the earlier translators it is by no means easy to form an opinion as to the dialect of the original.¹

Mr. C. F. Koeppen, in his "Religion des Buddha," says² that the Chinese possess, besides Sanskrit texts, a number of Pāli works, which they obtained probably from Ceylon through some of their travellers. His statement, however, rests only on the authority of Gützlaff, who misunderstood almost every Sanskrit transliteration as Pāli, as may be seen in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1848, Vol. IX, pp. 199-213. Gützlaff's "List of Principal Works from the Pāli in Chinese Characters" contains some 156 works, not one of which presents the appearance of Pāli origin; among them are even such well-known Sanskrit works as the *Vajracchedikā*, *Amitābha-sūtra*, and the like. Afterwards, in 1880, when Chinese Buddhism had been studied with a greater accuracy, Dr. Edkins positively asserted that there are no Pāli books in China.³ Moreover, in speaking about Koeppen's statement, he says: "Koeppen, saying that the Chinese have also a number of Pāli texts, has been misled by Gützlaff, who, coming to China after having lived in Siam, saw the Sanskrit inscriptions in the island of P'uto and took them to be Pāli. From him the opinion spread; but it is an error. The Buddhists of Burma, Siam, and Ceylon⁴ have never spread their religion in China or Japan, or introduced their sacred books into those countries." His was, I think, the last attempt at solution, which aims at

¹ Take, for instance, the "Sha-mên": although it is nearer to Pāli "Samāṇa" than to Skt. "Śramaṇa," yet we have no right to judge from it that the original was Pāli, for we meet with "Sha-mên" also in those texts whose original is Sanskrit. But when we come across the word "Sha-lo-mo-na" (舍羅摩拏), we see at once that it can only be from Sanskrit Śramaṇa.

² 1837, vol. i, p. 156 note.

³ See "Chinese Buddhism," ch. xxv, p. 401.

⁴ Compare, however, note 1, p. 419.

the greatest precision among the opinions yet produced. The result of his research was that the early translations were from Prākṛit, and not from Pāli, as Dr. Eitel supposed.

Now as to the third council of the Buddhists under the great Asoka, which is generally believed to be unknown to Chinese Buddhists, Mr. O. Palladji, in his interesting "Historische Skizzen des alten Buddhismus,"¹ drawn up from Chinese sources, mentions at length Asoka's council as well as the two former ones. One may well wonder why Mr. S. Beal, more than twenty years later, informed Prof. Oldenberg that Asoka's council is not found mentioned in the Chinese Piṭaka.² It may be due to Beal's oversight, or he may have had some ground for asserting this.³ He expressed more than once, if I remember well, the opinion that there is a trace of Pāli in the Chinese collection; but on examining the original on which his supposition rests, I found nothing to indicate its Pāli origin.

In the thorough examination of the Tripiṭaka by my friend Bunyiu Nanjio, he found no Pāli text, and traced most of the books to Sanskrit, and compared them with Tibetan texts, the names of which, at any rate, he, when possible, restored into Sanskrit.

It is thus well-nigh settled that the Chinese books, on the whole, are translations from the Sanskrit original, and that there is no Pāli work in China, and no mention of the Council of Pāṭaliputta in the Chinese Buddhist books.⁴

¹ Erman's "Russisches Archiv für Wissenschaftliche Kunde" (1856), Band xv, pp. 266 and foll.

² See Oldenberg, "Vinaya-piṭakam" (1879-82), vol. i, p. xxxii.

³ We see with M. Barth the importance of a complete examination of the contents of the Chinese Piṭaka ("Religions of India," Engl. p. 106 note). One can give two or three quite different accounts from Chinese sources, which are a mixture of various elements. Compare, for instance, Wassilief's "Buddhismus," in which many pieces of information from the Chinese are identical with the Tibetan, with Palladji's "Historische Skizzen," which are not very much different from the Sindhalese chronicle.

⁴ I should be sorry if I have omitted any later authorities who touched these questions, and would welcome any communications about them.

I for my part doubted from the beginning the idea that there was not a single text in Pāli brought to China by any one of those 173 translators we know of, some of whom came from Southern India, from Ceylon, or from Siam,¹ others of whom are said to have collected books in Ceylon as well as in India,² to say nothing of those Chinese travellers who went to Ceylon to search for the law.³ He who brought a MS. may not have translated it himself, but may have left it behind to his successors to translate. Had there been a MS. there is no reason whatever why they should not translate it, seeing that several Hinayāna works were interpreted and preserved in the Chinese collection. Resting on this supposition, I have been for some time looking for a text of Pāli origin. My attention was naturally directed to the texts bearing on the Indian Chronology, while perusing many a work without any result. At last I came across a text which contains an account of the third Buddhist Council at Pāṭaliputta under the great Asoka. Besides, this book has the following stanzas, which have been hitherto found only in Pāli and not in Sanskrit books:—

Pāli.

Anekajātisaṃsāraṃ sandhāvissaṃ anibbisāṃ
 Gahakārakaṃ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunāṃ
 Gahakāraka diṭṭho 'si puna gehaṃ na kāhasi
 Sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭaṃ viṣaṃkhitāṃ
 Viṣaṃkhāragataṃ cittaṃ taṇhānaṃ khayam ajjhagā 'ti.

¹ One from Ceylon, three from Siam, four from S. India, and one Javanese. Nanjio's Catal., App. ii, Nos. 92; 101, 102, 107; 111, 121, 150, 153; 138.

² *Id.*, Nos. 137, 155.

³ *e.g.* Fā-hien and nine of those sixty travellers recorded by I-tsing went to Ceylon. See Charvannes, "Mémoire sur les Religieux Éminents," par I-tsing (Paris, 1894), §§ 20-2, 24, 28, 29, 32, 49, 52.

Chinese.

愛	心	碎	一	不	今	更	正	走	流
盡	已	折	切	復	已	生	覓	去	轉
至	離	不	脊	更	見	生	屋	無	非
遑	煩	復	肋	作	汝	辛	住	厭	一
樂	惱	生	骨	屋	屋	苦	處	患	生

A translation from the Chinese :

(I have been) running through the transmigration of many a birth without hate or grief just to seek for the place of the abode (of Corporiety); rebirths (indeed) produce a bitter pain. But now I have seen thy house. Thou shalt not build thy house again. All thy ridge and ribs are shattered, (so as) not to be born anew. The heart has been separated from thirst (passion), and, as all desires have been exhausted, it has reached its Nirvāṇa.¹

These stanzas are the words which the Buddha is supposed to have uttered at the moment he attained to Buddhahood. The Lalita Vistara does not seem to know these verses—in any case, not as the first words of the founder of Buddhism; for it gives (ch. xxii) quite a different verse as the Buddha's first words: "The vices are dried up; they will not flow again" (*śuṣkā āśravā na punaḥ śravanti*).²

The text which contained those verses appeared to me, at first sight, as if it were a portion of the Dīpavaṃsa or Mahāvāṃsa, inasmuch as it gives the three councils,

¹ The Pāli is to be found in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* (p. 16), in the *Samantapāsādikā* (but not in Oldenberg's text), *Buddhavamsa*, *Dhammapada* (Max Müller, §§ 153, 154). Turnour's translation in the *J.R.A.S. Bengal*, vi, p. 523; Hardy, "Manual," p. 180; D'Alwis, "Nirvāṇa," p. 78; Oldenberg, "Buddha," etc., p. 211 (English, p. 195); Rhys Davids, "Buddhist Birth Stories," pp. 103, 104.

² Mr. Mitra's edition, p. 448; Max Müller, "Dhammapada," 32 note (S.B.E., p. 13).

Asoka's devotion to the faith, Mahinda's mission to Ceylon, etc.; besides the periods of the reigns of Indian kings, Chandragupta and others, agreeing on the whole with the Ceylonese Chronicle. But on further perusal I found that the book was a translation of Buddhaghosa's Introduction to the Samanta-pāsādikā, a commentary on the Vinaya-piṭakam,¹ which gives the historical tradition from the Buddha's death to Mahinda's death in Ceylon.

I was glad to find this text in the Chinese Piṭaka, for I thought it might give us the following results, if I were not overestimating the value of its discovery:—

1. It can be no longer disputed that the Chinese Collection contains also Pāli elements.
2. The Council of Asoka, under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa, is found mentioned in the Chinese Collection, but as yet only in the books of Pāli origin.
3. Some of the information obtained from Chinese sources, and hitherto considered to be derived from Sanskrit books, may be from Pāli ones.
4. Translations and transliterations of names and words contained in this book may furnish us a key to a further discovery of Pāli texts.
5. In any case it will give us a large Pāli-Chinese vocabulary, as we have the text as well as the translation.
6. It may help us in the collation of Pāli MSS. of the text translated, preserving as it does a tradition of very early date, *i.e.* before A.D. 489.
7. The migration of a work of Buddhaghosa to China in 489 A.D. may serve to confirm the dates of his arrival in Ceylon in about 430, and of his sail to Burma in about 450.

¹ Childers, *s.v.* Atthakathā; Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 237. A portion of this valuable record was published by Prof. Oldenberg in his "Vinaya-piṭakam," vol. iii (the end).

With the hope of realizing these points, I borrowed the Chinese text of the India Office, and began an examination into its contents last year. As I have other studies on hand, I am not able at present to lay the whole of my examination before the Society. I shall, however, notice in the following pages some of the points which, I think, may give an idea of the nature of the book.

The book in question is called in Chinese, "Shan-chien-p'i-p'o-sha-lü," or "I-ch'i-shan-chien-lü-p'i-p'o-sha" (一切善見律毘婆沙). If I were to translate it quite literally, this would mean "All-good-appearing-vinaya-vibhāṣā."¹ This, it will be at once noticed, is the exact meaning of the Pāli title. The first two characters "i-ch'i" are generally left out, and Nanjio² restored "Shan-chien-p'i-p'o-sha-lü" to Sanskrit "Sudarśana-vibhāṣā-vinaya." No Sanskrit book with this title is known to have existed. It is neither found in the catalogues of Sanskrit books, nor is it mentioned by any Sanskrit author, or by any Chinese author writing about Sanskrit Buddhist books. The invention of this new title, therefore, to explain Chinese words which so exactly reproduce the Pāli title, seems to me unnecessary. This book is found also in Julien's "Concordance Sinico-sanskrite d'un nombre considérable de Titres d'Ouvrages Bouddhiques" (J.A. 1849, pp. 353-445), Nos. 55, 55^a.

The translator, Sêng-ch'ieh-po-t'o-lo (=Saṃgha-bhadra), was a Saṃgha from a foreign country under the Ts'i

¹ This seems to be a translation of "Samanta-pāsādikā" ('pleasing all'). Samanta-prāsādikā (adj.) occurs in the Mahāvastu, p. 3; -tā ('having complete amiability') in the Dharmasaṅgraha, § lxxxiv, p. 67, one of the eighty signs of the Buddha (41); the Chinese being "I-ch'i man-tsu" (I-ch'i = samanta). The Lalita Vistara, vii, p. 122, has this word, the translation of which is "Chien-chê-chieh-shêng-hai," 'all those who look at him obtain joy.' Asoka is called "Shan-chien" ('good-appearing' meant for Priyadarśin). The translator, not finding a suitable word for "pāsādikā," may have used "Shan-chien." "Vibhāṣā" in a Buddhistic sense means 'commentary.' It ought to be Vinaya-vibhāṣā, not Vibhāṣā-vinaya. Cf. the Chinese Bk. xii, fol. 16a.

² In his Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, No. 1125 (see p. 248).

dynasty, of the Siao family (A.D. 479-502) (蕭齊外國沙門僧伽跋陀羅譯).

The date of the translation is A.D. 489 (=the seventh year of the Yung-ming period of the Emperor Wu-ti) (武帝, 永明七年).

The book is recorded as belonging to the Hinayāna. It is divided into 18 books, and consists of 440 leaves, each leaf containing about 400 Chinese characters.

It begins with the adoration "Namo sabbesaṃ Buddhānaṃ" (南無諸佛), and an opening verse. The first three books are devoted to the historical introduction; a rough analysis of the whole will be as follows:—

Bk. i to Bk. iv, fol. 2. The history from the Buddha's Death to Mahinda's Death. The first section is devoted to the Council of Rājagaha, which took place during the rainy season immediately after the Buddha's death at Kusinārā. 500 Arhats meet under Mahākassapa: Upāli recites the contents of the Vinaya, while Ānanda rehearses the Suttas in answer to the questions of the presiding therā. It lasted seven months.

Next comes the Vajjiputtiya section. In it the "Ten Points" brought forward by the Vajjian Bhikkhus are given, and the Council of Vesālī, which met A.B. 100, is shortly described. The presiding theras of the second council were ten in number, Sa-p'o-chia-mei (Sabbakāmi), Li-p'o-to (Revata), and others, the members in all numbering 700. It ended in eight months.

The third is called the Asokarāja section, which covers some three books and fifty-two folios. It gives the rise of Asoka, his conversion to Buddhism by Ni-ch'ü-t'o (Nigrodha), the building of Saṅghārāmas and medical halls, his invitation of Moggaliputta Tissa, whose life is also given at length, the examination of all Bhikkhus by Asoka, and then the Council of Pāṭaliputta, which lasted nine months, Tissa presiding over 1000 members. Then follow the ordinations of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā, the sending out of the Missionaries, the conversion of Devānampiya Tissa, the planting of a branch of the Bo-tree in

Ceylon, the arrival of Saṃghamittā, and lastly, the deaths of Mahinda, Aṣiṭṭha, and others.

The whole agrees pretty well with that portion of the Pāli text edited by Prof. Oldenberg at the end of his *Vinaya-piṭakam*, vol. iii.

Bk. iv, fol. 3 to Bk. vi. Commentary on the introductory portion of the *Vinaya*, i.e. the first part of the *Suttavibhaṅga*.

The *Mahāmogallāna Khandhaka* (Oldenberg, V.P. iii, 1, p. 7), the *Sāriputta Khandhaka*, and the *Monkey Khandhaka* (i.e. p. 23), etc., are explained.

Bks. vii-xii. An explanation of the *Pārājikā* rules.

Bks. xiii-xviii. The *Samghādisesā* rules and other sections are explained.

The last part (*Bk. xviii*) gives some remarks in a very short form about the *Kaṭṭhina Khandhaka*, *Bhikkhuṇī Khandhaka*, etc., and also thirty-two questions to *Upāli* (*Upāli-pucchā*) by *Mahākassapa*, and the answers as well. It ends with the words: "There are four wrong proceedings in the *Ñatti-kamma*¹ of the special priests [i.e. in the *Gaṇa-kamma*], four in the *Ñatti-dutiya-kamma*,¹ and four also in the *Ñatti-catuttha-kamma*¹; therefore there are three times four, i.e. twelve wrong proceedings" (別衆白羯磨中有四非法, 白二羯磨中有四非法, 白四羯磨中有四非法; 三四合十二非法).

The following extracts may perhaps serve to convince my readers of the fact that my identification is not imaginary. For shortness' sake I will omit the Chinese characters.

I. The Chinese text, *Bk. i, fol. 9.* Compare *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, pp. 16, 17, § 47.

What are the *San-Ts'ang*² (*Ti-piṭaka*)? They are the *P'i-ni Ts'ang* (*Vinaya-piṭaka*), the *Hsiu-to-lo*³ *Ts'ang*

¹ See Childers, s.v. *Kammavācā*.

² Those in italic are translations and not transliterations. "Ts'ang." "store" stands for "Piṭaka."

³ *Samghabhadra* here used an earlier transliteration from Skt. *sūtra*, hence "Hsiu-to-lo."

(Sutta-piṭaka), and the A-p'i-t'ang *Ts'ang* (Abhidhamma-piṭaka). Of what does the Vinaya-piṭaka consist? It consists of—

- a. Two Po-lo-t'i-mu-ch'a¹ (Pāṭimokkha). (Sum. vil. 2 Pāṭimokkhas, 2 Vibhaṅgas.)
- b. 23² Chien-t'o (Khandhaka). (Sum. vil. 22 Khandhakas.)
- c. The Po-li-p'o-lo (Parivārā). (Sum. vil. 16 Parivārās.)

What is the Sutta-piṭaka? It consists of—

- a. The long A-han (Dīgha-āgama),³ in which there are 44 suttas, beginning with the *Fan-wang king* (Brahma-net sutta=Brahmajāla). (Sum. vil. 34 suttas.)
- b. The middle A-han (Majjhima-āgama), 252 suttas, beginning with the *Mou-lo-po-li-yeh* (Mūlapariyāya). (Sum. vil. 152.)
- c. The Sêng-shu-to A-han (Samyutta-āgama), 7762 suttas, beginning with the *Wu-ch'ieh-to-lo-a-p'o-t'o-na* (Oghatara-apadāna).
- d. The Yang-chüeh-to-lo A-han (Anguttara-āgama), 9557 suttas, beginning with the *Ché-to-po-li-yeh-t'o-na* (Cittapariyādāna-sutta).
- e. The Ch'ü-t'o-chia A-han (Khuddaka-āgama), 14 divisions of which are—
 1. The *Fa-chü*, i.e. verses on the law (Dhammapada).
 2. The *Fü*, i.e. parables (Apadāna).
 3. The *Wu-t'o-na* (Udāna).
 4. The *I-ti-fu-to-ch'ieh* (Itivuttaka).
 5. The *Ni-po-to* (Nipāta).
 6. The *P'i-mo-na* (Vimāna-vatthu).
 7. The *Pi-to* (Peta-vatthu).

¹ From Skt. "Prātimoksha": see the last note.

² It may be meant here that the Khandhakas with the Parivārā are 23. The Mahāvagga had 10 Khandhakas and Collavagga 12: see the Vinaya texts, iii, S.B.E. vol. xx, pp. 415-417.

³ Āgama is another name of the "Nikāya": see Childers, s.v.

8. The T'i-lo (Thera-gāthā).
9. The T'i-li-ch'ieh-t'o (Therī-gāthā).
10. The *Pén-shéng*, i.e. Original Births (Jātaka).
11. The Ni-t'i-sha (Niddesa).
12. The Po-chih-sau-p'i-t'o (Paṭisambhidā).
13. The *Fo-shung-hsing*, i.e. Buddha's Genealogy or Clan (Buddhavaṃsa).
14. The Jê-yung¹ *Ts'ang* (Cariyā-piṭaka).

(Sum. vil. 15 divisions with the Khuddaka-pāṭha. Childers seems to have had a MS. which, like Samghabhadra's, omits the 15th book: see his Pāli Dictionary, p. 508a, line 10.)

What is the A-p'i-t'ang *Ts'ang* (Abhidhamma-piṭaka)? It consists of—

1. The *Fa Sēng-ch'ieh* (Dhamma-saṃgaha, sic sum. vil.).
2. The P'i-pēng-ch'ieh (Vibhaṅga).
3. The T'o-tou-chia-t'a (Dhātu-kathā).
4. The Ya-mo-chia (Yamaka).
5. The Pa-ch'a (Paṭṭhāna).
6. The Pi-ch'ieh-lo-fên-na-ti (Puggala-paññati).
7. The Chia-t'a-po-t'ou (Kathā-vatthu).²

II. a. The Chinese text, Bk. i, fol. 21; the Pāli (Oldenberg, Vinaya, vol. iii), p. 299.

"During four years after the death of King Pin-t'ou-sha-lo (Bindusāra), A-yuk (Asoka) killed all his brothers, leaving only a brother of the same mother. After four years he crowned himself and became king. It was 218 years since the Buddha's death that King Asoka took sole command of the land of Jambudīpa (Yen-fu-li)."

The Pāli: "Te sabbe Asoko attanā saddhiṃ ekamātikam Tissakumāraṃ ṭhapetvā ghātesi. Ghātento cattāri vassāni

¹ "Jak-yo" according to the Japanese pronunciation. It stands for "Cariyā."

² For all these names see Turnour, Mahāvamsa, p. lxxv; Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," pp. 18-21, where an account of these books is given in a clear form; and Childers, s.v. Tipiṭakam.

anabbhisitto 'va rajjam kāretvā cattunnam vassānam accayena tathāgatesa parinibbānato dvinnam vassasatānam upari aṭṭhārasame vasse sakala - Jambudīpe ekarajjābbhisekam pāpuṇi."

b. Ch. Bk. i, fol. 23; Pāli, p. 300.

"During three years following his enthronement he was a follower of the heretical doctrine; it was during his fourth year that he inclined his heart to the Buddha's law [through Ni-ch'ü-t'o (Nigrodha)]."

The Pāli: "Rājā kira abhisekam pāpuṇitvā tīṇi yeva samvaccharāṇi bāhirakapāsāṇam parigaṇhi, catutthe samvacchare buddhasāsane pasīdi."

c. Ch. Bk. ii, fol. 1; Pāli, p. 306.

Mo-shên-t'o (Mahinda) received his Upasampadā when he reached his full 20 years of age, his Upajjhāyā being Ti-shu, son of Mu-chien-lien (Moggaliputta Tissa), his Ācariyā Mo-ho-t'i-p'o (Mahādeva) and Mo-shan-t'i (Majjhantika). Sêng-ch'ieh-mi-to (Saṃghamittā) received his Pabbajjā ordination in his 18th year under Upajjhāyā T'ang-mo-po-lo (Dhamma-pāli) and Ācariyā A-yu-po-lo (Āyupālī). These incidents happened in the sixth year after Asoka ascended to the throne (i.e. 10 years after Bindusāra's death).¹

d. Ch. Bk. ii, fol. 9; Pāli, p. 312.

Prior to the great Council at Po-ch'a-li-fu (Pāṭaliputta) Asoka summons several Bhikkhus and questions one after another:—

Asoka: "What, sir, was the law of the Buddha" (大德, 佛法云何; Kimvādi bhante sammāsambuddho 'ti)?

Bhikkhu: "The Buddha was one who held the doctrine of Distinction" (佛分別說也; Vibhajjavādi Mahārājā 'ti).

Asoka, turning to Thera Tissa: "Was the Buddha one who held the doctrine of Distinction" (大德, 佛分別說不; Vibhajjavādi bhante sammāsambuddho 'ti)?

Tissa: "Just so" (如是; Āma, Mahārājā 'ti).

¹ Compare Dīpav., vi, 24; Oldenberg, Vinaya, i, p. L.

Asoka, seeing that Religion had been purified, said to the Bhikkhus: "Let us, sirs, hold the Uposatha to expound the morality [sīla]" (Suddham bhante dāni sāsanam, Karotu bhikkhusamgho uposathan ti). Thereupon Moggaliputta Tissa becomes the president of the Assembly, which consists of 1000 chosen Bhikkus. He then refutes the opinions of all those adhering to heretical doctrines and wrong views. Here there is a difference between the Chinese and the Pāli. The words, "Tasmim samāgame Mogalliputta-Tissatthero parappavādam maddamāno Kathāvatthuppakaraṇam abhāsi"¹—"In this assembly, Moggaliputta Tissa, refuting the opinions of the other parties, propounded the work Kathāvatthu"—are not well traceable in the Chinese. At any rate, the name Kathāvatthu is not mentioned there, though it is given in the list of the books in the Kuddakanikāya, as we have seen above.²

III. Ch. Bk. ii, fols. 12-17; Pāli, pp. 316-319.

The Buddhist missionaries sent out after the Council of Pāṭaliputta are as follows:—

1. Mo-shan-t'i (Majjhantika) to Chī-pin and Ch'ien-t'o (Kasmīragandhāra).
2. Mo-ho-t'i-p'o (Mahādeva) to Mo-hai-sha-man-t'o-lo (Mahisa- or Mahimsaka-maṇḍala).
3. Lo-ch'i-to (Rakkhita) to P'o-na-p'o-ssū (Vanavāsī).
4. Tan-wu-tē (for Dhammagutta, but the Pāli has Dhammarakkhita) } to A-po-lan-to (Aparantaka).

¹ Compare Mahāv., p. 42; Dīpav., vii, 40. The Kathāvatthu is very likely Tissa's own compilation. See, however, Childers, s.v. Tipiṭakam (p. 507*), and Max Müller, Dhammapada, xxi, xxvii.

² See above, p. 426.

5. Mo-ho-tan-wu-tê (for Mahā-dhammagutta, but the Pāli has Mahādharmma-rakkhita) } to Mo-ho-lo-ch'a (Mahārāṭṭha)
6. Mo-ho-lo-ch'i-to (Mahā-rakkhita) } to Yü-na (Yona).¹
7. Mo-shih-mo (Majjhima), Chia-shê (Kassapagotta), T'i-p'o (Deva), and Tun-t'i-pi-shu (Dundubhissara) } to the Border of the Snow Mountain (Himavanta).
8. Shu-na-chia and Yü-to-lo (Sonaka and Uttara) } to the Kingdom of the Gold Earth (Suvanna-bhūmi).
9. Mo-shên-t'o (Mahinda), I-ti-yü (Iddhiya or Itṭhiya) Yü-ti-yü (Uttiya), Po-t'o-sha (Bhaddasāla), San-p'o-lou (Sambala), Hsiu-mo-na (Sumana), and P'au-t'ou-chia (Bhaṇḍuka) } to the Island of Lion (Sinhala, Ceylon).²

IV. The chronological table given in the Chinese Bk. ii, fol. 18^b, does not exactly agree with that of the Samantapāsādikā (p. 320), or of the Mahāvamsa. The period, 236 years, between the Buddha's death (=the 8th year of Ajātasattu's reign) and Mahinda's mission to Ceylon (=the 18th year of Asoka's reign), is filled up by the following list of kings:—

¹ "Yonaka," the land of the Greeks, i.e. Bactria. The Chinese is 與那 Yü-na, but a Korean text and the new Japanese edition have 史那, Shih-na, and explain it as 漢地也 i.e. China. A scholar said that China received Asoka's mission. His assertion probably rests on this misinterpretation of the Korean text.

² For all these geographical names see Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 227 note; Dipav., viii, 4-12; Mahāv., xii (Turnour), pp. 73, 74.

KINGS.	REIGN.
A-shê-shi (Ajātasattu)	24 years. ¹
Yü-t'ò-yeh-po-t'ò-lo (Udayabhadra <i>or</i> Udāyibhaddaka)	16 years. ²
A-t'u-lou-t'ò (Anuruddha) } Min-ch'u (Muṇḍa) } each ³	8 years.
Na-chia-tai-sha-chia (Nāga-dāsaka <i>or</i> -dassaka)	14 years. ⁴
Hsiu-hsiu-na-chia (Susunāga)	18 years.
A-yü (<i>or</i> A-yuk, <i>i.e.</i> Chia-lo-yü; Kālāsoka) .	28 years.
10 sons of the last . . . together	22 years.
Mei-nan-t'ò (for Chiu-nan-t'ò) ⁵	22 years.
Chan-t'ò-chüeh-to (Candagutta)	24 years. ⁶
Pin-t'ou-sha-lo (Bindusāra)	28 years.
[The interregnum between the death of the last and the enthronement of Asoka]	4 years.
A-yü (<i>or</i> A-yuk; Asoka)	18 years.
(when Malinda was sent out).	
	234 years.

We have thus an anachronism of only two years in the list (compare Turnour, *Mahāv.*, p. xlvii, "6 years"). But this gap would be filled up if we read "18 years" for the reign of Anuruddha and Muṇḍa instead of "each 8 years."

¹ He reigned 32 years; the Buddha died in his eighth year.

² Ajātasattu and Udāyibhaddaka are omitted in Bk. ii, fol. 18^b, perhaps by the copyist's mistake, but we can see from fol. 18^a that Udāyibhaddaka reigned more than 16 years, and I put here 16 years from the Pāli. [The copyist seems to have jumped from A of Ajātasattu to A of Anuruddha while copying.]

³ Not "collectively" as in Turnour's *Mahāvamśa*, p. xlvii. *Samantapās.* (p. 320) has 18 years (Anuruddho ca muṇḍo ca Atthārasa).

⁴ *Samantapās.*, 24 years.

⁵ Mei (玫) seems to be a misprint. There is no corresponding sound in the Pāli. It is, I think, a mistake for Chiu (玖), which is sometimes used for another "Chiu" (九) meaning "nine," and the "nine nanto" for the Pāli "nava nandā." In one of my slips from the new Jap. edition of the Chinese Pīṭaka I note, "玫 mei for 玖 chiu?"; but I do not remember whether it is my conjecture or that of the Japanese Editors. Anyhow, it is pretty certain that it must be "Chiu" nine.

⁶ Not 34 as in the *Mahāvamśa*, which is an error.

I do not know whether the difference in figures between the Pāli and the Chinese texts is to be attributed to various readings in the original, or simply to a mistake on the part of the Chinese translator or copyists.

V. From the commentary itself, I shall notice only a point or two. In explaining "Ariyakam" in the Pārājikā, Buddhaghosa says:

- a. "Ariyakam nāma Ariyavohāro Magadhabhāsā. Milakkhakam nāma yo koci Anariyako Andhadamiḷādi," etc. The Chinese: 善語者, 何謂爲善語; 所以善人所行, 是摩竭國語。若邊地, 安陀羅彌國語, etc. "Now, as to the 'good language.' What is called the 'good language'? What is in use among the 'good' men. This is the language of the kingdom of Mo-chieh (Magadha). In case of the border lands, (there are) the language of the kingdom of An-t'o-lo-mi (Andhadamiḷa)," etc. (Ch. Bk. vii, fol. 13^b.)

Next, under the Saṃghādisesā, Buddhaghosa says as to 'Ādi' and 'Sesa':

- b. "Imaṃ āpattiṃ āpajjitvā vuṭṭhātukāmassa yantaṃ āpattivuṭṭhānaṃ. Tassa ādimbi e'eva parivāsādānatthāya ādito sese majjhe mānattadānatthāya . . . avasāne abbhānatthāya ca saṃgho icchitabbo" (Sam.-pās., fol. ne). The Chinese: 此比丘已得罪, 樂欲清淨。往到僧所。僧與波利婆沙, 是名初。與波利婆沙竟, 次與 . . . 摩那埵, 爲中。殘者與阿浮訶那。" The Bhikkhu, having become guilty, wishes to be purified, and goes to the place of the Saṃgha. The Saṃgha confers on him the Po-li-p'o-sha (parivāsa)—this is called the first. After having conferred the Parivāsa (the Saṃgha) next confers the Mo-na-to (Mānatta), which is the middle. Last of all, the A-fu-ho-na (Abbhāna) is conferred on him." (Ch. Bk. xii, fol. 18^b.)

Although the Chinese translation is not always literal, yet it is not so free that we cannot recognize the original in the Pāli text. Several points seem to have been omitted, when probably the translator's knowledge of Chinese failed to interpret them, while many words seem to have been added to make the sense of the original clearer. For instance, as to some medical herbs, Saṃghabhadra adds whether they are found or not in Tong-king and Canton, and in some cases gives Cantonese names besides the Indian (see e.g. Bk. xv, fol. 19^b).

It is probable that the translator dictated the meaning of Buddhaghosa's commentary from a MS., while the Chinese assistants wrote it down, and fashioned it into a Chinese composition. There are some passages so free and incorrect, that we can hardly attribute the version to anyone understanding the Pāli language.

VI. I shall notice one more point about the verses quoted by Buddhaghosa from the "Ancient Historical Records" in the Sīṃhalese Aṭṭhakathā. The verses in the Samantapāsādikā seem to consist of the three elements: (1) The verses composed by himself or by an unknown author. (2) Those taken from the ancient Aṭṭhakathā, which are indicated by the words: "Tenāhu porūpā" ("Therefore have the ancients said"). (3) Those from the Dīpavaṃsa, which are often preceded by the words: "vuttam pi etaṃ Dīpavaṃse" ("It is said in the Dīpavaṃsa as follows"). The first is called in Chinese simply "Chi" (偈) which had been meant originally for Skt. gāthā, hymn, verse, but later became a general name for any religious verse, whether a śloka or any other metre. The second is called "Wang-hsi-chi" (往昔偈), "Verses from Past Ages" or "Ancient Verses." The third, which is taken from the Dīpavaṃsa, is called "Wang-hsi-chi-tsan" (往昔偈讚), "Praise-Songs from Past Ages" or "Ancient Praise-Songs." Saṃghabhadra must have understood that the Dīpavaṃsa was nothing but a version of the ancient Sīṃhalese Records, made specially

for chanting or recitation.¹ The name "Dīpavaṃsa" is not traceable in Chinese, but it is possible that the original had "Dipavaṃse," and Saṃghabhadra translated it by the "Ancient praise-songs," in order to show what relation it had to the ancient historical record which he called simply the "ancient verses."²

In the introductory part of the Chinese text of the *Samanta-pāsādikā* there are more than seventeen verses from the *Dīpavaṃsa* (also found in the later work *Mahāvaṃsa*), though some of them widely differ from those found in the existing texts of the two books.

The above will, I think, suffice for our present purpose, and will, I hope, leave no doubt as to the existence, at any rate, of the book in question. There is only one other possibility, and it is this. The Chinese translation may be from the original of Buddhaghosa, *i.e.* the *Sinhalese* *Aṭṭhakathā*, seeing that the date of the translation is as early as 489 A.D. But it would take us too far to discuss this point now.

We have then before us a translation of the *Samanta-pāsādikā* (and under the same title) into the language of China, where the name or fame of Buddhaghosa had never reached.³ A MS. of his work, however, must have reached

¹ Compare *Mahāv.*, p. 257: "And that he might promulgate the contents of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, distributing a thousand pieces, he caused it to be read aloud thoroughly." The fact that the *Dīpav.* is called here the "Ancient praise-songs" may in a way help Prof. Oldenberg's opinion that the work "*Porāṇehi kato*" mentioned in the *Mahāv.*, i, p. i, may refer to the *Dīpav.* (Oldenberg, *Dīpav.*, p. 9).

² There are similar cases: whenever the Pāli text has "*Tambapaṇṇi*" or "*Laṅkā*," he translates it by the "Island of Lion" = *Sihala*, the object being to make it clear to the Chinese readers.

³ But it is possible that some Buddhist book may refer to him under another name. No Chinese travellers known to us mention his name. In Fa-hien's time (A.D. 399-414) Buddhaghosa must have been very young and still in India. As the *Hīnayāna* faith was looked upon as heretical by Hsien Tsang (A.D. 629-645), Buddhaghosa's fame seems to have escaped his notice. I-tsing (A.D. 671-695), though a follower of the *Hīnayāna*, says nothing of that great Buddhist writer.

there soon after its compilation, probably brought by the translator himself, who may have been a direct disciple, or, at all events, a young contemporary, of Buddhaghosa.

Buddhaghosa, a young Brahman of Magadha, who was born "Bodhimāṇḍasamipañhi," is said to have been converted by Revata, a Buddhist priest. The latter further instigated the young convert to go to Ceylon, pointing out that the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā were genuine, being composed by Mahinda, and a translation of them into the language of Magadha would be a work conducive to the welfare of the whole world.¹ Buddhaghosa then came to Ceylon in the reign of Mahānāma (A.D. 410-432)²—strictly speaking, at the end of his reign, about 430 A.D.³—and succeeded in carrying out his literary undertaking, during his stay there in the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura. The Samantapāsādikā must have been compiled at this time. He is said to have sailed to Burma about 450 A.D., taking with him all the works of his compilation.⁴

We cannot trace him further than this, but his fame, and perhaps his works also, seem to have reached Siam, Kamboja, and even Campā (Cochin China, now French). According to Dr. Bastian, Campā was once a Buddhist country,⁵ its Buddhism having been derived from Ceylon, and being generally connected with the name of Buddhaghosa. Had his Aṭṭhakathā made their way to Campā it would not have been very difficult for them to have reached Canton, the place of this translation, in South China. But this does not seem to have been the case. We have no reliable record as to the fact that Kamboja or Campā were Buddhist countries in the fifth century.

¹ Turnour, *Mahāv.*, p. 251.

² *I.e.*, p. 252. Compare Kern, "Buddhismus," p. 477; Max Müller, "Dhammapada" (S.B.E.), p. xii; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* iv, p. 285.

³ Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 236; "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. lxiv.

⁴ Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 236; Lassen and Burnouf, "Essai sur le Pāli," also quoted by Turnour, *Mahāv.*, p. xix. Compare also Bishop Rigaudet, "Life of Gaudama" (1866), p. 392.

⁵ This is confirmed by I-tsing (A.D. 671-695), who says that Campā mostly belonged to the Sāmmiṭṭiya school, while there were a few adherents of the Sarvāstivāda school.

Siam is said to have received Buddhism first in 638 A.D.,¹ though there are some traces of the existence of Buddhism at an earlier time.² In any case it is reasonable to suppose that the conversion to Buddhism of the whole area from the western coast of Burma to the north limit of Cochín China, and with it the migration of the Sacred Books, would have taken a longer time than thirty-eight years ($489-450=38$).³

The only other possibility as to how this MS. got to China at so early a date is by way of the sea. Either a Sinhalese or a Burmese who might have known Buddhaghosa, personally or by name, may have secured a copy of the *Aṭṭhakathā* and sailed to China, possibly stirred up by the missionary spirit which might have prevailed during or after the time of the great commentator. Suppose that man were a direct disciple or an admirer of Buddhaghosa; he would have simply followed the brilliant example of his teacher, who made for the eastern peninsula with his Buddhist works, as we have seen above. The voyage over the Indian Ocean would have been no difficulty before 489 A.D., for, as we know, Fa-hien returned home in 414 by a merchant ship which sailed between Ceylon and China by way of Java.

The man who brought the book is no other than the translator himself, *i.e.* Saṃghabhadra. Unfortunately we have no means of ascertaining *his* nationality. He is said to have been a *samāṇa* of the *Western Region*,⁴ a name often used for "India," of course including Ceylon. The use of the name Hsi-yü (Western Region) is very vague, and there is no reason why Burma should be excluded from it. So we have no guide at all in it. Still, it is more probable that he was a Sinhalese. The voyage from Burma to China must have been more difficult than that from

¹ Rhys Davids "Buddhism," p. 238, quoted from Crawford, "Journal of the Embassy to Siam," p. 615.

² Three priests from Siam came to China between A.D. 503-589. See above note 1, p. 419. I-tsing says there was no Buddhism in his time, but there was before a wicked king of that country persecuted the Buddhist priests.

³ But Buddhism may have been established in Asoka's time in Burma (two missionaries went to *Suvanna-bhūmi*).

⁴ See Nanjio, Catalogue, App. ii, 96.

Ceylon to China in his time. For the latter we have the witness of Fa-hien; but for a communication by the sea between Burma and China we have no record in so early a time, and the discovery of the Malacca Strait seems to be very late. But we have no positive proof that he came from Ceylon,¹ and at present we must rest satisfied with the result that he must have come from some country where the orthodox Buddhism prevailed. He seems to have been a Hīnayānist, for his translation, which is closely connected with the tradition about him given below, is recorded as a Hīnayāna work. He came to Canton and never proceeded to the North, and he brought with him the same tradition as the Siṃhalese or Burmese about the date of the Buddha's death. These points can be seen from the following interesting tradition about his life in China:—

"In 534 A.D. (中大通六年) an ascetic, Chau P'o-hsiu (隱士趙伯休), visited the temple on the mount Lu (蘆山), met a samāṇa called Kung-tu (弘度) there and obtained from him a historical record named

'A Dotted Record of many Sages' (衆聖點記).

A tradition about the Record—

After the Buddha's death, the venerable Upāli collected the Vinaya-piṭaka. On the 15th day (Pūṇṇamādicase) of the 7th moon (Assayuja) he held the Pavāraṇā ceremony, as it was the closing day of the Vassa (the Rain-Retreat). Upāli then marked the Vinaya-piṭaka² with a dot, and did the same every

¹ The following fact may perhaps help us. When the Pāli has various readings, as noted in Oldenberg's *Samantapāsā.*, the Chinese has the same readings as the Burmese MS. (E.). Whether this tendency is found throughout the commentary, I am not at present able to state. If this be proved to be the case, we can see at least that the Burmese MS. keeps the readings of 489 A.D., not long after Buddhaghosa.

² It seems from this as if the Vinaya existed in book. But we need not understand it literally. Compare Tarnour, *Mahāv.*, p. 207: the Vinaya was not in writing till the time of King Vatta Gāmanī, i.e. 88-76 B.C. But some seem to believe that it was written down in book in the first council.—Bigandet, "Life of Gaudama," p. 330. Has the custom of marking the sacred years ever existed in Ceylon or in Burma?

following summer. After Upāli's death this method was carefully kept up, handing it down from teacher to pupil, until at last it came to the hand of Saṃghabhadra, the translator of the *Vinaya Vibhāṣā*, who brought that *Vinaya-piṭaka* to Canton. He held the *Vassa* in Canton (廣州) A.D. 489 (齊永明七年), and when he finished the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony he added a dot to the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. At that time the number of dots was in all 975 (the Buddha's death therefore falls, according to this Record, in the year 486 B.C.).¹ The ascetic Chau asked the samāṇa Kung-tu why the Record was not kept up after 489 A.D., the time of Saṃghabhadra. Kung-tu answered: 'In former ages there were many Ariya-puggalas who themselves marked the Record with dots. We are only common men, whose duty it is to keep and guard this Record, not to mark it.' The ascetic Chau continued the marking till A.D. 535 (大同之初), when there were 1020 dots.'²

Saṃghabhadra's date of the Buddha, B.C. 486, was not quite unknown to the Buddhist writers in China, but was never considered as authoritative. Perhaps it did not seem "ancient" enough to the Chinese Buddhists, who would have claimed a greater antiquity for the founder of their religion than that of Confucius. Prof. Max Müller told me that he noticed some years ago the "Dotted Record" in the *Academy*, as he was informed of it by his pupil Kasawara. I failed to find the Number of the *Academy*, but I do not think that there is any difference between Kasawara's information and mine, except in wording, for the source from which we derived it is in all probability one and the same. Now that we have identified Saṃghabhadra's translation with the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, the above tradition about him turns out to be more important than curious, and I did not think it superfluous to give it here.

¹ The Sinhalese date of the Buddha's death, 543 B.C., wants a curtailment of at least about 60 years, as pointed out by Turnour, which would bring us to 483 B.C., not to speak about a further curtailment made by Max Müller, Rhys Davids, and others. The anachronism seems to have been introduced after Saṃghabhadra's time.

² 486 B.C. + 536 A.D. = 1021; perhaps the year 535 was not marked.

-In conclusion, I may add, that I am still comparing the Chinese with the Pāli and translating it, when I can spare time. I have already collected some 800 names and words, whose Sanskrit equivalents are not to be found in Eitel's Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary, or in Julien's "*Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanskrits qui se rencontrent dans les Livres Chinois*," but whose Pāli equivalents are found in Childers' Pāli Dictionary, or in the *Mahāvamsa*. I strongly hope that this book will serve as a key to lead us to a further discovery of Pāli works, which might have found their way into the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Mr. Palladji may have known our work, for his "*Historische Skizzen des Buddhismus*" give an account which, on the whole, agrees with that of our book, though there are many points whose sources are not ascertainable.¹ There must be some more Pāli works in China if we only look for them. This line of research is, I think, very important for the study of the Chinese Piṭaka, which is nothing but a mixture of all sorts of books coming from various sources. It may contain books compiled in the council of Asoka as well as those in the so-called council of Kanishka. There must be in it some elements from Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, or Prākṛit, as Dr. Edkins thinks, and further, it is possible that there is a trace of Mongolian or some dialects of Further India. It may seem to be impossible at first to recognize the elements from all those languages under the dress of Chinese, but when we have the texts in both languages before us, our work is comparatively simple and easy.² When, for instance,

¹ Above note 3, p. 418. First I thought that Palladji might have drawn his materials from Pāli sources. There was in his time Turnour's "*Epitome of the Pāli Annals*" (1837). But the names which Palladji gives, e.g. *Kihata* for *Revata* (p. 217), *Kāmaḍeva* for *Devānampiya* (p. 220, Ch. T'ien-ai, "*Heaven-love*"); he translated this into Skt. *Kāmaḍeva*), made me think that his account was from Chinese sources.

² A comparative study of the Sanskrit and Chinese texts is also very important. Without this even the interpretation of a Chinese text becomes impossible or unsuccessful. We often run the risk of thoroughly misunderstanding the Chinese translators. Compare, for instance, Beal's *Po-sho-ling-tsan-king* (S.B.E., vol. xix), §§ 564-568 (= Ch. Bk. ii, fol. 11*), and my rendering in Heinrich Lüders's paper, "*Zu Asvaghosa's Buddha-carita*," p. 2, note 2, and Tokiwai's in Leumann's note, p. 8 (Göttingen, Phil.-histor. Klasse i, 1896).

the whole of the Pāli Piṭaka is published, we can easily compare the contents of both.¹ Then we shall see, at least, whether they agree or not. To do such work we must begin with the Vinaya works, Tibetan, Chinese, and Pāli, which in substance agree with one another.² Prof. Oldenberg encourages the students of Chinese Buddhism to make a careful examination of the important literary documents of the Vinaya.³ I wish with him that Chinese scholars who are interested in the study of Buddhism, will pay attention to those texts preserved in the Lū-ta'ang, which is as yet almost an unbeaten track of Chinese literature.

¹ The whole Vinaya edited by Oldenberg: many texts from the other Piṭakas in the Pāli Text Society's publication. We have also the whole Piṭaka of a Siamese edition.

² See Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, p. xl; the Vinaya of different schools is based upon the same fundamental redaction. (Compare Wassilief, "*Buddhismus*," p. 35; the Vinaya was the same in all schools.)

³ *I.e.*, p. xliii.

ART. XI.—*Vidhūra Jātaka*. (No. 548 of Ceylon List.)
 [From the Burmese.] By R. F. ST. ANDREW ST.
 JOHN, M.R.A.S.

ONE day, when the disciples were discussing the various forms of wisdom peculiar to the Buddha, the Lord came into the hall and inquired what they were discussing. On being informed, he said: "Rahans, there will be no difficulty in understanding how I can now so easily overcome the opinions of Brahmans, princes, and others, bringing them to a right frame of mind, when you hear how, in a former existence as the high-born Vidhūra, on the summit of Mount Kālāgiri, I overcame and subdued the virulence of the Rakshasa Puṇṇaka." He then related as follows:—

Long ago, in Kururajjāṃ, in the city of Indapattanaḡaraṃ, there reigned a king whose name was Dhanañcaya Korabya, whose prime minister, Vidhūra, expounded the law so well and sweetly that everyone was attracted to him, and all the rulers of Jambudvīpa came to get his decisions. Now in the city of Bārānasi there were four rich Brahmans who were friends, and they, having determined to renounce the lusts of this world, went into Himavanta. Having dwelt there some time as hermits, they came into the inhabited country in search of salt and pickles, and at last arrived at Campānaḡaraṃ, in the country of Aṅga, and dwelt in the king's garden. The rich people of the city, seeing that their deportment was correct, undertook their maintenance, and begged them to remain. One of these hermits, in a state of ecstatic meditation, used to go daily to the country of the Nāgas, another to Tāvatisa, another to the country of the Gaḡunas, and the fourth to the park called Migājina, which belonged to King Dhanañcaya Korabya, at Indapattanaḡaraṃ. On

returning, each praised the delights of these places to his particular supporters, so that each desired, when the time of change came, to go to these places.

When they at length died, by reason of the good works they had performed, one became Sakko, another became king of the Nāgas, another became king of the Gaḷunas in a forest of silk-cotton trees, and the fourth took birth with the chief queen of King Dhanañcaya Korabya. At his father's death Prince Korabya succeeded to the throne.

King Korabya was passionately fond of dice, but abiding by the instructions of his minister Vidhūra, observed his fasts and religious duties. One-fast day, in order to be quiet, he went into his garden. Sakko, the Nāga king, and the Gaḷuna king, also came to that garden to spend the fast-day in quiet meditation; and, in the cool of the evening, all four met at the auspicious water-tank and recognized each other. Sakko sat on the auspicious stone slab, and the others seated themselves in suitable places.

Sakko then asked: "Which of us four kings, do you think, has performed the most excellent duty?"

Varuṇa, the Nāga king, answered: "I think mine is the best. The Gaḷunas generally take our lives, and yet, when I saw their king, I displayed no anger."

The King of the Gaḷunas said: "This Nāga king is the food in which we most delight, and yet, though oppressed by hunger, I did him no harm."

Sakko said: "I have left the wonderful pleasures and delights of Tāvatisa and come down to this earth to keep my fast."

Then said King Korabya: "I have left the delights of my palace and sixty thousand concubines and come to fast in this garden."

Thus the four kings extolled their own piety.

Then said the three kings: "O King Korabya, have you no wise man in your dominions who can dispel our doubts in this matter?" King Dhanañcaya Korabya answered: "I have a wise minister named Vidhūra, and he will probably be able to do so."

So they all agreed to go to the Judgment Hall, and, having caused Vidhūra to take his seat on a splendid couch, stated their case to him.

Vidhūra (after questioning them) replied: "O kings, your words are all good, and there is no fault in them. Wise men say that, like an axle well fitted to the hub of a wheel, those persons who are longsuffering, who do no ill to obtain food, who avoid lust, and have no anxiety, are they who in this world have extinguished evil" (Samaṇaṁ).

On hearing this, the four kings gave great praise to Vidhūra, and said: "Indeed, thou art a religious person. There is no one equal to thee. Thou canst decide clearly, as the worker in ivory cuts through an elephant's tusk with a saw."

Sakko presented him with a valuable cloth. The King of the Gaḷunas gave him a golden flower garland. The King of the Nāgas presented him with a priceless ruby; and King Korabya gave him one thousand milch cows, ten bulls, ten elephants, ten horses, ten chariots with Sindh horses, and the revenue of sixteen villages.

Now the King of the Nāgas had a queen, whose name was Vimalā, and, when he returned, she noticed that the ruby he usually wore round his neck was gone, so she said: "My Lord, where have you left your ruby?" He answered: "Lady, I wished to do honour to Vidhūra, the son of Canda, the Brahman, who decided a case for me, and gave it to him. Sakko gave him a cloth. The Gaḷuna king gave him a gold garland, and King Korabya also gave gifts."

Queen Vimalā asked whether he was one who preached the law; and on being told that there was no one equal to him, she thought thus: "If I were to say—'My Lord, I want to hear him preach the law: bring him here,' the King would not bring him. I will say that I want this wise man's heart, and, by worrying the King, get what I want." So she went into her inner chamber, and, giving notice to her attendants, went to sleep. On that day the Nāga king, at the time when the Queen and concubines usually came to pay their respects to him, missing Vimalā, asked where she

was. They told him she could not come, because she was ill. Hearing this, he got up from his seat, and, going to her couch and stroking her with his hand, said: "Lady, you are like a withered leaf, and your body emaciated. What ails you?"

Queen Vimalā answered: "O Lord of the Nāgas, in the land of men if women do not get what they want they suffer great pain. I have a strong desire to obtain the heart of this wise Vidhūra, lawfully and not by force. When I have obtained his heart I shall be well. If I do not, I shall shortly die."

The King answered: "Lady, if you wanted the sun, or the moon, there would be no difficulty. Even the kings of the island of Jambudvīpa find a difficulty in getting to see him. How, then, can he be brought here?"

Hearing this, the Queen turned her back on the King, saying: "If I cannot get the heart of Vidhūra, may I die on this very bed."

When the King found she would not answer him he went into his chamber and threw himself on his couch, saying: "Who can bring Vidhūra's heart? Verily the Queen will die if she cannot get it."

Just then the Princess Irandhatī¹ came, magnificently dressed, to pay her respects to her father, and, seeing him so unhappy, said: "My father, you seem very unhappy: why is it?"

Her father replied: "My daughter, your mother wants the heart of the wise Vidhūra; but who can bring him to Nāga-land? Dear daughter, you are the only person who can do it. If you wish to save your mother's life, search for a husband who can bring him." The King was so wrapped up in his desire to preserve his Queen's life, that he spoke thus shamefully to her, telling her to get a husband.

Irاندhatī, having pacified her father, went in to see her mother, and, after comforting her, dressed herself in all her

¹ Irاندhatī: is this a form of Arundhatī, one of the stars, and said to be the wife of the seven Rishis?

ornaments and, that very night, took her way through the water to the upper world, and went to a place in the Himavanta near a river where there is a mountain called Kāḷa. That mountain is sixty yūjanās in height, and entirely composed of black rocks. Having gone thither, she collected a number of beautiful flowers, and strewed them all over the mountain, and made it look as if it were a heap of rubies; she spread a bed of flowers on the summit, and began to dance and sing, saying¹—

Nāgas, Devas, and Gandhabbas,
Kinnaras, and all who dwell
In this Himavanta forest,
Stay, and list to what I tell:
Lives Vidhūra, wise and gracious,
In the courts of Kuru's Lord;
Who Vidhūra's heart will bring me
Shall receive me as reward.

Just then Puṇṇaka, the nephew of the Deva Vessavaṇa (Kuvera), riding on his horse Manomaya, was on his way to the assembly of the Rakshasas, and heard her song. As she had once been his wife in a former existence, as soon as he heard her he was smitten with delight, and, stopping his horse, said: "Lady, by the power of my wisdom, I will bring you Vidhūra's heart. Be not afraid. You shall be my wife."

On hearing this, Irandhatī replied: "Go at once and demand me of my father."

Overcome with love, Puṇṇaka dismounted and stretched out his hand to put Irandhatī on his horse, but she drew back, saying:

Irandhatī.

Back, Puṇṇaka, nor take me by the hand;
I am no orphan to be brought to shame:

¹ The gāthas of Irandhatī's song have been left out, except the first line; and only the Bur. translation given.

Varuṇa, lord of serpents, is my sire,
 And Vimalā, my mother, his chief queen.
 If, then, to wed me be thy firm desire,
 Demand me from them in accustomed form.

Hearing this, Puṇṇaka at once proceeded to the Serpent King's palace, and addressed him thus:—

Puṇṇaka.

Lord of the Nāgas, list unto my suit,
 And give Irandhatī to me for wife.
 Ages have passed since first our lots were linked :
 I love her still, and she to me inclines.
 Take as her price one hundred elephants,
 One hundred steeds, and e'en one hundred carts
 Piled with the seven gems, to which are yoked
 One hundred mules: an offering far too small.
 But who could name a price for one so fair ?

Varuṇa.

O Raksha Prince, Vessavan's nephew true,
 Fitted in every way to be my son-in-law
 Art thou; but not in haste may this be done :
 A hurried marriage oftentimes causes woe.
 First with my queen and kith I must consult.
 Irandhatī is but a child, and 'tis
 The nature of all womenfolk to pine
 When parted from their home. Perchance she, too,
 May grieve when taken hence. Wait here awhile.

(He enters the palace and addresses Queen Vimalā.)

Queen of my queens, my well-loved Vimalā,
 There waits without, in haste to wed our child
 Irandhatī, the darling of our heart,
 Vessavan's nephew, chief of all his hosts.
 His gifts and words are fair. What thinkest thou ?

Vimalā.

Lord of this widespread realm, we need no gifts :
 Irandhatī, whose beauty glads all hearts
 Cannot be bought with gems : 'tis he alone
 Who brings Vidhūra's heart shall wed the maid.

Varuṇa (coming out).

Leader of hosts, if our consent you'd win,
 Bring us the "wise man's" heart, thy lawful spoil.

Puṇṇaka.

Some are called wise and others are called fools ;
 But on this point all men are not agreed.
 How shall I know the wise man from the fool ?

Varuṇa.

What ! hast not heard of Rāja Korabya,
 Who reigns at Indapattan ? and of him
 Who guides with perfect wisdom his affairs,
 All-wise Vidhūra ? 'Tis his heart we want.

Puṇṇaka ordered his attendant to get ready his horse Manomaya, and, urged by his great love for Irandhatī, having smoothed out his beard and hair and arranged his clothes, mounted and set off on his way to the dwelling of his uncle Kuvera (Vessavaṇ).

On arriving there he recited some stanzas descriptive of the beauty and wealth of Kuvera's city. He recited these verses because he did not dare to carry off Vidhūra without his uncle's permission. Kuvera, however, was deciding a dispute between two devas, and did not attend to him, so Puṇṇaka sat down near the deva who had won his case. Kuvera, turning to the deva, gave him an order to go and take possession, so Puṇṇaka took the order as if it were given to himself, and went off with him. On the way he thought thus : "Vidhūra's attendants are very

numerous; I shall not be able to take him unawares. King Korabya is passionately fond of dice. I will win him from Korabya by a cast of the dice. King Korabya is very wealthy, and will not play with me for anything of small value. In the hill of Vepulla, near Rājagriha, there is a ruby fit to be worn by Cakkavatti monarchs; it is a ruby of great power. I will overcome him by means of that ruby." He accordingly went to Rājagriha, in the country of Aṅga.

(The translator here remarks: "Why is it said that Rājagriha is in Aṅga, when it is in Magadha?"—It is because at that time the King of Aṅga ruled over Magadha.)

Ascending to the top of Mount Vepulla, he came to the place where that wonderful ruby which is called Manohara (Captivating) is guarded by 100,000 Kumbhaṇḍas. Terrifying them by his terrible glances, he took the ruby and pursued his way to Indapattanagaram. On arriving there, he got off his horse and left it in concealment near the city. Taking the form of a young man, he approached King Korabya and addressed him thus:—

Puṇṇaka.

"In this assembly of chiefs, who will play with me for an excellent stake? From which of you shall I be able to win something of value? Who of you wants to win my incomparable treasure?"

Korabya.

"Youth, what is your country? Your speech is not that of Kururāj, and your appearance is more comely than that of the people of my country. Tell me your race and name."

Puṇṇaka.

"King, I bear the noble title of Kaccāyaṇa. As for my parents and race, they dwell in the city of Kāla-campanagaram in Aṅga; and I have come to this country to cast dice."

Korabya.

"Since you have come here to gamble, what have you brought with you? If you have nothing, will not the princes who overcome you make you their slave? How, then, do you propose to play against princes?"

Puṇṇaka.

"My lord king, my stake is a ruby.¹ It is of immense value—more valuable than any other. It brings whatever you desire, and is called Manohara. That is not my only property: I possess a steed that can drive away all my enemies. I will play for both of them. Let the winner take them."

Korabya.

"Youth, what can you do with your one ruby and horse? We kings have many such rubies, and swift steeds innumerable."

(Here ends the canto called "Dohaja."²)

* * * * *

Puṇṇaka.

"My lord king, why do you speak thus? My horse is worth a thousand, and my ruby is worth a thousand. Though your Majesty may have horses, they are not like mine. Just look at the qualities of my horse." Saying thus, he mounted Manomaya and rode round the city wall so fast that the city appeared to be surrounded by

¹ The ruby was not a red one, but a Vejurivam.

² Dohaja, "longing for"; more especially applied to that of women in a certain condition.

a band of horses, which could not be distinguished, and even Puṇṇaka himself was not distinguishable, but the red girdle on his waist was like the whirling of a firebrand. Having thus displayed the good qualities of his horse, he dismounted and said: "O King, have you beheld the power of my horse?" And, on the King replying that he had seen it, he said, "Look again," and rode his horse across the surface of the lake which was in the royal park, backwards and forwards, so that not even its hoofs were wetted. Having caused it to stand on a lily-leaf, he spread out his hand and it stood upon the palm. When the King remarked, "This is, indeed, very wonderful," he replied: "Now behold the power of my ruby. You have only to look into it to see¹ everything that is in this city or on the face of the earth, and all the delights of Devaland."

(Here ends the canto called "The Ruby.")

* * * * *

Puṇṇaka.

"Surely, O King, if I gamble with you and lose, take my ruby. But what will you stake?"

Korabya.

"Kaccāyaṇo, I will stake anything but myself, my queen, or my throne."

Puṇṇaka.

"If that be so, O King, since I am from a distant country and cannot tarry long, make ready the gaming-place."

So the King summoned all his nobles, and ordered a place to be prepared. The nobles, having spread curiously-worked carpets and arranged places for the King and his hundred nobles, suitably to their rank, reported to the King that all was ready.

Then Puṇṇaka requested the King to come to the

¹ The description of what may be seen in the ruby is too long to translate.

gaming-place, and said: "My lord king, you have stated that you will play with me for anything save your royal person, your queen, or your throne, and your words are as ivory [*i.e.* firm]; but I am a poor person and you are the lord of many. If you win, you will assuredly take my ruby; but if I lose, you may delay in paying me, and fall back upon the fact that you are a king: how, then, can I play on equal terms?" But the King replied: "Kaccāyano, be not afraid; whether I win or lose I will act according to the law."

So Puṇṇaka called all the kings who were present to bear witness, saying: "Kings of Pancala, Paccuggata, Sūrasena, Madda, and Kebhi, who are here assembled, you have heard the words of Korabya your lord. Take good note of them. You are all law-abiding kings, and I call upon you to be my witnesses, without fear or favour; listen and watch between us, and according to the custom of the righteous, with heed, observe closely, and do that which is right."

Thereupon King Korabya, surrounded by a hundred princes, proceeded to the gaming-shed, and they sat in their appointed places; and King Korabya placed the golden dice upon a silver table.

Then Puṇṇaka said suddenly: "My lord king, the marks upon the dice are called 'thé,' 'than,' 'einzé,' and 'nguzon'¹: take which you please." The King elected to take "einzé," and Puṇṇaka took "than."

The King then called upon Puṇṇaka to throw first; but Puṇṇaka said: "My lord king, I am a poor man: it is not right that I should begin; it is for you to throw first." So the King agreed.

Now there was a fairy, who had been his mother in his third state of existence, who constantly looked after King Korabya, and through her power he had always won when he played with dice. He used also to sing the following verses whenever he played: (Sabbā nadī viñka nadī, etc.), which mean—

¹ These words are not given in the Bur. Dictionary, but according to the text *thé* = 3, *than* = 6, *einzé* = 4, and *nguzon* = 2.

Rivers, all are crooked rivers;
 Firewood grows in every tree;
 Woman ever doeth evil
 Get she opportunity.¹

In order to invoke his fairy guardian he sang as follows:—

O fairy, now my guardian be;
 Fame and renown bring quick to me:
 Upon thy kindness I rely.
 Pure is the gold that forms each die;
 Brightly they shine within the bowl:
 Stand near me and my luck control.
 Sweet fairy, ever kind to me,
 Come now and bring me victory.

Then King Korabya, singing his gambling song, threw the dice into the air, but through Punnaka's power they fell so that he would have lost; knowing, however, by his great skill that this would happen, he caught them before they fell on the silver table and again threw them into the air, but seeing that they would a second time fall against him, he again caught them in his hand.

Seeing this, Punnaka looked round to see the reason, and observed the good fairy standing near the King. He thereupon glared fiercely at the fairy, and she fled terrified to the top of a mountain on the confines of the world. The King then threw them again thrice, but by Punnaka's power was prevented from putting out his hand to catch them before they fell. Then Punnaka threw, and seeing that he had won, rose from his seat and cried, "I have won, I have won." And the sound of his voice was heard throughout all Jambudvīpa.

King Korabya was very sad at having lost, so Punnaka, in order to comfort him, said: "My lord king, when two persons have a wager each puts forth all his strength

¹ See Jātaka No. 62.

to win, but both cannot do so—one must lose; and so it is in this dicing: your Majesty, however, has not lost your own person. Be not cast down, but give me that precious thing that I have won, and let me depart, for I have come from afar and may not delay."

Korabya.

"Youth Kaccāyaṇo, I have everything that is on the face of this earth: take what you want and go."

Puṇṇaka.

"My lord king, in your realm there are elephants, horses, precious stones, and lovely virgins, but the greatest treasure of all is Vidhūra, 'the wise minister.' In accordance with your promise give him to me."

Korabya.

"Kaccāyaṇo, before we began to play I said I would stake anything but myself, my queen, or my throne, and this Vidhūra is as my very self, and you ought not to take him. It is on him that I rely. He is even greater than I, for I worship him. He is the source of my good fortune and like an island of refuge."

Puṇṇaka.

"My lord king, as I have far to go and cannot stay to argue the question, let us call Vidhūra and abide by his decision."

Korabya.

"Kaccāyaṇo, you are honest in all your actions: I am pleased with your suggestion. We will go to Vidhūra and abide by his decision." So the King, accompanied by all his nobles, took Puṇṇaka with him and went to the Hall of Justice.

When Vidhūra saw the King coming he descended from the judgment-seat and sat in a suitable place.

Punnaka then addressed him thus: "O wise minister, you are well established in the law, and would not speak falsely even to save your life. These things are known unto all men. I, too, would know this, O wise one—Art thou the servant of the King, or one of his kin?"

Vidhūra.

"Youth, I am not of the King's kith, neither am I greater, but I am one of his servants. Of these there are four classes,¹ viz.: the house-born, the purchased, the self-made, and the captive. As I am one that pays respect to the King, I am a 'self-made' slave, and though I may be taken to another country, I shall still be the servant of the King. And if the King for any reason give me to you, or another, his gift will be lawful."

Punnaka.

"O princes, my victory is twofold. As for this king of kings, his wish was contrary to law. Why should he not give me this wise Vidhūra, who has given a true decision?"

Korabya (in anger).

"O Vidhūra, though I have honoured and raised you to high estate, you have no regard for me, but regard only the face of the youth Kaccāyaṇo, whom you have only just seen. Youth, take this true slave and go thy way."

(End of the canto called "The Dice-throwing.")

* * * * *

The King, thinking he might still detain Vidhūra by getting him to solve difficult questions, asked him as follows:

1. Vidhūra, how may householders dwell in safety?

¹ Antojāta, dhanakkīta, sayamāsaṇṇegata, karamarāṇita.

2. What is the law of mutual assistance?
3. Under what circumstances may they be without poverty and anxiety?
4. What is the rule for fidelity?
5. After passing from this life to another how may they be free from dread?

Vidhūra replied —

1. "O King, people should not commit adultery with their neighbours' wives, nor should they eat without giving food to those who deserve it. They should not rely on absurd casuistry, for it tends not to true wisdom.
2. "Daily they ought to observe diligently the five duties. They should observe their duties to one another as rulers and householders. They should not forget to heap up merit. In all matters they should act with deliberation. Instead of being arrogant they should be humble. They should obey the instructions of the righteous. They should be neither short-tempered nor malicious. They should be bold and unflinching in almsgiving. They should speak loving words and be tender in thought, word, and deed.
3. "They should be liberal to their friends and loving, doing to them as they would be done by. They should be mindful of seed-time and harvest, and when mendicants come round ever ready to fill their bowls.
4. "They should desire to follow the precepts of the righteous. They should be mindful of their good birth and lineage. They should read and converse on good books, discussing and asking questions.
5. "O King, they who do these things are free from danger and anxiety in this life, neither shall they have dread when they pass to another existence."

(Here ends the canto called "The Householder.")

Now when Vidhūra returned from conducting the King back to his palace, Puṇṇaka said: "Vidhūra, you have been given to me by the King and must go with me as my servant. Look closely to my advantage, for wise men have said that whosoever acts only for the good of his lord becomes well acquainted with it."

Vidhūra.

"Young man, I know that you have got possession of me, and that it was because the King gave me to you. It was for your good also that I answered his questions. In return for this kindness remain two or three days in my house, and allow me to instruct my wives and children."

Puṇṇaka.

"Vidhūra, I will remain with you a few days, and during that time set your affairs in order and instruct your wives and children."

So Puṇṇaka went with Vidhūra to his house.

Now Vidhūra's house was built in three mansions, one suitable for each season. They were named¹ Kuñjara, Mayura, and Piyaka. They were as well appointed as that of Sakko. So Vidhūra installed Puṇṇaka in one of those mansions, with everything that he could want and 500 damsels to attend upon him, and retired to the one in which his family was living, and entering into the chamber of his wife Anulā, told her to call all his children; but she, by reason of her great grief, was unable to do so, and sent her daughter-in-law, saying: "My tender and loving daughter-in-law, beautiful as the flower of the blue lotus (Indavaramuppalaṃ), go and summon my son Dhammapāla and your other brothers-in-law."

Vidhūra received them with streaming eyes, and embraced them; and after a little while, having come out into the

¹ Kuñjara, "elephant." Mayura, "peacock." Piyaka, "a spotted deer." But these names are also connected with certain plants.

reception hall, thus addressed his sorrowing family :—" My beloved children, I, your father, may only remain here in peace for three days, and after that must go away with the youth Kaccāyaṇo and obey his commands. Indeed, he desires to depart on this very day, but, as I had not given you my instructions, I begged him to remain a day or two. I will now tell you your line of conduct, and do you all take it well to heart; and if the king asks you, when you go into his presence, whether your father gave you any commands, you can relate to him all I now say, and when he hears your words he will remember me with regret, and appoint you to proper posts." On hearing these words his family wept bitterly.

(Here ends the canto called "Lakkhaṇa.")

* * * * *

When the weeping had ceased, he said : " My children, be not afraid: all the laws of 'Bhūmakasaṅkhāra' are impermanent.¹ Wealth and riches are lost and destroyed. I will now relate to you the verses called 'Rājavasati,' attention to which will ensure earthly wealth and happiness."

*The Rājavasati, or "King-service."*²

1. If anyone desire royal service, being seated, listen to me;
How a man, having entered the service of royal personages, may attain unto honour.
2. That man obtains not a royal family who is inconspicuous
in wisdom;
Nor the coward, the fool, nor the sluggard, at any time.

¹ I do not find this combination in Childers. According to the Burmese, *saṅkhāra* means "mutability," but here it seems to indicate the stages of existence both in this life and the next.

² This consists of 46 couplets, beginning—

1. Ehaṃ rājavasatiṃ | nisiditva sunātha me |
Yathā rājakulam patto | yasmā poṣa nigacchati |

I am indebted to Mrs. M. Bode for her valuable assistance in translating these Pāli gāthas.

3. When he acquires virtue, wisdom, and purity,
He (the king) confides in him, and keeps no secret
from him.
4. Even as a balance, held rightly with equal beam,
Unshaken, let him not tremble; let him serve the king.
5. Even as a balance, rightly held with equal beam,
Obtaining full knowledge of all things, let him serve
the king.
6. By day or by night, learned in the king's service,
Unshaken, not wavering, let him serve the king.
7. By day or by night, learned in the king's service,
Gaining knowledge in all things, let him serve the king.
8. Though one say to him, the road is made ready for
the king;
Even though the king urge him to go by it, he should
not; let him serve the king.
9. Let him not eat, as the king, food or dainties.
Let him even keep behind others; let him serve the king.
10. Let him not wear garments, wreaths, perfumes, nor
ornaments, nor speak, nor do as the king does:
Let him use other adornments; let him serve the king.
11. Should the king take his pleasure, surrounded by
courtiers and women,
With his courtiers and women let not the wise man
dally.
12. Not puffed up with pride; prudent, with senses well
guarded;
Firmly resolved in his heart; let him serve the king.
13. He should not dally with the king's wife, nor remain in
a secluded place with her:
Let him not use the king's treasure; let him serve
the king.
14. Let him not love much sleep, nor drink intoxicating
drinks;
Nor fling the dice, nor game in the king's presence; let
him serve the king.
15. Let him not mount the king's couch, chair, throne, or
chariot,

Thinking, "I am chosen for honour"; let him serve the king.

16. Let not the discerning man go too far from the king,
nor too near him:

Let him stand in his presence so as to be seen and
heard without difficulty.

17. He should not say, "The king is my friend; the king
is my foster-brother":

Swift is the anger of the king, as the smart of a mote
in the eye.

18. Though he think himself revered (by the king), the
wiser and more learned man,

Let him not answer harshly the king when in the
assembly.

19. Though he has the right to enter the door, let him not
enter without the king's permission:

King's authority is as fire: let him serve the king.

20. If the king thinks to favour son or brother with villages,
townships, districts, or provinces,

Being silent let him look on, nor cunningly speak ill
of him.

21. To the elephant-riders, the royal guards, the charioteers,
and foot-soldiers, when he gives wages, and the king
increases their pay,

Let him not interfere; let him serve the king.

22. As a bow with an arrow fitted to it, bending as a bamboo
reed,

Let him not act in opposition; let him serve the king.

23. His words should be as few as those of a tongueless
fish,

Measured, prudent, brave; let him serve the king.

24. Let him not go to touch women, for loss of power
is sure;

Cough, asthma, suffering, weakness, and wasting come
upon him.

25. Let him not talk over much, nor let him keep silence:

When the time is fit let him speak, not ramblingly but
measuredly.

26. Not wrathful nor jarring, gentle, truthful, not back-biting.
Let him not talk frivolous talk ; let him serve the king.
27. Let him cherish mother and father, and respect his elders.
Fearful of sinning, let him serve the king.
28. Well-trained, skilful, temperate, steadfast, and kind ;
Strenuous, pure, and clever ; let him serve the king.
29. Lowly to his elders, obedient, and humble ;
Compassionate, and pleasant to dwell with ; let him serve the king.
30. Though he speaks with ambassadors on secret business,
He should look only to his lord's welfare.
31. Both on Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
Let him respectfully wait ; and let him serve the king.
32. Both Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
Let him lodge with care ; and let him serve the king.
33. Both Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
Let him refresh with food and drink ; and let him serve the king.
34. Both Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
Who have attained wisdom, let him serve, asking deep questions.
35. Let him not omit customary gifts to Samanas and Brahmans ;
Nor let him forbid beggars at alms-time.
36. Wise, endowed with knowledge, skilled in rites and observance of the law,
Well knowing times and seasons, let him serve the king.
37. Active in his doings, vigilant, discerning,
Acting with good arrangement, let him serve the king.
38. Constantly visiting his threshing-floor, barns, cattle, and fields,
Let him store up the corn when measured, and when measured let it be cooked in his house.

39. If son or brother be unstable in the commandments
[duties], like helpless children in arms, or ghosts,
Let him give them clothes, food, and abiding places.
40. Servants who are steadfast in their duties,
Skilful and active folk, let him place before others.
41. Religious and uncovetous, strongly attached to the king;
Both openly and in secret beneficial to him; let him
serve the king.
42. Let him know the king's wish; let him know the king's
aims;
Unfaltering in his conduct, let him serve the king.
43. When (the king is) clothing and bathing, or feet-
washing, head-lowered,¹
And when struck not wrathful; let him serve the king.
44. If one gives salutation to pots and does reverence to
basins,
Why to the giver of all good things should not the
best be given?²
45. Whosoever gives beds, clothes, vehicles, habitations, and
houses,
Even as a rain-cloud to beings, he pours down wealth.
46. This Rājavasatī if a man practise,
He propitiates kings, and obtains both wealth and honour.

On the third day Vidhūra, having bathed and dressed himself, went to the King's palace, to pay his respects and take leave, and addressed the King thus:—"My lord king, this young man is taking me away; his mind is set upon going. I would speak to thee concerning the good of my family: listen, victorious one. When the youth asked me how I was related to thee, I truly replied that I was thy servant. That, indeed, is the only fault, as far as I can see, that I have committed. If a man slips upon the earth

¹ That is to say, "he should not look at the king's face, but stand with averted eyes."

² The first line of 44 runs thus: "Kumbhaññhi pañjalim kayirā | cātuccāpi padakkhiṇaṇaṁ." The meaning is obscure, and the Burmese translation is: "On beholding pots full of water, kingfishers and other birds, though they can give no advantages, yet we salute them with raised hands."

and falls, on that spot even he must remain. That slip of mine I look at as my fault. Be not angry with me for that error, but take care of my family and possessions, and let them not be destroyed."

Korabya.

"It is not pleasant to hear that you must depart. I will endeavour by some stratagem to prevent your departure. I will summon the youth to my palace and secretly make away with him."

Vidhūra.

"My Lord, though this thought of thine arises through love and pity for me, it is not right; there is no benefit in it. Put it from thee and think only of what is meritorious. All beings must grow old and die. I bear no ill-will to this youth. He may beat me, or free me, or kill me. Being his slave, I must submit to his will and go with him."

So Vidhūra, having respectfully saluted the King, and admonished the nobles and attendants, left the palace; and all the queens and ladies, being unable to restrain their feelings, with dishevelled hair and streaming eyes, beating their breasts, followed him in great sorrow. The people of the city came in crowds to see him depart; and he exhorted them, saying: "Be not sorrowful: actions, affections, seasons, food, are all impermanent. Both one's earthly body and possessions must come to an end; therefore, reflecting on these things, we should give alms and observe our religious duties." Having thus admonished them and sent them home, he proceeded to his house. Just then his son Dhammapāla, and the rest of his family, having come out to look for him, met him at the gate; and when he saw his children, being unable to restrain his sorrow, he embraced them, weeping, and entered into his house. Now Vidhūra "the wise" had a thousand sons, a thousand daughters, a thousand wives, and seven hundred concubines, and very

many slaves and kinsmen. The whole of these were smitten with grief and sorrow, and lay prostrate as the "sal" trees when smitten by a whirlwind from Mount Yugantara; and with a mighty murmur they besought him not to leave them; but, having comforted them, and set his household affairs in order, he left them and entered into the presence of Puṇṇaka, saying: "Youth, in accordance with my wish, you have waited here in my palace two or three days, and my instructions to my family are complete: do according to your wish."

Puṇṇaka.

"Since you have completed your arrangements let us depart, for the distance we have to go is long. Without fear take hold of my horse's tail, for this is the last time that you shall behold the habitation of men."

Vidhūra.

"Of what should, then, I be in dread?
To none have I ever done evil
By thought, or by word, or by deed,
To make me the prey of the Devil."¹

Then, fearless as a lion, he uttered this act of truth: "May this cloth with which my loins are now girt ne'er leave me as long as I require it"; and, mounting on to the horse's crupper, and firmly grasping the tail, he said: "Youth, I have firm hold of your horse's tail: go whithersoever you desire."

At that instant Puṇṇaka thought, "What is the use of my taking this Vidhūra to a distant place? I will carry him to the Himavanta forest, and, having dragged him through the ravines and thorn-brakes till the life is out of him, cast his dead body into a chasm, and carry his heart to Nāga-land." So he directed his horse Manomaya thither, and urged him swiftly through the trees. But by the

¹ "Gaccheyya daggatim." But Buddhists believe that they will be tortured by devils in hell.

virtue of the Bodhisat's accumulated merit the trees kept away from his body for the distance of a cubit.

When Puṇṇaka looked back to see if he were dead, and beheld his face shining with brightness, he again urged his horse thrice through the thickets; but to no purpose. Being greatly enraged, he rode into a mighty wind, but by the power of the Bodhisat it divided in two; and though he did this seven times he was unable to kill him, so he carried him off to the mountain called Kālāgiri.

Now Vidhūra's wives and family, thinking that he was a very long time in the upper chamber with Puṇṇaka, ascended to see what he was doing; and when they saw him not, raised a great cry, saying, "This demon in the likeness of a youth has carried off our lord"; and they wept and wailed bitterly. And when the King heard the sound thereof, he inquired what was the matter; and when they told him, he comforted them, saying: "Be not afraid, and cease from weeping, for he can preach the law sweetly, and will bring that youth to reason. Do not be so disturbed: he will soon return."

When Puṇṇaka arrived at the top of Kālāgiri, he thought—"If I do not kill this Vidhūra I shall not get Irandhatī, and all my trouble will be for nought. I will kill him, and, having taken out his heart, carry it to Queen Vimalā, and bear away Irandhatī to my abode. It will not, however, do for me to kill him with my own hands, but I must cause his death through fear." So he set Vidhūra down on the peak of the mountain, and took the appearance of a frightful demon, which threw Vidhūra prone on his back, and then held him between its tusks as if it would devour him; but the Bodhisat was not in the least terrified. He then endeavoured to frighten him by taking the appearances of a lion, a must elephant, and a huge serpent; but the Bodhisat was not terrified by them. Then, thinking he would grind him to powder, he caused a mighty whirlwind to blow on him as he lay on the mountain-top; but that wind did not even disturb one hair of his head. He then caused the whole mountain

of Kālāgiri to be agitated, but was unable to terrify him; so he entered into the heart of the mountain and yelled loudly, but, though the noise was terrible, the Bodhisat was not disturbed.

Finding that he could not terrify him by any of these means, he, in the form of a frightful demon, took him by both feet and hurled him from the top of Kālāgiri; but the Bodhisat fell lightly, as a ball of dressed cotton, at a distance of fifteen yūjanās. Then, taking him up again head downwards and finding that he was not yet dead, he hurled him again into the heavens, and he fell at a distance of sixty yūjanās.

After this had been done, the Bodhisat thought—"He may hurl me away again, or, taking me by the feet, beat me to death against this mountain, but I shall not be afraid; for to say nothing of these terrors, if at the end of this cycle, during the 'samvaṭṭathāyī' (desolation?),¹ even were I cast down from the realms of Vehapphalo into bottomless void, yet by reason of 'self-possession' I should have no fear; I should still be Vidhūra, the wise minister of the King of Kuru." Then he said:—"Youth, your appearance is that of a good man, but you are not so. Your appearance is that of one who keeps himself under restraint, but you do not do so. You do that which is evil and profitless. Your actions are not meritorious. Why do you hurl me into these chasms? What advantage will you gain by my death? I do not think you are a man, but a Rakshasa: by what name are you known amongst Devus?"

Puṇṇaka.

"Have you not heard of Puṇṇaka in the country of men? I am the general of the armies of King Vessavaṇa. I desire to wed the lovely Irandhatī, daughter of Vimalā, the Queen of the Nāga king Varuṇa; and because I desire to wed her, it is my purpose to slay you."

¹ See Childers, under "Kappo."

Vidhūra.

"O Puṇṇaka, descend not to the level of fools. Oftentimes men come to destruction for doing the evil that they ought not to do. Why do you want to marry this lovely Nāga princess? What profit will you get by my death?"

Puṇṇaka.

"O wise minister, I will tell you. I know not whether it was because we were once married and loved each other in a former existence, but from the first moment that I saw her I was urged by love to demand her from the Nāga king, who informed me in the verses beginning 'Dujjemukho,' etc., that I must obtain lawfully, as her price, the heart of Vidhūra; and, therefore, I desire to get your heart. I do not desire to injure you for a mere idle whim. I won you lawfully and I desire to take your heart lawfully and present it to the Nāga king, so that I may obtain Irandhatī. And as your death would be a great advantage to me, I have brought you to this place."

The Bodhisat, on hearing this, reflected—"What does Vimalā want with my heart?¹ Varuṇa, having heard me preach the law, and having presented me with the ruby that adorns her neck, will probably, when he returned to the Nāga country, have praised my preaching before his queens and courtiers; and, on that account, his chief queen, Vimalā, wishing to hear me, has laid this stratagem, and Varuṇa, not understanding it, has sent this ignorant Rakshasa Puṇṇaka, and he is ill-treating me owing to his bad disposition. I indeed am wise, but if I die by the hand of this Puṇṇaka what will be the use of my having been wise? I will even now show him my power." So he said: "Youth, listen to the law called 'Sādhunara,' and after you have heard it do with me according to your desire."

Puṇṇaka, saying to himself, "I do not think this law

¹ Vidhūra either had the power of omniscience, or Puṇṇaka thought aloud.

has ever been preached before to men and devas," raised up Vidhūra and set him on his feet on the top of the mountain, saying: "I have taken you out of the abyss and set you on the mountain. I have other business besides taking your heart, so that no good law may be unknown to men make it known to me."

The Bodhisat answered: "Youth, since you have other business besides taking my heart, and have saved me from the abyss, and, desiring to hear the law called 'Sādhunara,' have set me on the top of this mountain, I also will declare this law unto you; but my body is covered with dust and dirt, and it is not proper to preach when the body is defiled with dirt: permit me, I pray you, to bathe."

So Puṇṇaka brought bathing water, and caused the Bodhisat to bathe in it; and when he had done, dressed him and anointed him with fairy scents, and fed him with fairy food. Then, having prepared the top of Kālāgiri in a suitable manner for preaching the law, the Bodhisat, sitting cross-legged, said—

"Follow him who goes before thee;
Dry not, youth, the hand that's wet;
Never to thy friend be faithless;
Follow not the wanton's beck.

These are the four precepts of the 'Sādhunara,' and he who adheres to them may be called a good man."

Puṇṇaka, not being able to understand, answered: "O wise one, who is he that has gone before? Why must one not dry the wet hand? Who is he that errs against his friend? What is a wanton? Explain to me this law; it is too difficult for me to understand."

Whereupon the Bodhisat replied: "If another should confer acts of hospitality on oneself, though he has never seen or met one before, to that person one should in like manner repay with gratitude those acts which he has done. This is the law called 'Yātānuyāyi.'

"If, for even one night, one should rest in a person's house, and obtain the slightest refreshment, one should not

transgress against that person, even in thought. This is the law called '*Allapāṇi parivajjaya.*'

"Whosoever takes shelter beneath a tree, he should not break even a branch or twig thereof; it is his friend. This is the law called '*Mittadubbhi.*'

"Though a badly-disposed woman be taken in marriage, and obtain all the worldly goods it is possible to give her, yet, if she sees an opportunity for entertaining a lover, she will do injury to her husband without thought of gratitude. Verily, if a man be overcome by the blandishments of such a woman and gives her all her desires, his profit will be nought, and he will be harassed in body and mind. This is the law called '*Asatinam nagacche.*'"

(Here ends the "Sādhunara" canto.)

* * * * *

The Bodhisat having thus preached the law, Puṇṇaka thought thus:—"The wise one appears by these four laws to ask for his life. He never saw my face before, and though I was not his close friend, yet he treated me in his house as if I had dwelt with him aforetime. I enjoyed his hospitality for three or four days, and now the only reason I have for ill-treating him is for the sake of a woman. If I look at these four laws I see that I have been false to my friend. If I were to kill him I should verily be one who follows not the law called '*Sādhunara,*' and if I am said to be one who does not according to this law I should not be desired by the Nāga king's daughter. I will restore the wise one to his country, and gladden the hearts of his people and family": so he said: "O most excellent one, I dwelt in your home for several days, and you fed me; you are indeed a friend against whom I should not transgress. Truly, I will release you. I deserve not the Nāga king's darling; through desire for her I ought not to have done this evil deed. Because you have preached the law well I will free you from death."

When he said this the Bodhisat answered: "O Deva, do not convey me to my home yet. Since I have never yet

beheld the treasures of the Nāga king, take me to Nāga-land."

Puṇṇaka thereupon answered gladly: "We will go at once to the glorious land of the Nāgas, and thou shalt behold it. That country is full of all splendours and delights." When they arrived there, Puṇṇaka, placing the Bodhisat behind him, went into the presence of the Nāga king; and when the King saw them he said: "Youth, you went to the country of men to fetch the heart of the wise Vidhūra; now that you have brought him himself, is your purpose accomplished?"

And Puṇṇaka answered: "My lord king of the Nāgas, you desired Vidhūra, and he has come. I obtained him lawfully. Behold him. There is great happiness in associating with good people, even though it be for a moment."

(Here ends the chapter called "Kāḷāgiri.")

* * * * *

After the Nāga king had conversed thus with Puṇṇaka, he turned to Vidhūra and said: "O wise nobleman, is it because of these unwonted splendours, which you have not beheld in the country of men, that, without fear of death, you are unable to pay respect to me, but remain in a state of stupefaction? He who is afraid when opportunity arrives cannot be called wise. Judging from your present conduct, I am of opinion that your fame for wisdom amongst men is a mistake."

The Bodhisat.

"O Nāga king, I have no fear of death. Who is likely to kill me? Verily, beings should not bow to those whom they are about to kill; neither should they bow down to those who are about to kill them."

The Nāga king.

"Thy words are true, indeed; one should not bow down to the person who ought to be slain, nor should one bow to the slayer. For who would do obeisance to the person who desires to slay him?"

The Bodhisat.

"O king of the Nāgas, this wealth and glory of yours are not lasting. I will ask you one question. Why did you obtain this fairy palace? Did you get it for nothing, or through the change of seasons? Was it wrought by your hand, or was it given you by some fairy? How did you get it?"

The Nāga king.

"O wise one, I got not this palace and wealth without cause; nor did I get it through the natural changes of the seasons. It was not given to me by the fairies; but I obtained it by merit accrued in a former existence."

The Bodhisat.

"O Nāga king, what was this meritorious action? What was the good deed that you performed? Your glory and wealth are very great: of what good deeds are they the result?"

The Nāga king.

"O wise one, when I and my queen Vimalā dwelt in the city of Campānagarām, in the country of Aṅga, we were both of like mind as to almsgiving, and never lost an opportunity for giving alms. Our house was full of all those things that are bestowed on ascetics, as it were a well of water, and we gave them the ten lawful gifts, viz.: rice, sweet liquor, scent, unguents, lamp oil, cloths, mattresses, couches, monasteries, and medicine. As the result of those excellent deeds we enjoy these delights."

The Bodhisat.

"Since then, O Nāga king, you obtained this palace as the result of a good deed, you know what is merit and also its results. Forget not this knowledge, and continue to act upon it. If you do so you will in the hereafter obtain another palace."

The Nāga king.

"As there are no hermits or Brahmans in this country, as in the land of men, I am unable to give alms. What meritorious action can I do here so as to ensure a happy abode in the next state?"

The Bodhisat.

"O King, be ever kind to your people, relations, and attendants, chastening them with a loving hand if necessary. Be not angry with them. By increasing your love and patience you will hereafter acquire a higher station amongst the Devas."

The Nāga king.

"Vidhūra, thou art the minister who art wont to instruct the intimate friends of the King of Kuru, and Korabya himself, through being long parted from you, is very sorrowful. He can only be comforted by your return."

The Bodhisat.

"O King, you say this through having reflected on the law of righteousness. It is well known that my great qualities can assist him in calamity."

The Nāga king.

"Tell me truly, did Puṇṇaka obtain you for nothing or did he win you by dice? He tells me that he obtained you lawfully."

The Bodhisat.

"My lord king, Dhanañcaya lost me to Puṇṇaka by a throw of the dice; and as I belonged to the King, he gave me to Puṇṇaka. He obtained me lawfully."

The Nāga king

(Having taken Vidhūra into the Queen's chamber).

"My Lady Vimalā, you were sickly, downcast, and wasted on account of the wise Vidhūra. He whom thou desiredst

is even this man here. He can dispel all wrath and darkness from the hearts of men and Devas. O Queen Vimalā, you desired his heart's flesh; he has now come to you: listen to the law that he will preach to you. It will be difficult to find his equal in wisdom."

When Queen Vimalā saw the Nāga king coming and leading Vidhūra by the hand, with joy she raised her ten slender fingers to her head, and said: "Wise one, thou payest not reverence through stupefaction on seeing such splendours. It is a mistake to call thee 'wise.'"

The Bodhisat.

"Nāga princess, I am not afraid through beholding you. Who would kill one so wise as I am? Nāga princess, no one about to be slain makes obeisance to his slayer, nor does the slayer do reverence to him whom he is about to slay."

Vimalā.

"It is as you say, O wise one. A person should not do reverence to those who intend to slay him."

The Bodhisat then asks the Queen the same question as he asked the King, and the Bodhisat preaches the law of kindness. The Queen states that she is satisfied with having heard the "law," which is his "heart"; and that she thinks King Dhanañcaya Korabya must be very sorrowful at being separated from him, and will be delighted to see him again.

The Bodhisat replies that this is undoubtedly the case, as there is no one so skilled in giving good advice as he is.

The Queen asks him to tell her how Puṇṇaka managed to get possession of him, and the Bodhisat replies: "Be not afraid, O Nāga, and take no thought as to how to slay me. I present myself wholly to thee. If you still desire my heart I will take it out and give it you, and if you want my flesh I will cut it off and give it you."

The Nāga king.

"O wise one, the 'heart' of a wise man is his wisdom. I have heard you preach the law, and my desire is fulfilled. Since Puṇṇaka has brought thee to this country, according to my wish, and both the wishes of myself and queen have been fulfilled, we will give him our daughter Irandhatī to wife; and do you, Puṇṇaka, this very day convey Vidhūra back to Indapattanaḡaram."

So Puṇṇaka, being delighted at having obtained Irandhatī, said: "O wise nobleman, I will repay you for the good you have done me by giving you this 'Manohara' ruby, and this very day restore you to Indapattanaḡaram."

The Bodhisat.

"May you dwell happily in your palace with this lovely Nāga princess for the rest of your existence, and may nothing interfere with your mutual love; and since you are a true friend, you may give me the ruby and restore me to my home."

Puṇṇaka.

"Good, let us depart. Get up on to my horse." And placing Vidhūra before him on his horse "Manomaya," in an instant, after bidding farewell to the Nāga king, they arrived in the country of Kuru, where Puṇṇaka set him down, and, after again thanking him, rode off to the realms of the four great Rājas.

On the morning of the day on which Vidhūra returned, King Korabya dreamed that there was a great tree near the door of his palace covered with sweet fruit, and which gave shade and shelter to all kinds of animals, and that all men made offerings and adorations to it. A cruel-looking black man, carrying a sword and wearing a bright red cloth, came and cut down this tree and took it away, to the great grief of everyone. Not long afterwards the same savage-looking man came back and set it up as it was before.

When the King awoke he related his dream, and felt sure that it related to Vidhūra; for none other than Vidhūra could be like unto this tree, for his wisdom resembled the roots, his religious duties the branches, and his preaching the sweet fruit. He felt sure, therefore, that Vidhūra was about to be restored to him, and was joyful. He therefore ordered the city to be decorated, the court to be prepared, and all the princes and nobles to be assembled.

So when Puṇṇaka set Vidhūra down in the law-court, and went off with Irandhatī to "Catumahārāj," the King was overcome with delight; and, rising from his seat, took him by the arm and led him to the throne that had been prepared opposite to him, and thus addressed him: "Vidhūra, you have come back to rejoice my heart as a chariot that has been repaired after it has been broken. How did you escape from the hands of the youth who took you away?"

Vidhūra then related (in verse) all that had befallen him, and at the conclusion said:—"Thus, O King, because Puṇṇaka had set his affections on Irandhatī he carried me off to slay me; but obtained his desire only by placing full reliance on me. The King of the Nāgas, and his queen Vimalā, too, by obtaining my heart, which is 'true wisdom,' were satisfied. In gratitude the Nāga king restored me to my home and country, and I obtained the wonderful ruby which may be worn by Cakkavatti monarchs alone; I now present it to you, my Lord."

The King then related his dream to the assembly, released all those who were in prison, and proclaimed a universal holiday for a month.

After the rejoicings were over, and to the end of his life, Vidhūra instructed the King and his people with discourses in almsgiving and religious duties, and when he died passed to Tāvatisa. All those who were confirmed in the law went to the land of the Devas.

At the end of the Jātaka the Buddha summed up as follows: "The then king and queen are now my royal

parents, the heads of the Sūkī race; Vidhūra's wife, Anulā, is now Rāhulā's mother; Varuṇa the Nāga king is now my disciple Sāriputtarā, the son of the Brāhmani Rūpa,¹ of the village of Upatissa; the Gaḷuna (Garuḷa) king is now Moggalāno, my second disciple, the son of the Brāhmani Moggali, of the village of Kolita; Sakko is now my uncle Dododhana's son, Anuruddha; King Korabya is now Ānandā; Puṇṇaka is now Angulimāla, the son of the Brahman Bhattagga, the chief teacher of Kosala, king of Sāvutthi; the horse Manomaya is my horse Kaṇḍaka; Queen Vimalā is now Khemā, the nun, who was the queen of Bimbisāra, king of Rājagriha (see R.A.S. Journal, July 1893, p. 529); Irandhatī is now Kisagotamī; and Vidhūra is now I, the Buddha."

¹ Both Rūpa and Moggali are here called "Puppēma," the fem. form of "Puppā," ပုပ္ဖာ used by the Burmese to denote a Brahman. Stevenson has made no attempt in his dictionary to explain the word. The fem. is evidently Puppī + *ma*, the Burmese fem. affix. The word is probably a very old one, and derived rather from Sanskrit than Pāli.

ART. XII.—*Chao Ju-kua's Ethnography: Table of Contents and Extracts regarding Ceylon and India, and some Articles of Trade.* By F. HIRTH, PH.D.

[For an introduction to this paper see Art. III—*Chao Ju-kua, a new source of Mediæval Geography*, p. 57 seqq. of this volume.]

CHAO JU-KUA's ethnographical work, the *Chu-fan-chih*, consists of two parts (books, *chūan*). In the first part the author describes the various countries concerned in the Oriental sea-trade of his time; while the second part treats upon the foreign products brought as merchandise to China, and is followed, by way of supplement, by a detailed description of the island of Hainan, which in those days had among all the possessions of the empire risen to a high state of civilization, owing to a large number of statesmen, poets, and philosophers having spent years of their lives there in banishment during the Sung dynasty.

The following Table of Contents gives the headings under which the various countries and articles of trade are discussed:—

PART I. COUNTRIES, viz.:—

1. Chiao-chih [Tungking].
2. Chan-ch'êng [Annam; Cochinchina].
3. Pin-tung-lung [a territory of Southern Annam, comprising the island of Pulo Condor, so called from the name of a Buddhist saint—Pin-t'ou-lu].
4. Chên-la [Kambodja].
5. Têng-liu-mei [a territory in the west of Kambodja].
6. P'u-kan [Pagán in Burma].
7. San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra].

8. Tan-ma-ling.
9. Ling-ya-ssü [Lingas].
10. Fo-lo-an.
11. Hsin-t'ò [Sunda?].
12. Chien-pi [Kampar?].
13. Lan-wu-li [Lambri].
14. Shè-p'ò [Java].
15. Su-chi-tan [Sukitan, the central part of Java].
16. Nan-p'i [Malabar].
17. Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat].
18. Ma-lo-hua [Malwa].
19. Chu-lien [Oriassa, the empire of the Kesari dynasty].
20. Ta-ts'in [Syria, perhaps blended with matter belonging to the See, then removed farther east, of the Nestorian patriarch].
21. T'ien-chu [part of India].
22. Ta-shih [the Arab territories].
23. Ma-chia [Mecca].
24. Tsêng-po [Zanzibar].
25. Pi-pa-lo [Berbera].
26. Wu-pa.
27. Chung-li [some African territory : Somali?].
28. Yung-man [Oman].
29. Chi-shih [the island of Kish].
30. Pai-ta [Baghdad].
31. Pi-ssü-lo [Basra].
32. Chi-tzū-ni.
33. Wu-ssü-li.
34. Lu-mei [Rûm].
35. Mu-lan-p'i [Murâbit, Andalusia].
36. Wu-ssü-li [Maar, Egypt].
37. Ngo-kên-t'ò [Alexandria].
38. Miscellaneous countries, viz. :—
 - a. Yen-t'ò-man [the Andaman Islands].
 - b. K'un-lun-tsêng-chi [the Zingis, Zinj, or Zeng tribes on the coast of Africa].
 - c. Sha-hua-kung [a pirate state in the Archipelago].
 - d. The Country of the Women.

- e. Po-sü [here probably not Persia, but some other country, which I have not been able to identify].
 f. Ch'a-pi-sha [Djabarso].
 g. Ssü-chia-li-yeh [Sicily].
 h. Mo-chieh-la [Maghrib, Morocco].
39. Po-ni [Bṛni, Borneo].
 40. Ma-yi [Mindoro, Philippines].
 41. San-hsü [certain islands among the Philippines].
 42. Liu-chiu [part of Formosa].¹
 43. Pi-shê-yeh [Bizaya?—savages of South Formosa].
 44. Hsin-lo [Sinra, Corea].
 45. Wo [Japan].

PART II. ARTICLES OF TRADE, viz.:—

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| 1. Camphor. | 18. Lakawood. |
| 2. Frankincense. | 19. Musk Wood [<i>Shé-hsiang-mu</i>]. |
| 3. Myrrh. | 20. The Jack Fruit. |
| 4. An incense called <i>Chin-yen-hsiang</i> . | 21. The Areca Palm; Betel Nuts. |
| 5. Dammar [dhuna, <i>Tu-nao-hsiang</i>]. | 22. Cocoa Nuts. |
| 6. Liquid Storax. | 23. Galls [<i>Mo-shih-tzû</i>]. |
| 7. Benzoin. | 24. Ebony Wood [<i>Wu-mên-tzû</i> , in the Amoy dialect <i>o-ban-tzû</i> = Persian <i>abnûs</i>]. |
| 8. Becho Nuts [<i>Chi-tzû-hua</i> , <i>Gardenia floribunda</i>]. | 25. Sapanwood. |
| 9. Rosewater. | 26. Cotton. |
| 10. Signaloes. | 27. Mats. |
| 11 to 14. Certain fragrant wood incenses. | 28. Patchuck. |
| 15. Sandalwood. | 29. The Cardamom. |
| 16. Cloves. | 30. Pepper. |
| 17. Nutmegs. | 31. Cubebs. |

¹ The text of Chao Ju-kua's *Liu-chiu* contains various passages identical with the old account in the *Sui-shu*, which it has been shown does not apply to the Loo-choo Islands, but Formosa. See Schlegel, "Problèmes géographiques," in *Pou-yoo-pao*, vol. vi, p. 165 seqq.

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| 32. Asa Foetida. | 40. Rhinoceros Horns. |
| 33. Aloes. | 41. Castoreum. |
| 34. The Coral-tree. | 42. Kingfishers' Feathers. |
| 35. Glass. | 43. Parrots. |
| 36. Cats' Eyes. | 44. Ambergris. |
| 37. Pearls. | 45. Tortoise Shell. |
| 38. Ch'è-ch'ü [a kind of shell]. | 46. Yellow Wax. |
| 39. Ivory. | Appendix : Hainan. |

SPECIMEN OF TRANSLATION.

(a) *Extracts from Part I: FOREIGN COUNTRIES.*

13. LAN-WU-LI.

The country of Lan-wu-li [Amoy dialect: Lam-bu-li= Ramni or Lambri¹] produces sapanwood, ivory, and white rattan. The inhabitants are warlike and often use poisonous arrows. With the north wind you come within a little more than twenty days to the country of Hsi-lan [Ceylon], which is under the government of Nan-p'i [Malabar]. Sailing from Lan-wu-li, you know that you are coming to Hsi-lan [Ceylon] by the flashing of lightning always visible. The king is black, with unkempt hair, and wears no covering on his head; he wears no regular clothes, but is merely wrapped in cloth of various colours, and his feet are protected by sandals of red leather [fastened] with gold thread. When going out he rides on an elephant or in a kind of litter [*juan-tou*, a word which Professor Schlegel, *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 163, suggests to be a transcription of a Ceylonese word *handul*, meaning a litter]. He eats every day a paste made of betel nuts burnt together with

¹ Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 283, note 1. A German version of Chao Ju-kua's accounts of Lan-wu-li and Nan-p'i has been published in the *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 152 *seqq.*, where the sinological reader will find the Chinese characters of some of the names.

real pearl ashes. His palace is decked with cats' eyes and blue and red jewels [sapphires and rubies?], cornelians, and other precious stones; the very floor he walks upon is so adorned. There is an eastern and a western palace, at each of which there is planted a golden tree; their stems and stalks being made of gold, their flowers, fruits, and leaves of cats' eyes, blue and red jewels, and the like precious stones. Underneath [each of] these trees there is a golden throne with [partition] walls of glass. When holding court, the king ascends the eastern throne in the morning and the western throne in the evening. At the spot where the king sits down there is continuous glittering of the jewels reflecting the sun's rays, the glass and the jewel tree shining upon each other like the glory of the rising sun. Two attendants constantly hold up a golden dish to receive the dregs of the betel nuts chewed by the king. The king's followers pay a monthly tax of one *yi* of gold [about 16 taels] into the Government treasury for receiving the betel-nut dregs, which contain camphor and all kinds of precious substances. The king holds in his hand a jewel [*lit.* precious pearl] five inches in diameter, which will stand the test of fire and shine at night like a torch; by rubbing his face with it every day, the king will keep his youthful looks, though he may be over ninety years old. The inhabitants are very dark-skinned; they wrap their bodies round with silk stuffs, are bareheaded, and go barefoot. They use their hands in taking their food. Household vessels are made of bronze. There is in the country a hill [or, an island] called Hsi-lun [*lit.* fine wheel], peaks rising over peaks, [on the top of which] there is the imprint, over seven feet in length, of the foot of a huge man, a like imprint being visible in the water within a distance of over 300 *li* from that hill. The trees in the forests of the hills, whether high or low, all round are bent towards it [as if curtsying].¹

¹ There can be little doubt as to the identity of this hill Hsi-lun with the Sripada of Buddhist lore, the footprints of Buddha on Adam's Peak (as it is called by the Muhammadans—the Samanā Kūṭa of the Sinhalese). Some

The [mineral] products are cats' eyes, red glass, camphor [*sic*], blue and red pearls [sapphires and rubies]; and the land produces cardamoms, the bark of the Mu-lan tree [Mangrove Bark?], coarse and fine incense. Foreign merchants import, in exchange for these products, sandalwood, cloves, camphor [*sic*], gold, silver, porcelain, horses, elephants, and silk stuffs. The country sends yearly tribute to San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra].

16. NAN-P'I [Malabar].

The country of Nan-p'i¹ is in the extreme south-west. From San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra] one may arrive

time previous to the period of our author the veneration of this sacred object had received (according to Lassen, "Indische Alterthumskunde," iv, 333) a fresh impetus by the devotion of the Sinhalese usurper Kirti-Narasinha, who, being a native of Kalinga, had made himself master of the island by making use of a temporary confusion in its Government. This Sinhalese monarch, whose reign extended from A.D. 1187 to 1196, was a great worshipper of Buddha, and, on one occasion, ascended the sacred Peak with an army in four divisions, in order to worship at the Foot Print. But according to the Mañā Vausa, a much better authority, Parākrama Bahu the Great, who conquered South India and Kambodja, was king 1164-1197; and there is no mention of Kirti-Narasinha. The Arabs believed that Adam, after his expulsion from Paradise, was thrown on this very hill, and that the footprint belongs to him, whence the name Adam's Peak has arisen. When stepping out Adam set his other foot into the sea. The place has been a resort of both Muhammadan and Buddhist devotees throughout the Middle Ages, the Chinese, of course, taking the Buddhist view of this twofold tradition, though they have been informed of this legend, in which they call Adam "P'an Ku," the creator of mankind. Cf. *Mém. conc. les Chinois*, vol. xiv, p. 25; and Reinand, *Relation*, etc., vol. ii, p. 5 seq., and vol. ii, p. 8 seq. The Chinese name *Hui-tun* (lit. fine, or small, wheel), while resembling that of the island, Ceylon, is probably connected with the Sanskrit *chakra*, denoting a wheel—"l'imprunte d'une roue à mille rais sous chaque pied du Bouddha" (Julien, *Houen-thsang*, vol. iii, p. 475).

¹ Pronounced *Nampi* in Canton. I am inclined to interpret this name as the transcription of some Indian word. The list of states or places mentioned by our author as belonging to this country (Collow, Guzerat, Cambay, etc.) greatly facilitates its identification with the then flourishing kingdom of Malabar, but it appears that the name Nan-p'i is an ethnical title rather than a political term. The only passage which has occurred to me as throwing light on this subject was in the *Hai-yang-ch'ao-tung-tien-lu* (ch. iii, p. 3), a work placing on record the results of the famous expeditions of the eunuch Ch'eng Ho about A.D. 1430. Speaking of the inhabitants of the country of Ku-li, i.e. Kalikut, it says that there five different classes, or castes, are distinguished, viz.: 1, the *Nan-p'i*; 2, the *Hui-hui*, or Muhammadans; 3, the *Ch'ei-ti*; 4, the *Ku-ling*; 5, the *Mu-lan*. The *Hui-hui* are well known as Muhammadans; the term *Ch'ei-ti* I venture to identify with the "Chetty," or merchants' caste (cf. Yule, *Anglo-Indian*

there with the monsoon in a little more than a month.¹ The capital of the country is styled *Mieh-a-mo*; in Chinese this says as much as *li-sū* [controller of sacrifice, priest?]² The chief of the country wears clothing on his body, but walks barefoot; he wraps his head in cloth [*i.e.* wears a turban], and wears a loin cloth, all being of white cotton. Sometimes he wears a white cotton shirt with narrow sleeves.³ When going out he rides on an elephant, and is covered with a golden cap decorated with red pearls and gems. On his arm a golden band is fastened, and a golden

Glossary, p. 144, s.v. Chetty, and p. 615, s.v. Sett); *Ko-ling* may stand for "Kling" (cf. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 372). *Mu-kua* is apparently the same as *Mucos*, *Mukura*. "The fourth class are called *Mechua*, and these are fishers" (Vathema, Yule, p. 454). These identifications are based on similarity in sound merely, but the passage referred to gives us some further detail regarding the *Nan-p'i* and the *Hui-hui*. The former eat no beef, the *Hui-hui* eat no pork; the two castes, if we may so call them, do not intermarry, and have their own burial customs. In Calicut sixty per cent. of the entire population in those days (about A.D. 1430) were *Hui-hui*, or Muhammadans. I do not dare to forestall the opinion of Indian scholars with regard to the name *Nan-p'i* (Namb). Could this word stand for *namburi*, "a Brahman of Malabar" (Yule, p. 471, s.v. Nambooree)?

¹ It took Ibn Batuta forty days to sail from Sumatra to Kanlam.—Yule, *Cathay*, p. 513.

² *Mieh-a-mo*, in Cantonese: *Mit-d-mdt*, in the Amoy dialect: *Mit-d-bent*, possibly a Chinese corruption of Arabic *Middai* or *Mārdai* (Marabia), said to have been an old city in the kingdom of *Eli* described by Marco Polo. However, the few notices collected by Yule as referring to this city (*Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 375 *seq.*) do not encourage me in thinking seriously of this identification. Another possibility may be looked for in the name *Ma'abar*, now applying to the coast of Coromandel. This would involve the extension of Chao Ju-kua's *Nan-p'i* to both the east and west coast of Southern India. Certain analogies in the Chinese and Marco Polo's account seem to support this supposition. The king of Ma'abar, like the ruler of Nan-p'i, wears golden armlets and ankle-rings (cf. Yule, p. 322). Both monarchs take pleasure in surrounding themselves with a large number of fine women, even the number agreeing in the two accounts. According to Marco Polo (Yule, p. 323), the king has "*some five hundred wives*"—"for whenever he hears of a beautiful damsel he takes her to wife." The king of Nan-p'i, besides his five hundred women, had a body-guard of twenty men guarding the royal insignia right and left, while Polo says: "there are about the king a number of Barons in attendance upon him. *These ride with him, and keep always near him*," etc. We learn from a later Chinese authority that the *Nan-p'i* caste refrained from eating beef. So Polo says (Yule, p. 324): "The people are idolaters, and many of them worship the ox, because (they say) it is a creature of such excellence. They would not eat beef for anything in the world, nor would they on any account kill an ox."

³ "Ibn Batuta describes the King of Calicut, the great Zamorin, coming down to the beach to see the wreck of certain junks: his clothing consisted of a great piece of white stuff rolled about him from the navel to the knees, and a little scrap of a turban on his head; his feet were bare, and a young slave carried an umbrella over him."—Yule, *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 330, note 1.

chain surrounds his leg. Among the royal insignia there is a standard, adorned with peacocks' feathers, on a pole covered with vermillion, over twenty men guarding it right and left. He is attended by a guard of about five hundred picked foreign¹ women, selected for their fine physique: those in the front, leading the way with pantomimes, have cloth wrapped about their bodies, but walk barefoot, using merely a piece of cloth around their loins; those in the rear ride on horses without saddles, their loins are wrapped in cloth, their hair is dressed, and they wear necklaces of real pearls, anklets and foot rings of real gold, their bodies are anointed with camphor and musk mixed with drugs, while umbrellas made of peacocks' feathers protect them against the sun. In front of these dancing women are carried the officers in the king's train, sitting on bags of white foreign cloth, called "cloth-bag sedans," which are lifted on poles plated with gold and silver. In this country there is much sandy soil, and when the king goes out, they first send out an officer with over a hundred soldiers to sprinkle the ground with water to provide against gusts of wind whirling up the dust. The people are very dainty in their diet; they have a hundred ways of cooking their food, which varies every day. There is an official with the title "Academician" (*Han-lin*) who lays the meats and drinks before the king, and sees how much food he consumes; he regulates his diet in order that he may not exceed the proper measure. If perchance the king should fall sick for this reason, then he has to taste his faeces, and treat him according to their being sweet or bitter. The inhabitants of this country are of red-brown complexion; the lobes of their ears hang down to their shoulders. They are skilled in archery, and are good sword and lance men; they love fighting, and sit on elephants when doing so. In battle their heads are wrapped in turbans of coloured silks. They are particularly devout Buddhists. The country is warm, and there is no cold season. Rice, hemp, beans, wheat,

¹ *fan*, "foreign"; possibly standing for *fan*, "Indian," "Brahmin."

millet, and edible roots and provisions, are produced in sufficient quantity, and may be had at reasonable prices enough. They cut an alloy of white silver into coins, on which they engrave an official seal; the people use them for purposes of trade. The following products are found in this country: real pearls, all descriptions of foreign cloth, and cotton cloth. There is in this country a river with fresh water, which, at a place where a number of different passages unite, assumes very broad dimensions. By its side there are bold cliffs, on which there are constantly sparks [stars] to be seen. The magic emanating from these hardens into small stones resembling cats' eyes; their colour is clear and transparent; they lie buried in the recesses of the hills, until some day they are washed out by the rush of a flood. The officials at such times send out men in small boats to pick them up. The inhabitants consider them precious stones.¹ The following States are subject to this country,² viz.:—

1. *Ku-lin* [in Cantonese: *Kô-lâm* = Kulam, Coilom].
2. *Hu-ch'a-la* [Guzerat].
3. *Kan-pa-i* [Canton: *Kòm-pu-yét*; cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 389, note 1: "Kambáyat"; Cambay].
4. *Pi-li-sha* [Barotsch?].

¹ "The cat's eyes, by the Portuguese called *Othos de Gatos*, occur in Zeylon, Cambaya, and Pegu."—Baldacus, *Beschreibung der ostindischen Küsten Malabar und Coromandel*: Amsterdam, 1672. S. Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 774. Probably neither Ceylon nor Pegu are meant in this passage, but Cambay, which, as we shall see directly, is enumerated as one of the territories belonging to Nan-p'i.

² The Chinese text merely contains the following thirty characters, which I have tried to divide and identify as nearly as possible with the limited knowledge of mediæval India now at my disposal. The characters are: 故臨胡茶辣甘琶逸彌離沙麻囉華馮牙囉 麻哩抹都奴何啞哩啞啞啞啞哩. Regarding the ports on the coast of Malabar during the Middle Ages, see Yule's note devoted to this subject in *Cathay*, p. 650 *seqq.*

5. *Ma-lo-hua* [Canton: *Má-lò-wá* = Malwa].
6. *Fung-ya-lo* [Amoy: *Bang-ga-lo* = Mangalor? cf. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i, p. 188: Mangarut, Mangalor].
7. *Ma-li-mo* [Amoy: *Ma-li-bicat* = Malibar?].
8. *Tu-nu-ho* [Tanore?].
9. *A-li-joh*, or *A-li-no*.
10. *Ngao-lo-lo-ni* [Cananor?].

This country is very far, and the foreign vessels rarely go thither. Shih-lo-pa-chih-li-kan, father and son, belong to this race of people. They now live in the south of the city of Ch'üan [Chinchew]. The products are carried from this country to Chi-lo-ta-lung [a name which I cannot identify] and San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra]; and the following goods are exchanged in barter against them: silks of Ho-ch'ih [Playfair, *Cities and Towns of China*, No. 2208], porcelain, camphor, rhubarb, *huang-lien* [rhizoma of *Koptis teeta*?], cloves, camphor drops, sandalwood, cardamoms, and eagle wood.

The country of Ku-lin [Kulam, Coilom, Quilon] may be reached from Nan-p'i by ship with the monsoon in five days. It takes a Chinchew junk [*ch'üan-po*, i.e. an ocean junk of Ch'üan-chou-fu] over forty days to arrive at Lan-li [Lambri]; there the winter is spent, and, in the following year, a further journey of a month will take her to this country. The customs of the people are, on the whole, not different from those of the Nan-p'i people. The products consist in cocoa nuts, sapanwood, and a kind of wine made of honey and sugar [*mi-t'ang*, perhaps syrup] mixed with cocoa nuts and the juice of some flower, the mixture being allowed to ferment.¹ The inhabitants are devoted to archery; when assailing the enemy [or, in battle] they wrap their hair in silken turbans. For trading purposes they use gold and silver coins; twelve silver coins are worth one

¹ This is probably the beverage known as toddy, regarding which see Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 706.

gold coin.¹ The country is warm, and has no cold season. Every year ships come to this country from San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra], Chien-pi [in Cantonese: Kam-pi, described by Chao Ju-kua as a revolting colony of San-fo-ch'i, with a warlike population, probably Malays, carrying on trade in tin, ivory, and pearls], and Chi-t'o [in Cantonese: *Kat-to*=Karta?]; and the articles they barter with are the same as in the case of Nan-p'i. The Ta-shih [Arabs] live in great numbers in this country.² Whenever they have finished taking a bath they anoint their bodies with Yü-chün [turmeric], as they wish to resemble a Buddha in the gilt appearance of his body.

17. HU-CH'A-LA [Guzerat].

The country of Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat] rules over more than a hundred *chou* [cities]; its [main] city has a four-fold wall. The inhabitants of this country are white and clean-looking. Both men and women have double rings hanging down from holes in their ears; they wear tight clothes, and are wrapped in plain cotton cloth; they wear on their heads white hoods, and on their feet shoes of scarlet leather. They are forbidden to eat flesh. There are four

¹ The relation between gold and silver, for centuries previous to the discovery of America, was twelve to one. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, etc., p. 442.

² Coilon is well known as a resort of trade during the Middle Ages up to the time when the Portuguese appeared with ships of deeper draught which could not anchor in its shallow harbour.—Reinard, *Relation*, etc., p. lxxiii. According to Reinard's traveller Soleyman, Coilon was the starting-point in India for the journey to China. Similarly, according to Chao Ju-kua, it was the landing-place in India for those coming from China; for, while junks made the trips from Chinchew to Lambri, and thence direct to Ku-lin (Coilon), it is distinctly said that foreign ships rarely go to Nan-p'i. To arrive in Chu-lien (Orissa), as we shall see further on, the traveller hailing from China had to change ship at Ku-lin (Coilon). This seems to show that China skippers were not in the habit of visiting the coast of Coromandel.

thousand Buddhist temple buildings,¹ in which there are living over twenty thousand nuns, who, twice every day, sing hymns, while offering food to Buddha or while offering flowers. When offering flowers they bind them into bouquets with cotton thread, of which they use about three hundred catties every day. They have over four hundred war elephants and about 100,000 cavalry horses. When the king goes in or out, he rides on an elephant; on his head he wears a cap [or, crown]. His followers ride on horseback and are armed with swords. The following products are found in this country: indigo in great quantities,² red kino, myrobalans, and all kinds of foreign cloth. Every year these goods are transported to the Arabian countries for sale.

18. MA-LO-HUA [Malwa].

The country of Ma-lo-hua [Malwa] connects with Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat]. This country has under it over sixty *chou* [cities], and it is on the land road [*i.e.* it does not lie on the sea-coast]. The manner of dressing and the local customs are the same as those of Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat]. Of products white cloth is very common. Every year 2000 oxen, or more, laden with cloth, are sent along the land road to other countries for barter.

¹ Guzerat was famous for its many temples, most of which were situated on the south-western coast in the territory called Okamandala, which afterwards became the seat of a cruel set of pirates.—Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, vol. i, p. 134.

² Regarding the indigo of Guzerat, see Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 325; and Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 383.

19. CHU-LIEN [Orissa, the Empire of the Kesari Dynasty].

The country of Chu-lien¹ is the Southern India of the Western Heaven. In the east it [*i.e.* its capital, or chief city] is five *li* distant from the sea; in the west you go to Western India [*Hsi T'ien-chu*], 1500 *li*; in the south you go to *Lo-lan*, 2500 *li*; in the north you go to *Tun-t'ien*, 3000 *li*.² This country has not, from olden times, carried on trade with us. By water you reach Chinchew in about 411,400, or more, *li*.³ If you wish to go to this country, then you must change boat in Ku-lin [Coilom], and thence travel there; some say that from [or, by way of] the country of P'u-kan [Pagán] you can also go there. In this country there is a city with a sevenfold wall, the wall being as high as seven Chinese feet, and extending twelve *li* from north to south, and seven *li* from east to west; the different walls are a hundred paces distant from each other. Four of these walls are built of brickwork, two of mud, and the one in the centre, of wood, and there are flowers, fruit-trees, and other trees planted [on them]. The first and second walls enclose the dwellings of the people—they are surrounded by small ditches; the third and fourth walls are for the dwellings of court officers; the fifth wall is for the dwellings of the king's four sons; within the sixth wall are the Buddhist [?] monasteries where the various priests dwell; and the seventh wall encloses over four hundred buildings forming the royal palaces where the king lives.³

¹ *Chu-lien* may be a Chinese corruption of the name *Chola*. Cf. Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 109.

² There must be an error in this statement; if not, the *li* has here been confounded with a considerably smaller measure.

³ It appears that we possess an unmistakable record regarding this city in the fragments left to us of the history of the Kesari dynasty in India. It must be the ancient capital of that empire. Lassen (*op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 6), speaking of the events recorded in the history of Orissa, describes a king Jajāti, not as the founder, but as the restorer, of the Kesari dynasty, who established his court at

There are in all thirty-two¹ divisions [*pu-to*, 部落, possibly *pura*, cities]: of these, twelve are in the west, namely [47 characters, see below]; eight are in the south, namely [38 characters]; twelve are in the north, namely [44

the city of Djadjapura. Here he built a palace, called *Chaturdeira*, because it had four gates. The chief event of Jajāti's reign is, according to Lassen, the establishment of the service of a deity called Djagannātha, whose image had been carried away and concealed and was then recovered. Four images of that deity, including the original one, were brought to Purī, where a new temple was erected for them. "The entire surroundings of the city," Lassen says, "were devoted to the service of Djagannātha, or Vishnu, and the maintenance of that temple; and Jajāti laid the foundation for the wealth of its priesthood. One of his successors, Lalita Indra Kesari, who ascended the throne in A.D. 617, was the founder of a large and well-defended city in the neighbourhood of the above sanctuary, which was divided into seven quarters and contained thirty-two streets and where the King resided" (Lassen, *i.e.*, p. 11). I am not able to say whether there is any connection between the "thirty-two streets of the city" mentioned by Lassen and the thirty-two *pu-to*, or divisions, occurring in our text. These I would under ordinary circumstances consider to be divisions of the country, but I cannot do so in the face of Indian tradition as known to me through Lassen's account, pending an inquiry into the text forming the basis of that account of "thirty-two streets," which Lassen appears to have derived from A. Stirling's "*An Account, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of Orissa Proper in Cuttack*," in *As. Res.* xv, p. 269 *supp.*, which I have not been able to look up. In the *Sung-shih* the names of two kings are mentioned who sent embassies with tribute from this country to China, viz.: in A.D. 1023, *Shih-ti-to-ch'a-yin-to-lo-chu-to*, which may stand for Sri Raja Indra Chola [or, Andhra Chola]; and again, in A.D. 1077, *Ti-nea-ka-to*, which may stand for Dēva Kala, or Dēva Kara. The last-named king made a good bargain with his colleague on the dragon throne, since the embassy, consisting of 72 men, were given 81,800 strings of copper cash, *i.e.* about as many dollars, in return for the articles of tribute, comprising glassware, camphor, brocates (called *Kimara*, 錦花, in the Chinese text), rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense, rosewater, patchouli, asa foetida, borax, cloves, etc. This so-called embassy was probably, like most of the missions to the coast of China, nothing better than a trading expedition on joint account, the 72 ambassadors being the shareholders, or their supercargoes. It appears that the relations between China and Orissa were not resumed after this expedition, and it is very likely that Chao Ju-kua's chapter on Chu-lien is derived from the account of one of the travellers having reached China during the rule of the Kesari dynasty. Such an account would most probably have been placed on record by one of our author's predecessors in the office of Shih-po, or Superintendent of Trade, at Ch'ian-chou.

¹ The text says "thirty-one," but the enumeration following (12+8+12) shows them to be "thirty-two."

characters].¹ When anyone among the people is guilty

¹ It may not be quite hopeless to attempt identifying some of these names, whether they represent "streets," "divisions" (of the city, or of the country), or "cities" (*pure*). Should they prove to be names of cities, their identification would assist us in gaining some positive knowledge of the political extent of the Ksarri empire. The repetition of certain groups of sounds, such as *p'u-téng* (twice, viz. *a*, 23, 24, and *b*, 21, 22), which may stand for *patam*, as an ending in city names, or *wung-ka-lan* (four times, viz. *b*, 36, 37, 38; *c*, 12, 13, 14; *e*, 21, 22, 23; and *e*, 42, 43, 44), which may stand for *Mangalar*, might lead to some interesting discoveries. The characters follow each other thus:—

a. In the West (12 names).			b. In the South (8 names).			c. In the North (12 names).		
1. 只	25. 故		1. 無	20. 藍		1. 撥	23. 藍	
2. 都	26. 里		2. 雅	21. 蒲		2. 羅	24. 皮	
3. 尼	27. 婆		3. 加	22. 登		3. 耶	25. 林	
4. 施	28. 輪		4. 黎	23. 蒙		4. 無	26. 伽	
5. 亞	29. 岑		5. 麻	24. 伽		5. 沒	27. 藍	
6. 盧	30. 本		6. 藍	25. 林		6. 密	28. 蒲	
7. 尼	31. 踏		7. 眉	26. 加		7. 江	29. 稜	
8. 羅	32. 揭		8. 古	27. 藍		8. 注	30. 和	
9. 琶	33. 踏		9. 黎	28. 琶		9. 林	31. 藍	
10. 離	34. 閭		10. 苦	29. 里		10. 加里	32. 堡	
11. 藍	35. 黎		11. 低	30. 琶		11. 里	33. 琶	
12. 琶	36. 池		12. 舍	31. 密		12. 蒙	34. 來	
13. 移	37. 密		13. 里	32. 遊		13. 伽	35. 田	
14. 布	38. 那		14. 尼	33. 亞		14. 藍	36. 注	
15. 林	39. 部		15. 蜜	34. 林		15. 漆	37. 离	
16. 琶	40. 尼		16. 多	35. 池		16. 結	38. 盧	
17. 布	41. 遮		17. 羅	36. 蒙		17. 麻	39. 婆	
18. 尼	42. 古		18. 摩	37. 伽		18. 藍	40. 囉	
19. 古	43. 林		19. 伽	38. 藍		19. 握	41. 迷	
20. 檀	44. 亞					20. 折	42. 蒙	
21. 布	45. 里					21. 蒙	43. 伽	
22. 林	46. 者					22. 伽	44. 藍	
23. 蒲	47. 林							
24. 登								

of an offence, one of the court ministers punishes him; if the offence were light, the culprit is tied up on a wooden frame and given fifty, or seventy, or up to a hundred blows with a stick; heavy crimes are visited by decapitation or by the culprit's being trampled to death by elephants. At State banquets the king salaams with his four court ministers at the palace steps, and the whole company then engages in instrumental music, hymns, and pantomimes; he eats meat, though he takes no wine, and by the native custom dresses in cotton cloth and eats flour cakes; for his table and escort he employs fully ten thousand female attendants, three thousand of whom are in waiting every day in rotation. When contracting marriage, one first sends a female go-between with a gold and silver finger ring to the bride's house. Three days afterwards there is a meeting of the bridegroom's clan to decide on the amount of land, or cattle, or betel nuts, or wine, and the like, to be given as marriage gifts; and the bride's family sends the gold or silver finger ring, Yüeh-no cloth,¹ and the brocaded clothing worn by the bride, to their [intended] son-in-law. In case the man should wish to withdraw from the engagement, he will not dare to reclaim the marriage gifts; but if the girl should wish to reject the man, then she will make double compensation for it. Since the taxes and duties of the kingdom are numerous and heavy,² travelling merchants rarely go thither. This country is at war with the countries of the Western Heaven.³ The Government possesses 60,000 war elephants, all seven or eight Chinese feet in height; when fighting, they set houses on the backs of these elephants, and the houses are full of soldiers, who shoot with arrows at long range and fight with spears at

¹ Yüeh-no cloth is frequently mentioned in mediæval texts on Central and Western Asia. Among other places Baghdad was engaged in its manufacture (see *Die Länder des Islâm nach chines. Quellen*, Supplement to *T'oung-pao*, vol. v, p. 42, note 4); also in Rûm (*Lu-mei*), whatever may be meant by that name (*ibid.*, p. 48).

² This may refer to the imposts levied by Varja Kesari.—Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 11.

³ This seems to show that, when this item of information was placed on record, the great conquest of North India had not taken place.

close quarters. When they are victorious, their elephants are also granted honorary names to signalize their merit. The inhabitants are hot-tempered and reckless of life; nay, in the presence of the king they will fight man to man with swords, and die without regret. Father and son, elder and younger brothers, will have their meals cooked in separate kettles and served on separate dishes; yet they are deeply alive to family duty. The following articles are produced in the country: pearls, ivory, corals, transparent glass [*po-li*], betel nuts, cardamoms, opaque glass [*lin-li*], dyed silk cloth, and cotton cloth. Of quadrupeds, they have goats and oxen; of birds, pheasants and parrots; of fruits, the *yū-kan* [a kind of mango: *Spondias amara*], the *t'eng-lo* [some kind of epidendrum; according to Parker in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 193: Rattan], dates, cocoa nuts, the kan-lo, the k'un-lun plum, and the jack fruit; of flowers, the white jasmine [18 characters, some of which probably represent Indian, if not Persian, or Arabic, sounds¹]; of grain, green and black beans, wheat, and paddy; and the bamboo is indigenous there. In former times they have not sent tribute to our court; but in the eighth year of the period Ta-chung and Hsiang-fu [A.D. 1015] the chief of the country sent an embassy with pearls and the like articles as tribute. The interpreters, in translating their speech, said that they wished to evince the respect of distant people for [Chinese] civilization. They were ordered by Imperial decree to remain in waiting at the side gate of the Palace, and be entertained with a repast by the Associates in the College of Court Annalists. By Imperial favour they were ranked with the envoys from Kuei-tzū [Kutsha in Eastern Turkestan]. It just happened to be

(1) 1 散 2 絲 3 地 4 臍 5 桑 6 麗 7 秋 8 青 9 黃 10 碧 11 嬰 12 羅
13 瑤 14 連 15 蠟 16 紫 17 水 18 蕉. Mr. E. H. Parker, in a similar passage, transliterates the characters 11 and 12 by *solo*, which he calls "a sort of cotton" (*China Review*, vol. xix, p. 193); but the term reads *pelo* ("blue, yellow, and green *pelo*"), not *solo*. The character which Mr. Parker has in view is probably 婆, so.

the Emperor's birthday, and the envoys had a fine opportunity to witness the congratulations in the "Sacred Enclosure." In the tenth year of Hsi-ning [A.D. 1077] they sent further tribute of local produce.¹ The Emperor Shên-Tsung sent an officer of the Inner Department [a chamberlain, *nei-shih*], to bid them welcome.

The remaining countries, *Nan-ni-hua-lo*, etc., are more than one hundred in number; they are all included under the term Western Heaven.

Of the city which is called *Wang-shê* [lit. Royal Lodge], tradition says that, in the north of Chiao-chih [Tungking] you go to Ta-li [Ta-li-fu in Yunnan], and west of Ta-li you come to the city of Wang-shê in less than forty days' journey.² The *Huang-hua-hai-ta-chi* ["Record of Imperial Chinese Missions to the West"] by Chia Tan³ says: "To reach T'ien-chu [India] from Annam, there is an overland road by which one may go to this country; yet Ta-mo [Dharma]⁴ came floating on the sea to P'an-yü [Canton], and we may fairly ask whether the sea journey be not more expeditious than that lengthy road overland?"

¹ Cf. the embassy mentioned in the *Sung-shih*. Note on p. 490, above.

² *Wang-shê*, lit. Royal Lodge. I believe that our author here confounds the city of Radjagriha, the Wang-shê of Buddhist lore, with the new capital founded in A.D. 989 by Nirûpa Kesari and named Kataka, the translation of which name is given as "Royal Residence." This is the same city which has given its name to the present province of Cuttack.—Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 12.

³ A great geographer of the T'ang dynasty, who lived about A.D. 730 to 805. He was the author of a number of important ethnographical works, none of which appear to have come down to our days. From his biography (*T'ang-shu*, ch. 166, p. 1 *seqq.*) I conclude that he devoted considerable interest to foreign nations. He drew several maps, among others one entitled *Hai-wei-hua-i*, i.e. "Chinese and Foreigners within the Seas"; and that this was not a mere illustration of ethnographical types, which the word *t'u* (map, drawing) often denotes, may be concluded from the remark, made in the *T'ang-shu*, that "it measured three *chung* and three *ch'ih* in breadth, and that it was drawn on the scale of 100 *li* to the inch." The geographical section of the bibliographical chapter of the *T'ang-shu* (ch. 58, p. 32) mentions under his name, besides "Ten books of Maps" (*Ti-t'u shih chüan*), the work quoted by Chao Ju-kua, with a slight variant, placing *sü* (four) for *hai* (west) in the title.

⁴ *Aliau* Lu Hui-nêng. Cf. Rémusat, "Sur la succession des trente-trois patriarches de la religion de Bouddha," in *Mémoires Asiat.* i, p. 124; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. iv, p. 660 *seq.*; Eitel, s.v. Bodhidharma; Watters, *Essays on the Chinese Language*, p. 393; Mayers, *Manual*, No. 428.

The capital of the country of *P'eng-ka-lo* [Bengala] in the west is called *Ch'a-na-chi*.¹ This city is 120 *li* in circuit. The common people are combative and devoted solely to robbery. They use white cowry shells, ground into shape, as money. The country produces superior double-edged sword-blades, cotton, and other cloth. Some say that the doctrine of Buddha has originated in this country: for, when Hsüan Chuang, [the Master versed in] the Three Canons, of the T'ang dynasty, fetched the sacred books, he had come to the Western Heaven.

NAN-NI-HUA-LO [or, Southern Ni-hua-lo].²—Its city has a threefold wall; and the inhabitants, in the morning and in the evening, bathe and besmear their bodies with turmeric, thus imitating the golden colour of a Buddha. They are mostly called *Po-lo-mên* [Brahmans], as being genuine descendants of Buddha. The walls of their rooms and the mats they sit on are besmeared with cow-dung, which they look upon as a clean substance. In their houses they erect altars, three Chinese feet in height, which are ascended by three steps, and where they burn incense and offer flowers every day in the morning; this they call the sacrifice to Buddha. When the foreigners of *Ta-shih* [Arabs, Muhammadans] come to this country, they give them seats outside the doors, and lodge them in separate houses supplied with bedding and mess gear. When a married woman has been guilty of adultery she is killed, and the officials will not ask about it. The country produces first-class *putchuck* and fine white flowered and spotted cotton cloth. The people eat much kumiss [*su-lo*, ghee?], rice, beans, and vegetables; they will rarely eat fish or meat. The road leads to the Western Regions [*Hsi-yü*]. When there are raids made by the light horsemen from the Western Regions, all the resistance they offer is to lock

¹ In Cantonese *Ch'a-na-kat*, which may correspond to some name like Chanagar = Chaudernagar? Cf. Champanagara, Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 175; and Samarganu, Yule, *Cathay*, p. 465.

² An account similar to Chao Ju-kua's will be found in the letterpress, accompanying an illustration in the Chinese *Orbis Pictus Sino-ts'ai-t'u-shih*. It is reproduced in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'ing*, sect. 8: 107, ch. i, p. 50.

their gates. In a few days provisions run short, and [the intruders] withdraw of their own accord.

21. T'ien-chu [part of India].

The country of T'ien-chu¹ is subordinate to the country of Ta-ts'in; for the chiefs of the country are all selected by Ta-ts'in.² It is customary with the people to plait their hair, which hangs down, whereas the temples and the top of the head are covered by a silken turban. In their dwellings they use plaster in lieu of tiles. They have walled cities for the people to dwell in. The king dresses in brocaded silk, and his hair is wound into a spiral tuft

¹ The term *T'ien-chu*, usually rendered by India, has a much more limited sense in Buddhist texts than the name thus rendered would suggest. The *Hsiang-chiao-p'i-pien*, a well-digested Buddhist cyclopaedia of the Ming dynasty (see my notes regarding it in *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 318) says (ch. i. p. 4) that "Bangala [*Pang-ko-la*] is in the east of T'ien-chu; *Chao-no-p'o* [Chandernagor?], in the middle; Magadha, in the south; Kapila [Buddha's birthplace] in the north of Oudh; Cunningham? [*The Ancient Geogr. of India*, p. 414 seqq.], in the west; and Gazna [*Ka-shè-na*], in the north." Chao Ju-kua probably excludes the T'ien-chu of Buddhists from his own account, which forms the first part of this chapter, and is followed by a quotation from other sources, in which T'ien-chu is taken in another sense; for *Wu-t'ien-chu*, "The Five Indies," was well known as a general term for India in the wider sense before Chao Ju-kua. "*T'ien-chu* is said to be an imitation of the sound *Sun-tu* or *Shên-tu* [Sindh], just as *T'u-fen* is said to stand for *T'u-fut* [Tibet]." I find this remark in a work published in A.D. 1175, the *Fen-san-lu*, by Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang, a most interesting encyclopaedic collection of miscellanies and by no means the kind of work which Wylie (*Notes on Chinese Lit.*, p. 129) represents it to be.

² The only interpretation I am able to offer with regard to this remarkable statement is, that at some time or other Nestorian Bishops were regarded "chiefs of the country." With the exception of the Buddhist devotee Lo-hu-nua, who called himself a native of T'ien-chu and who, as coming from T'ien-chu, or India, in the wider sense, may not be at all connected with the T'ien-chu here described, nothing occurs in this account which points to Buddhism or which strongly speaks against the assumption that Nestorians are referred to as "chiefs." I am inclined to think that Chao Ju-kua's T'ien-chu refers to the coast of Madras, the legendary burial-place of St. Thomas (see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 342 seqq.), to which should be added the adjoining territory described by Marco Polo as the kingdom of Mutfil. Chao Ju-kua's T'ien-chu produces diamonds: of these Marco Polo says (Yule, vol. ii, p. 347) that "no other country but this kingdom of Mutfil produces them." Possibly the pieces of tale referred to in the Chinese text as looking like silken gauze have some connection with Polo's "delicate backrams" which look "like tissue of spider's web." Whether a bishop, or some other church authority, was in charge of the St. Thomas Christians, it is most probable that he took his appointment from the Nestorian patriarch as the ecclesiastical "King of Ta-ts'in." Cf. *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 254 seqq.

on the top of his head, the remaining hair being cut short. When holding court in the morning he sits on a skin of the Têng [explained as the name of an animal in a gloss of our text, the native dictionaries affording no clue in this matter], adorned with representations of various objects painted with red wax; and his courtiers all do him reverence and pray for his life. When going out he rides on horseback, and his saddle and bridle are thickly set with dark gold [*ieu-chîn*, whatever metal this may have been] and silver. His followers, three hundred in number, are armed with spears and swords. His consort wears a gold embroidered scarlet dress with large sleeves. Once in a year she shows herself in public, when a considerable bounty is given to the poor. In the country there is the sacred water which can still wind and waves. The foreign merchants fill glass bottles with it, and when they suddenly get into a rough sea, they still it by sprinkling out this water.¹ It is said that,² during the reign of Hsüan-wu of the Posterior Wei dynasty [A.D. 500-515], T'ien-chu sent envoys offering large horses. This country produces lions, sables, leopards, camels, rhinoceroses, elephants, tortoise shell, gold, copper, iron, lead, and tin; golden rugs made by weaving gold threads, white cotton cloth, and *ta-têng* [rugs?]. There is a stone like tale, but of a reddish colour; when split it is as thin as a cicada's wing; when put together, these pieces look like silken gauze. They have diamonds, resembling fluor spar, which will not melt though a hundred times exposed to the fire; they cut jadestones. There are, further, sandalwood and the like incenses, sugar-^{*}cane, sugar-candy [*shih-mi*],³ and all kinds of fruit. They

¹ I am strongly tempted to here suspect an allusion to the use of consecrated water (*aguaustralis*), known to the ancient Christians long before the existence of Roman Catholicism.

² The entire passage following down to the words "*they cut jadestones*" appears with almost the same reading in the *T'ung-tien*, a work of the eighth century A.D. Altogether Chao Ju-kun's accounts of Ta-ts'in and T'ien-chu are blended with matter occurring in older texts, to which fact the authors of the great Catalogus of the Peking Imperial Library have drawn attention.

³ "Sucre cristallisé." This is the translation adopted by Julien for the term *shih-mi* (*lit.* "stone honey," "petrified honey") on the strength of a definition,

have trade once every year with Ta-ts'in and Fu-nan [Siam]; they use cowries as a means of exchange. They are clever in jugglery, and know the use of bows and arrows, armour, spears, flying ladders, and mining underground ways [or, tunnels], and also the contrivances of "the wooden ox" and "the gliding horse" [*mu-niu-liu-ma*]¹; yet, they are cowards in battle. They are good astronomers and chronographers, and understand the "Siddham Rule Books"². . . . [a gap of seven characters follows here in the text, though no gap is mentioned in the corresponding paragraph of the *T'ung-t'ien*]. They make paper of the leaves of the Pei-to [Patra] tree. During the periods Chêng-kuan [A.D.

derived apparently from the ancient work *I-nu-chih* (*P'ei-wei-yün-fu*, ch. xciii, p. 72). The *I-nu-chih* says: "The juice pressed out of the sugar-cane produced in Chiao-chih [Tungking] is like *i-hsing* ["sweet cakes"], and is called *t'ang* [i.e. sugar]; when further boiled and exposed to the sun, it may be broken up like bricks, after it has coagulated and crystallized. To eat it, you take it into your mouth and dissolve it. At the time people called it *shih-mi*." This name *shih-mi* occurs as early as the *Hou-han-shu*, in the description of India, which involves that sugar-candy was known there during the first centuries of our era. The *Hsi-ching-t'ao-chi*, a record of events at the Western capital during the Han dynasty, even mentions that the king of Nan-yüeh presented the emperor Kao-ti [a.c. 206-194] with *shih-mi* (see *P'ei-wei-yün-fu*, l.c.). Regarding Sugar and Sugar-cane in ancient India, see Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 317 *seqq.*

¹ "The Wooden Ox" and "the Gliding Horse," according to the *San-luo-chih* (Chu, ch. v, pp. 13 and 15), were contrivances facilitating the transport of provisions invented by the great hero of the third century, Chu-ko Liang. The Chinese attach great value to these inventions, a detailed description of which has been preserved by the scholiast commenting on the passage referred to. I am not able, from a cursory perusal of it, to form a clear idea as to how they were constructed and how they worked.

² *Hsi-tan chang-shu*. According to Julien (Houen-Tsang, iii, p. 527), the first chapters of a syllabary in twelve chapters attributed to Brahma. Cf. Eitel, *Handbook for the Student of Chin. Buddh.*, s.v. Siddha Vastu. Watters, "The Shadows of a Pilgrim," in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 220, shows it to be the beginning of a child's primer, or A B C, the first chapter of which was headed by the word *Siddham*, forming an auspicious invocation. This may be the primary meaning and would be the orthodox interpretation according to the traditional explanation of this term as found in Buddhist glossaries. Since a gap appears in the text following it, we cannot easily decide what the author was going to say. His speaking of the astronomical achievements of the Hindus, however, seems to suggest that by the term *Hsi-tan* (=Siddhanta) the astronomical literature is referred to. Alberûni (Sachau, vol. i, p. 153) says: "The book known among Muslims as *Sindhind* is called by them *Siddhanta*, i.e. straight, not crooked nor changing. By this name they call every standard book on astronomy, even such books as, according to our opinion, do not come up to the mark of our so-called *Zij*, i.e. handbooks of mathematical astronomy. They have five *Siddhantas*," etc. Lassen (*op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 621) calls the *Siddhanta* "ein Lehrbuch, in dem ein wissenschaftliches System durch Gründe bewiesen wird, besonders ein astronomisches."

627-650] and T'ien-shou [A.D. 690-692] of the T'ang dynasty they have sent envoys with tribute. At the time of Yung-hsi [A.D. 984-988], a Buddhist devotee, by name Lo-hu-na, arrived here by sea; he called himself a native of T'ien-chu [India]. The foreign merchants [*fan-shang*, who must have been Buddhists; possibly Chinese merchants trading to foreign countries, if not Indians, Ceylonese, etc., since Muhammadans would not build a Buddhist temple], considering him a foreign priest [*hu-sêng*], vied with each other in presenting him with gold, silks, jewels, and precious stones; but the devotee was not in want of these himself. He invested the presents thus received in the purchase of a piece of ground, on which he built a Buddhist temple; it stood in the southern suburb of Ch'üan [Chinchew], and the present Pao-lin-yüan [Monastery] is identical with it.

(b) *Extracts from Part II: ARTICLES OF TRADE.*

1. CAMPHOR.

Camphor comes from P'ü-ni [Brni, Borneo], according to some Fo-ni; it also comes from the country of Pin-su.¹

¹ *Pin-su*, in Cantonese *Pun-sók*, the latter form representing the sound *Pansur*; for, since I had shown ("Chinese Equivalents of the letter R in foreign names" in *Journ. of the China Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xxi, p. 226) that final *n* and final *t* were employed in Ancient Chinese transcriptions to represent final *e* in foreign names, M. Terrien de Lacourperie added *k* and *p* to the number of Chinese finals which can take the place of final *r* (see "The Djurcheu of Mandshuria" in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, p. 442). Although this name *Pansur* is not mentioned anywhere else by our author, I do not hesitate to identify it with the country distinctly described as a producer of camphor under the name *Fansur* by Arab and other mediæval writers. "The camphor *al-fansûri* is mentioned as early as by Avicenna, and by Marco Polo, and came from a place called *Pansur* in Sumatra, perhaps the same as Barus, which has now long given its name to the costly Sumatra drug."—Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 116. The name *Pansur* is first mentioned by Mas'ûdi (about A.D. 940) and Abu Seyd (Reinard, *Relation*, etc., vol. i, p. 7: *fansur*). Marco Polo describes a kingdom of *Fansur* which produces camphor. Chao Ju-kua was apparently not aware that this country of Pin-su (*Pansur*, or *Fansur*) and his San-fu-ch'i were situated on the same island; and he may be correct, in a certain sense, in maintaining that in San-fu-ch'i (Palembang) itself the drug was not produced, but merely imported for re-shipment. This passage need not, therefore, involve the exclusion of the camphor industry from Sumatra. Regarding the *Fansur* question and its literature, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 285 *seqq.*

The common report that it is also found in San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra] is an error; the fact is merely this—that, owing to this country being an important thoroughfare for the traffic of all foreign nations, the produce of all other countries is intercepted and kept in store there for trade with foreign ships. The camphor-tree is like the pine-tree [*shan*]; it grows in the depths of the hills and the remotest valleys. So long as branches and trunk continue unhurt, the tree will contain the resin even for hundreds and thousands of years; otherwise it will evaporate. When the natives enter the hills, in order to gather the camphor, they must go in troops of several tens of men; they are provided with clothes made of trees' bark [or, fibre] and supplies of *sha-hu* [Sago] for grain. They go in different directions, and whenever they meet any camphor-trees, they fell with a hatchet and mark as many as ten, or more; they then cut these into lengths and distribute them equally, and each cuts into planks his share; these boards, again, they crack along the side and cross-wise so as to produce chinks, and the camphor collecting in these chinks is got out by forcing a wedge into them. The camphor which forms crystals is called *Mei-hua-nao* [*lit.* Plum Flower Camphor], because it resembles the plum flower; an inferior quality is called *Chin-ch'iao-nao* [*lit.* Gold Foot Camphor]; broken bits are called *Mi-nao* [*lit.* Rice-grain Camphor]; when these are mixed up with splinters, it is called *Ts'ang-nao* [*lit.* Granary Camphor]; the wooden boards, after all the camphor has been removed from them, are called *Nao-cha* [*lit.* Camphor Slips]. Nowadays people break these boards into small bits and mix them with sawdust, which mixture they place in a vessel of porcelain, covered by another vessel, the openings being hermetically closed; when roasted in hot ashes, the vapour formed by the mixture condenses and forms lumps, which are called *Chü-nao* [*lit.* Collected Camphor]; it is used for women's head ornaments and the like purposes. There is further an oily sort of camphor called *Nao-yu* [*lit.* Camphor Oil], which is of a strong

and stringent aroma; but it will do for moistening incense, or mixing with oil.

2. FRANKINCENSE.

Ju-hsiang [Gum Olibanum], also called Hsün-lu-hsiang,¹ is produced in the three Ta-shih [Arabian] countries of Ma-lo-pa [Merbot], Shih-ho [Sheher], and Nu-fa [Dhofar],² in the depths of the remotest mountain valleys. The tree which yields this drug may on the whole be compared to the Yung [Banian].³ Its trunk is chopped with a hatchet, upon which the resin flows out, and when hardened, turns into incense, which is gathered and made into lumps. It is transported on elephants to the Ta-shih [Arabs]; the Ta-shih [Arabs] load it upon their ships for barter against other goods in San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra]; and it is for this reason that the incense is commonly collected at San-fo-ch'i. "When the foreign merchants come to that place to trade, the Customs authorities, in accordance with the relative strength of its fragrance, distinguish thirteen classes of incense. Of these, the very best is called *Chien-hsiang*, or "Picked Incense": it is round and of the size of the top of a finger; which is commonly called *Ti-ju* [*lit.* "Dripping Milk," "Dripping Incense"]. The second quality is called *P'ing-ju* [*lit.* "Potted Milk"], and its colour is inferior to that of the "Picked Incense." The next quality is called *P'ing-hsiang* [*lit.* "Potted Incense"]; they say, because, owing to its being prized so much at the time of gathering, it is placed in pots [vases, or jars—*p'ing*].

¹ This word *Hsün-lu* [old sound: *hun-luk*] I look upon as the Chinese equivalent of Turkish *şeyunluk*, "frankincense," though I am not prepared to say whether the Chinese have got this word from the Turks, or *vice versa*. Cf. *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 266 *seq.*

² Regarding the identification of these three names, see my *Die Länder des Indes*, etc., p. 21, note 3, and p. 27 note 1; also Professor de Goeje's remarks on p. 58.

³ From a passage in the *Hsiang-p'u*, a later work on incenses, where the same sense is reproduced in almost identical words, I conclude that *yung* (Banian) is a misprint for *sung* (a pine-tree), the two characters being easily confounded. The passage referred to is quoted in the *P'iu-ts'ao-kang-mu*, ch. xxxiv, p. 48.

Of this last kind three further qualities, viz., superior, middling, and inferior, are distinguished. The next quality is called *Tai-hsiang* [lit. "Bag Incense"]; they say, because, at the time of gathering, it is merely put into bags; it is also divided into three qualities, like the *P'ing-hsiang*. The next kind is the *Ju-t'a*, because it consists of incense mixed with gravel. The next kind is the *Hei-t'a*, because its colour is black. The next kind is the *Shui-shih-hei-t'a*, because it consists of incense which has been water-damaged while on board ship, the aroma having turned and the colour having spoiled. Incense mixed of various qualities and consisting of broken pieces is called *Ch'ê-hsiao* [lit. "Cut-up"]; when passed through a sieve and thus made into dust, it is called *Ch'an-mo* [i.e. "Dust"]. The above are the differences in the incense.

3. MYRRH.

✓ *Mo-yao* [Myrrh]¹ comes from the country of Ma-lo-mo [probably another transcription for Merbot] in Ta-shih [Arabia]. The tree resembles in height and size the pine-tree [*sung*] of China; its bark is one or two inches thick. At the time of gathering the incense, they first dig a hole in the ground at the foot of the tree, and then cut the bark open with a hatchet, upon which the juice runs down into the hole for fully ten days, when it is taken.

4. DRAGON'S BLOOD.

Hsüeh-chieh [Dragon's Blood] also comes from the Ta-shih [Arabian] countries.² This tree is somewhat like the myrrh-

¹ *Mo-yao*, lit. Mo Medicine. The word *mo*, pronounced *mut* in Cantonese, is a transcription for Arabic *mur*, myrrh.

² According to Part I, from the country of Chung-li, some Arab colony on the east coast of Africa. Cf. *Die Länder des Jeldm*, etc., p. 39. I had endeavoured to identify this country with that of the Somali as adjoining Berbera (*Pi-pa-lu*); but Prof. de Goeje may be right in suggesting Socotra as the producer of Dragon's Blood. Probably the name Chung-li embraces the Somali coast with Socotra, the term *shan*, which I first translated by *Gebirge*, referring to an island here.

tree, except that its leaves are rather different in size from those of the latter; the manner of gathering is also alike. There is a kind which is smooth like the surface of a mirror; in this case the tree is old, so that the juice flows out spontaneously, without being touched by the hatchet; this is the best quality. Incense which contains an admixture of bits of wood is made of the juice of the lakawood-tree, and is commonly called "Imitation Dragon's Blood."

6. DAMMAR.

Tu-nao-hsiang [dhuna, Dammar] comes from the country of Chên-la [Kambodja]: it is the exsudation of a tree which resembles the pine and juniper family in shape; but the incense lies concealed in the bark. When the tree is old, it runs out spontaneously, as a white and lustrous resin, which just for this reason does not melt, though the summer heat may be at its height, and which is called the *tu-nao* [dhuna]. If, in the summer months, the trunk of the tree be scorched by a fire kept burning around it, this will cause the fluid resin again to flow out freely, so that it may be gathered during the winter, when it hardens; for, *this* incense is liquid in the summer, and hardens during the winter; it is called "black *tu-nao*." The natives fill with it gourds [*p'iao*], and the shippers afterwards transfer it into porcelain vessels. The flavour of this incense is pure and lasting; the black variety easily melts and leaks through the gourd; but by breaking the gourd and exposing it to the fire, one may obtain something similar to the original substance. This is the article now called *Tu-nao-p'iao*.

23. THE COCOA NUT.

The appearance of the Cocoa Nut [*yeh-tzá*], as regards trunk and leaves, resembles that of the *Tsung* [the *Chamaecrops Fortunei*, Lindl., known as the Chinese Coir-tree] and *Areca*

Palms. The fruit grows on the leaf in bunches of several nuts of the size of a vessel holding five pints [*shêng*]. It is the biggest of fruits, with the sole exception of the Jack Fruit. When cut the outer skin is at first green and tender, but after some time it turns yellow, and when kept a long time the skin shrivels and dries up. The nut shell contained in the outer skin can be made into vessels; the pulp inside the shell is of a jadelike white, and of an agreeable taste, resembling that of cow's milk. The juice [*lit.* wine] inside the pulp is extremely clear and fragrant when fresh; but when old, it turns muddy and is no longer drinkable. In the states of Nan-p'i [Malabar] they make wine [toddy] out of the juice of its flower mixed with honey and sugar.

30. PEPPER.

Pepper comes from the following places in Shê-p'o [Java], viz.: Su-chi-tan [Sukitan, East Java], Ta-pan [Tuban], Pai-hua-yüan [Pajajaran?], Ma-tung [Madang?], and Jung-ya-lu [Jangola]; but the pepper coming from Hsin-t'o [Sunda] is the best; the Ta-pan [Tuban] variety takes the second place. Pepper grows in the uncultivated wilds, and the villages in the country [here the text is interrupted] the Chinese vine grape. The natives grow it on frames made of bamboo or other wood. [Here the text is again interrupted.] The flower opens . . . [probably in the season specified in the preceding gap], and in the fourth moon the fruit ripens. The flower resembles the tail of a phoenix [*Jeng-wei*, probably the flower so-called], and is blue and red in colour. ✓The grains are gathered in the fifth moon [about June], dried in the sun, and stored in godowns, whence they are given out in the following year, carts drawn by oxen being used to transport them to the place of barter. The grain cannot stand the sun, but will endure rain; therefore, crops are but poor after dry weather, whereas heavy rainfalls may double the ordinary

size of the harvest. Some say that most of the pepper is grown in the country of Wu-li-pa [in Cantonese *Mô-li-pat* = Malabar], in Nan-p'i, and that the produce bought by the foreign traders in Shê-p'o [Java] comes from Wu-li-pa [Malabar].¹

32. ASA FOETIDA.

Asa Foetida [*a-wei*] comes from the country of Mu-chū-lan [in Cantonese *Muk-kū-lam* = Mekram], in Ta-shih [Arabia]. The tree is not a very high or large one, but the resin exsudes freely from its bark. The natives wind a piece of string round a twig, remove its tip, and cover it with a bamboo tube, which fills with resin. This bamboo tube is broken up in the winter, when the resin is gathered and packed in skin bags. Some say that this resin is so poisonous that people do not dare to come near it themselves, but, when the drug has to be gathered, tie a sheep up at the foot of the tree and shoot arrows at the latter from a distance. The poison of the resin then drops upon the sheep, which dies of it, and its decayed flesh turns into Asa foetida. I do not know which of the two accounts is correct; meanwhile they are here both placed on record.

¹ The last paragraph is added to the text in two rows of small characters, and may possibly be a gloss added by another hand. It is certainly remarkable that Chao Ju-kua omits pepper among the products of Nan-p'i. In his description of Shê-p'o, on the other hand, pepper appears named among other products, besides a special note, which says: "There is vast store of pepper of these foreign countries, and the merchant ships, from the manifold profit they derive from that trade, are in the habit of smuggling copper cash for bartering purposes. Our Court has repeatedly interdicted all trade [with Shê-p'o, Java]; but foreign merchants deceitfully changed its name into that of Sukitan." Under the head of "Sukitan" our author says: "Pepper grows there in great abundance. In the proper season and in good years twenty-five taels of trade silver will buy from ten to twenty packages of pepper, each package holding fifty pecks [*shing*, equal to about an English pint]; in years of dearth, or in times of disturbance, the same sum will fetch only half that amount. The pepper-gatherers suffer much from the acrid fumes they have to inhale and are commonly afflicted with headache [malaria?], which will yield to doses of the Hsiung medicine of Szechuen [*Ch'uan-hsiung*, a species of *Levisticum*, also mentioned among the Chinese articles imported in Shê-p'o, or Java]." Under Hsin-t'o [Sunda] we learn that "the pepper produced in the hills is small-grained, but heavy, and superior to that of Ta-p'an [Taban]."

42. KINGFISHERS' FEATHERS.

Kingfishers' Feathers are got in great quantities in Chên-la [Kambodja], where they are produced in nests built by the side of lakes [or, ponds] in the depth of the hills. Each pool [pond, gully, etc.] serves as an abode for just a male and a female bird; the intrusion of a third bird always ends in a duel to the death. The natives take advantage of this peculiarity, rear a decoy bird, and walk about with it sitting on the left hand raised. The birds in their nests, on noticing the intruder, make for the hand and fight it, quite ignoring the presence of the man, who, with his right hand, covers them with a net and thus makes them prisoners without fail. The river Ku in Yung-chow¹ is the habitat of a bird called *Jung-ts'ui* [lit. "the downy Kingfisher"], covered with a down of blue feathers all over the back, which is used by luxurious people as an ornament, the feathers being twisted and woven into each other so as to resemble wool satin. Although, of late years, the use of this luxury has been strictly forbidden by the mandarins, the better classes still continue to add it to their dress, for which reason the foreign merchants, defying the law, mostly smuggle it by concealing it in the cotton lining of their clothes.²

¹ *Yung-chow Ku-chiang*. Yung-chow is the name used during the T'ang and Sung dynasties for the present prefecture of Nan-ning in Kuangsi (Playfair, *Cities and Towns of China*, Nos. 5116 and 3076). The Ku River is a tributary of the Yü-chiang, the navigable southern affluent of the West River, or Sikiang, which had been mistaken for the West River itself by Mr. Michael Moss in his "Narrative" of an expedition on that river, as I have shown in a paper on "The West River, or Sikiang" in vol. iii (1874) of the *China Review*. The Ku River is described as flowing ten li east of the Nan-ning city (*Nan-ning-fu-chih*, quoted in the *Pu-shu-chi-ch'ang*, sect. 6, ch. 1242).

² The *Sung-shih*, in its chapter on official dress (ch. 153, p. 10), contains a list of dress materials presented to the various grades of higher officials by the emperor. In the year A.D. 963, according to this list, officials of certain grades, among which the *kuang-ch'in chü-sü fu-shih*, i.e. the Imperial Commissioners and Assistant-Commissioners related to the Imperial family, are included, were to be presented each with a "fine brocade of kingfishers' feathers." Our author, being one of the class concerned in this bounty, is sure to have been well informed on whatever regulations were connected with it. It is, therefore, of some importance to know that, in the year A.D. 1107, this liberality was stopped by the Emperor Hui Tsung as far as Kingfishers' feathers were

concerned. "The ancient rulers," the Emperor says, alluding no doubt to the famous example set by King T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, "in their government measures, extended the principle of humanity to plants, trees, birds, and beasts: now the depriving of living creatures of their life, in order to obtain their plumage for quite an unnecessary purpose, is certainly not worthy of the kindness extended by the early rulers to all creatures. I, therefore, order the officials to stop the practice on pain of punishment." (*Sung-shih*, *i.e.*, p. 16.) This is an early instance of a movement which has been resumed in our days by the societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals in condemning the practice of adorning ladies' bonnets with the plumage of birds killed for the purpose.

ART. XIII. — *The Army of the Indian Moghuls: Its Organization and Administration.* By WILLIAM IRVINE, late Bengal Civil Service.

IN 1894 I began the preparatory studies for an account of the later Indian Moghul system of government and administration in all its branches, being impelled by the belief that some information of the kind was a necessary introduction to a History of that period, which I had previously planned and commenced. Before I had done more than sketch out my first part, which deals with the Sovereign, the Court Ceremonial, and the elaborate system of Entitlement, I noticed the issue of a book on a part of my subject by Dr. Paul Horn.¹ The perusal of this excellent work diverted my attention to a later section of my proposed Introduction, the subject of the Army and Army Organization; and in this way I have been led to write this portion before any of the others. Except incidentally, my paper is neither a translation nor a review of Dr. Horn's essay; and though indebted to him, as acknowledged from time to time, my study covers, in the main, quite different ground, forming a complement to what he has done, and, as I think, carrying the subject a good deal farther in several directions. Dr. Horn seems to have read chiefly the authorities for the period before Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir; while my reading has been confined in great measure to the reigns of Aurangzeb's successors in the period 1707-1803. The sources upon which we draw are thus almost entirely independent of each other; and I hope that my contribution to this rather obscure corner of Indian

¹ "Das Heer- und Kriegswesen der Gross-Moghuls," by Dr. Paul Horn, Privat-Dozent an der Universität Strassburg, 8vo, pp. 160. (E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1894.)

history may not be thought inferior in interest to that of my predecessor. The paper which follows gives the first eight of the twenty-five sections into which I have divided my subject.

II. COMMISSIONED RANK AND MODE OF RECRUITING.

Few soldiers were entertained directly by the emperor himself; and for the most part the men entered first the service of some chief or leader. These chiefs were ranked according to the number of men that they had raised or were expected to raise. In this way originated the system of *manṣab*, first introduced by Akbar (*Āḡā*, i, 237). This mode of recruiting the army through the officers, renders it necessary to begin by a statement of the manner in which the officers themselves were appointed and graded.

Manṣab was not a term confined solely to the military service; every man in State employ above the position of a common soldier or messenger, whatever the nature of his duties, civil or military, obtained a *manṣab*. In fact, there were for all grades, except the very lowest, only two modes of obtaining support from State funds: a man must either enter its active service, as the holder of a *manṣab*, or he must petition for a *madad-i-mu'āsh* (literally, "help to live"), on the ground of being a student of the holy books, an attendant on a mosque (*mutawallī* or *khādim*), a man of learning and religious life (*darvesh*), a local judge (*kāzī*), or an expounder of the Mahomedan law (*muftī*).

The word *manṣab* is literally (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 233) "the place where anything is put or erected" (*naṣb kardan*, to place, fix, appoint); and then, as a secondary meaning, the state or condition of holding a place, dignity, or office. It seems to have been in use in Central Asia before the Moghuls descended into Hindūstān; and Ross translates it by the vaguer term "privileges."—*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 103. This word *manṣab* I represent by the word *rank*, as its object was to settle precedence and fix gradation of pay; it did not

necessarily imply the exercise of any particular office, and meant nothing beyond the fact that the holder was in the employment of the State, and bound in return to yield certain services when called upon.

The highest *manṣab* that could be held by a subject, not of the royal house, was that of commander of 7000 men, though in the later and more degenerate times we find a few instances of promotion to 8000 or even 9000. The *manṣab* of a prince ranged from 7000 up to 50,000, and even higher (*Mirāt-ul-Istilah*, fol. 35). In the *Āin-i-Akbari* (Blochmann, 248, 249) sixty-six grades are stated, beginning at commanders of 10,000, and ending at those set over ten men. Even at that earlier period there seem to have been only thirty-three of these grades in actual existence (Blochmann, 238). All the later authorities agree in holding that the lowest officer's *manṣab* was that of twenty men; and these writers record, I find, no more than twenty-seven grades, beginning with that of 7000 and ending with that of twenty. In the earlier days of the dynasty, rank was granted with a niggard hand. In Akbar's time the highest rank was for long that of 5000, and it was only towards the end of his reign that a few men were promoted to 7000, while many officers exercised important commands although holding a comparatively low *manṣab*. The great accession of territory in the Dakhin and the incessant wars connected with these acquisitions may account in part for the increase in the number and amount of *manṣabs* granted by Shāhjahān and 'Ālamgīr. But the relative value of rank was thereby much depreciated; and the author of the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umara* (i, 8), while considering Akbar's officers of 500 rank of sufficient importance to deserve separate biographies, contents himself in the later reigns with going no lower than those of 7000 or 5000, men below those ranks being too numerous and too insignificant to call for detailed mention.

The steps of promotion altered as the officer rose in grade. The usual gradation was as follows (*Mirāt*, B.M. 1813, fol. 35; *Dastūr-ul-'Aml*, B.M. 1641, fol. 44b):—

From	20 to	100	each rise was by	20
"	100 to	400	"	50
"	400 to	1000	"	100
"	1000 to	4000	"	500
"	4000 to	7000	"	1000

There is a slight discrepancy between this table and the facts as we find them in practice. It ought to be amended thus:—

From	20 to	60	a man rose by	10	each time
"	60 to	100	"	20	"

Otherwise we should exclude the rank of 50, which was common enough. Again, we find in many tables no ranks of 250 or 350, although both of these are required to accord with the above scheme of promotion.

We also find mention in the historians of ranks which do not appear in the above scheme of grades. For instance, in Dānīshmand Khān's *Bahādur Shāhnāmāh* (fol. 41b, 56a) we find men appointed to 1200 and 2900, grades which do not fit in with the scheme given above, nor do these grades appear in the pay-table, copied from the official manuals, which we give a little further on.

As an additional distinction, it was the custom to tack on to a *manṣab* a number of extra horsemen. To distinguish between the two kinds of rank, the original *manṣab*, which governed the personal allowances, was known as the *zāt* rank (*zāt*=body, person, self), and the additional men were designated by the word *sucār* (=horseman). Thus a man would be styled "2500 *zāt*, 1000 *sucār*." It is said (*Mirāt*, fol. 35) that men below 500 never had *sucār* added to their rank; but this is not borne out by what we find in actual practice. For instance, Mirzā Muḥammad (*Tazkirah*, I.O.L. No. 50, fol. 96a) was in Rabī' II, 1119 H., made 400, 50 horse, and his younger brother 300, 30 horse. There are also instances in Dānīshmand Khān of 150, 50 horse; 300, 10 horse; 300, 20 horse; 300, 80 horse; 400, 40 horse; and so on. In fact, unless this had been the case, it would be impossible to divide the ranks below 500 into

first, second, and third grade, as was actually done. This division into grades we now proceed to describe.

On the distribution of rank into *ẓāt* and *sucār* was founded a classification into first, second, and third class *manṣabs*, by which the scale of *ẓāt* pay was reduced proportionately. From this classification were exempted officers above 5000 *ẓāt*; these were all of one class. From 5000 downwards, an officer was First Class, if his rank in *ẓāt* and *sucār* were equal; Second Class, if his *sucār* was half his *ẓāt* rank; Third Class, if the *sucār* were less than half the *ẓāt*, or there were no *sucār* at all (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 222). I think that here Blochmann (*Ā'in*, i, 238, lines 5 and foll.) obscures the subject by using "contingent" as the equivalent of *sucār*, instead of leaving the untranslated original word to express a technical meaning.

Pay was reckoned in a money of account called a *dām*, of which forty went to the rupee. There were also coins called *dām*; but the *dāms* of account, bearing a fixed ratio to the rupee, must be distinguished as a different thing from the coin, though called by the same name. Here Dr. Horn, 16, is of opinion that the reckoning was made in such a small unit as the $\frac{1}{40}$ of a rupee, less to make a grand show with big figures than because the value of the rupee varied. On this head I am of exactly the opposite opinion, for I think that the principal, if not the only object, was to swell the totals and make the pay sound bigger than it really was. That spirit runs through everything done in the East, at any rate in the Indian portion of it, as could easily be shown were it worth while to labour the point further. As for the second reason, I have considered it as well as I am able, not being a currency expert; and it seems to me that with a fixed ratio between the two coins, it was a matter of indifference to the receiver of pay whether the amount was stated in the one or in the other unit of value. The two units being tied together by the fixed ratio, and the disbursements being in fact made (as we know) in rupees, the payee suffered, or did not suffer, equally by either mode of calculation.

In the following table, which shows all the *manṣabs* with their pay according to class, I have reduced the *dām* to rupees, as being simpler and more readily intelligible. In the present day, this reckoning by *dāms* has quite disappeared. When reading this table of pay, which shows the sanctioned allowances for a year of twelve months, it must be remembered that few of the officers received the whole twelve-months' pay, the number of months' pay sanctioned per annum ranging from four to twelve. Officers were also supposed to keep up an establishment of elephants and draught cattle. Apparently they were also liable to pay a fixed quota of their own allowances towards the expenses of the Emperor's elephants and cattle, an item known as *khūrāk-i-dawābb*, feed of four-footed animals. There were other petty deductions.

TABLE OF *MANṢAB-I-ZĀT* WITH YEARLY PAY IN RUPEES.

	RANK (<i>Manṣab-i-zāt</i>).	YEARLY PAY IN RUPEES.		
		First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.
1	7000	350,000	—	—
2	6000	300,000	—	—
3	5000	250,000	242,500	235,000
4	4500	225,000	217,500	210,000
5	4000	200,000	192,500	185,000
6	3500	175,000	167,500	160,000
7	3000	150,000	142,500	135,000
8	2500	125,000	117,500	110,000
9	2000	100,000	92,500	85,000
10	1500	75,000	67,500	60,000
11	1000	50,000	47,500	45,000
12	900	37,500	36,250	35,000
13	800	31,250	30,000	28,750
14	700	27,500	26,250	25,000
15	600	23,750	22,500	21,250
16	500	20,000	18,750	17,500
17	400	12,500	12,000	11,500
18	300	10,000	9500	9000
19	200	7500	7000	6500
20	150	6250	5750	5250
21	100	5000	4500	4000
22	80	3500	3250	3000
23	60	2500	2375	2150
24	50	2125	2000	1875
25	40	1750	1625	1500
26	30	1375	1250	1125
27	20	1000	875	750

(*Dastūr-ul-ʿAmī*, B.M. No. 1641, fol. 44*b*, *id.* B.M. No. 1690, fol. 173*b*, *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 234.) The rates of pay in Akbar's reign, as given in the last column of Blochmann's table (*Āḡā*, i, 248), were much higher than the above, which refers to 'Ālamgir's time and later. It will be noticed that the difference of pay between first, second, and third class is as follows:—

From 20 to 60	5,000	<i>Dām</i> , or Rs. 125 yearly.
For 80	10,000	" " 250 "
From 100 to 400	20,000	" " 500 "
For 1000	100,000	" " 2500 "
From 1500 to 5000	300,000	" " 7500 "

(B.M. 6599, fol. 144*b*).

In addition to the simple division by *manṣab* alone, there was also a grouping of officers into three classes. From 20 to 400 they were merely "officers with rank" (*manṣab-dār*); from 500 to 2500 they were Nobles—Blochmann, i, 535 (*Amīr*, pl. *Umārā*, origin of our form "Omrah"); from 3000 to 7000 they were Great Nobles (*Amīr-i-Aʿẓam*, pl. *ʿUẓẓām*, *Umārā-i-kibār* (Blochmann, i, 529, note), or Pillars (*ʿUmdah*). All *manṣabdārs* were kept on one or other of two lists: (1) *Hāẓir-i-rikāb*, present at Court; (2) *Taʿīnāt*, on duty elsewhere.

Suicār Rank.—The grant of *suicār* in addition to *ẓāt* rank was an honour. Dr. Paul Horn, 15, supposes, however, that these horsemen were paid out of the *ẓāt* allowances. In that case a man who had no *suicār* would be better paid than another who was honoured with the addition of *suicār* to his *ẓāt* rank. Naturally Dr. Horn, 16, holds that this "eigentlich nicht recht glaublich ist." He is quite right in his conjecture. The explanation is, that the table of pay in Blochmann, i, 248, and that given above, are exclusively for the *ẓāt* rank, from which money the officer had to maintain his transport, his household, and some horsemen. For the *suicār* rank there was a separate table, pay for these horsemen being disbursed under the name of

the *Tābīnān*. As Orme says ("Hist. Frag.," 418), the officer raising the troops was responsible for the behaviour of his men; he therefore brought men of his own family or such as he could depend on.

Tābīnān.—Blochmann, i, 242, note I, who, apparently, translates this word as well as *sucār* by "contingent," derives it from the Arabic *tābīn*, one who follows.¹ The books (B.M. 1641, fol. 46b, B.M. 6599, 144b and 148b) give a long table setting forth their pay in *dāms*, beginning with that for five horsemen and ending with that for 40,000, but as the basis for calculation remains the same throughout, it is sufficient here to work out the pay for one horseman. For five horsemen, then, 40,000 *dāms* a year were allowed. That would be 8000 *dāms* for one man; and this sum in *dāms* yields Rs. 200 a year (at the fixed rate of 40 *dāms* to the rupee), or Rs. 16 10a. 8p. per man per mensem. Bernier, 217, states the rate as somewhat higher—"he that keeps one horse shall not receive less than 25 rupees a month." For this sum, of course, the man provided his own horse and armour, and paid for his own and his horse's keep. One *Dastūr-ul-ʿAml*, B.M. 6599, fol. 144b, tells us that the number of horses to men among the troopers (*tābīnān-i-barādārī*) was according to the rule of *dah-bist* (lit. "ten-twenty"), meaning apparently that the total number of horses was double that of the number of men. The scale was as follows:—

3 three-horsed	men = 9 horses
4 two-horsed	men = 8 horses
3 one-horsed	men = 3 horses
—	—
10 men	20 horses

That is, with 1000 men there would be 2000 horses. The pay of the men with the extra horses was higher, but not in proportion. Thus, a one-horsed man received 8000 D.

¹ Steingass, 272, *تَابِين*, A, following in the steps of another; but Pavet de Courteille, *Diet. Turc. Oriental*, 194, claims it as a Chaghatāie word, with the meanings of "a troop of 50 men, the body-guard, the pagea."

or Rs. 200 a year (Rs. 16 10a. 8p. per mensem), while the two- or three-horsed man got 11,000 D. or Rs. 275 a year (Rs. 22 14a. 8p. per mensem). In some places we find other rates of pay recorded. For instance, Bahādur Shāh enlisted *Aḥadis*, men a little superior to common soldiers, at Rs. 40 a month (Dānishmand Khān, second Ṣafar of the second year, i.e. 1120 H.=22nd April 1708). A century later, as Fitzclarence tells us, "Journal," 73, 142, the rate was Rs. 40 a month in the Dakhin, and Rs. 22 in Hindūstān. Service in the cavalry was socially an honourable profession; thus a common trooper was looked on as being, to some extent, a gentleman, and such men, even when illiterate, often rose to the highest positions.

The pay of the *Tabinān* was drawn by the *manṣabdār*, who was entitled to retain 5 per cent. of their pay for himself (*Ājn*, i, 265). Pay was not always allowed for a whole year; often only for six, five, or four months. This fact renders it impossible to calculate the actual expenditure, for, although we generally can find out whether a *manṣabdār* was first, second, or third class, we do not know for what number of months in the year his pay was sanctioned.

Chelās.—As a counterpoise to the mercenaries in their employ, over whom they had a very loose hold, commanders were in the habit of getting together, as the kernel of their force, a body of personal dependents or slaves, who had no one to look to except their master. Such troops were known by the Hindī name of *chelā* (a slave). They were fed, clothed, and lodged by their employer, had mostly been brought up and trained by him, and had no other home than his camp. They were recruited chiefly from children taken in war or bought from their parents during times of famine. The great majority were of Hindu origin, but all were made Mahomedans when received into the body of *chelās*. These *chelās* were the only troops on which a man could place entire reliance as being ready to follow his fortunes in both foul and fair weather. Muḥammad Khān Bangash's system of *chelās* is described by me in J.A.S. Bengal, part i, 1878, p. 340.

III. RULES CONNECTED WITH PAY AND ALLOWANCES.

In the preceding paragraphs have been shown in general terms the rates of pay for the cavalry, and some of the rules by which pay was governed. When we come to the actual working out in detail of this part of the army administration, our difficulties increase. The official manuals, which are our only guide, are couched in the briefest of language, and naturally presume a knowledge of many things of which we are ignorant. Nor can we be certain whether the rules that they lay down were of general application or were applicable to certain classes of troops only. Thus the data are insufficient for any complete exposition of this part of the general subject. The matters treated of in the next following paragraphs are, moreover, of a somewhat miscellaneous description, and many of them might be better classed under other heads, such as Discipline, Recruiting, and so forth; but as there is not enough material to yield complete information, I have thought it better to deal with the greater part of them, as the native authors do, in their relation to the calculation of pay.

Rates of Pay.—The rates of pay for officers and men of the cavalry, forming numerically far the most important part of the army, have been already stated when dealing with the *manṣab* system. The rates for Infantry and Artillery, so far as recorded, will be stated when we come to those branches of the service.

Date from which Pay Drawn.—On an officer being first appointed, if by his rank he was exempt from having his horses branded (*dāgh*), his pay began from the date of confirmation (*‘arz-i-mukarrar*). If such branding were necessary, pay began from the date of branding (the day itself being excluded), and as soon as this condition had been complied with, a disbursement was made of one month's pay on account. In the case of promotion, if it were unconditional, the rules were the same as above; if conditional, the pay began from the date of entering on office (*Dastār-ul-‘Aml*, B.M. 1641, fol. 37*a*, 58*a*; *id.* 6599, fol. 146*b*, *Dastār-ul-Inshā*, 233).

Conditional (Mashrūt) and Unconditional (Bilā-shart) Pay.

—Rank and pay might be given absolutely, or they might be conditional on the holding of some particular office. The temporary or *mashrūt ba khidmat* rank was given as an addition to the permanent, *bilā-shart* rank which a man already occupied. On ceasing to hold the office, such as that of governor (*shūbahdār*) or military magistrate (*faujdār*), the *mashrūt* rank and pay were taken away.

Pay always in Arrears.—In later times pay due from the imperial treasury to the *manṣabdārs*, as well as that due from the *manṣabdārs* to the private soldiers, was always in arrears. In fact, we should not go far wrong, I think, if we asserted that this was the case in the very best times. The reasons are obvious. More men were entertained than could be easily paid; Indian Mahomedans are very bad financiers; the habit of the East is to stave off payment by any expedient. To owe money to somebody seems in that country the normal condition of mankind. For example, even such a careful manager as Nizām-ul-Mulk, in his alleged testament, dated the 4th Jamādi II, 1161 H. (31st May, 1748), is credited with the boast that he "never withheld pay for more than three months" (*"Asiatick Miscellany,"* Calcutta, 1788, vol. iii, 160). Another reason for keeping the men in arrears may have been the feeling that they were thereby prevented from transferring their services to some other chief quite as readily as they might have done if there were nothing owing. Disturbances raised by troops clamouring for their pay were among the unfailing sequels to the disgrace or sudden death of a commander. The instances are too numerous to specify. On this head Haji Mustapha, *Seir*, iii, 35, note 29, says truly enough:—"The troops are wretchedly paid, twenty or thirty months of arrears being no rarity. The ministers, princes, and grandees always keep twice or thrice as many men as they have occasion for, and fancy that by withholding the pay they concern the men in the preservation of their lord's life." We can also quote Lord Clive as to the state of things in the Bengal *shūbah* in 1757 (*"Minutes*

of Select Committee of 1772," reprint, 52)—"There were great arrears due to the army by Sirāj-ud-Daulah as well as by Mir Ja'far, and the sums amounted to three or four millions sterling. It is the custom of the country never to pay the army a fourth part of what they promise them; and it is only in times of distress that the army can get paid at all, and that is the reason why their troops always behave so" (badly?).

Pay in Nakd and in Jāgīr.—Pay (*tanḫwāh*; literally, *tan* 'body,' *ḫwāh* 'need') might be either *Nakd*, that is, given in cash (*nakd*); or *Jāgīr* (literally, *jā* 'place,' *gīr*, taking, from *giriṣṭān*), that is an assignment (*jāgīr*) of the land revenue of a certain number of villages (*mauza*¹) or of a subdivision (*pargana*). A certain number of officers and soldiers, chiefly those of the infantry and artillery, who were, as a rule, on the pay list of the emperor himself, were paid in cash. This seems to have been the case in all reigns up to quite the end. But the favourite mode of payment was by an assignment of the government revenue from land. Such an arrangement seems to have suited both parties. The State was a very centralized organization, fairly strong at the centre, but weak at the extremities. It was glad to be relieved of the duty of collecting and bringing in the revenue from distant places. This task was left to the *jāgīrdār*, or holder of the *jāgīr*, and unless such a *maṣabdar* were a great noble or high in imperial favour, the assignment was made on the most distant and most imperfectly subdued provinces.¹ On the other hand, a chance of dealing with land and handling the income from it, has had enormous attractions in all parts of the world, and in none more than in India. Nobles and officers by obtaining an assignment of revenue hoped to make certain of some income, instead of depending helplessly for payment on the good pleasure of the Court. Then in negotiating for a *jāgīr* there were all sorts of possibilities. A judicious bribe might secure to a man

¹ This may have been a development of Taimūr's practice of granting the pay of his amirs from his frontier provinces.—Davy and White, "Institutes," 237.

a larger *jāgīr* than was his due; and if he were lucky, he might make it yield more than its nominal return. Many such considerations must have been present to their minds. Whatever be the true reasons, of this there can be no doubt, that the system was highly popular, and that the struggle for *jāgīrs* was intensely keen. A recent French writer, M. Emile Barbé, "*Le Nabab René Madec*," 117, speaking of a *jāgīr* given in 1775, says: "*Cette apparition des jaguirs dans l'Empire Mogol à son declin est un fait sociologique du plus haut intérêt.*" The system of *jāgīr* grants may be an interesting sociological fact—as to that I have nothing to say for or against; but it was not introduced into the Mogol Empire during its decline. *Jāgīrs* existed in that empire's most flourishing days, having been granted as early as Akbar (Blochmann, *Āḥ*, i, 261), while under Shāhjahān they existed on a most extensive scale.

If the *jāgīr* were a large one, the officer managed it through his own agents, who exercised on his behalf most of the functions of government. Such *jāgīrs* were practically outside the control of the local governor or *faujdar*, and formed a sort of *imperium in imperio*. The disastrous effects of the system, in this aspect, need not be further dwelt on here. On the other hand, a small *jāgīr* was more frequently left by the assignee in the hands of the *faujdar*, through whom the revenue demand was realized. Gradually, as the bonds of authority were relaxed from the centre, the *faujdar*s and *ṣubahdar*s ignored more and more the claims of these assignees, and finally ceased to remit or make over to them any of the collections.

I append here the first steps of official procedure followed in the grant of a *jāgīr*. We are to suppose that one Khwājah Raḥmatullah has been recalled from duty in some province, and that on appearing at court he has applied for a new *jāgīr*. Through the *Diwān-i-tan*, a great officer at the head of one of the two revenue departments, a *ḥakikat*, or Statement of Facts, was drawn up, in the following form (B.M. No. 6599, foll. 156a to 157b):—

Statement (*Ḥaḳīkat*).

Khwājah Raḥmatullah, son of *Khwājah Aḥmad*, a native of Balkh, who was attached to the standards in Province So-and-so, having come to the Presence in pursuance of the exalted orders, and the *jāgīr* which, up to such-and-such a harvest, was held by him in the said Province, having been granted to So-and-so, in this matter what is the order as to the *tankhwāh jāgīr* of the above-named.

[on the margin] { Presentation (*mulāzamat*)
 { Day so-and-so, month so-and-so
 { Offering (*nazar*)
 { 9 Muhrs (gold coins) and
 { 18 Rupees.

This *ḥaḳīkat* was passed on by the *Diwān-i-tan* to the *Diwān-i-ʿāla* (or *wazīr*). The latter placed it before the Emperor. If an order were given for a *jāgīr* to be granted, the *wazīr* endorsed on the paper, "The pure and noble order issued to grant a *jāgīr* in *tankhwāh* from the commencement of such-and-such a harvest." This paper then becomes the voucher for the chief clerk to the *Diwān-i-tan*, who wrote out a *siyāha daul*, or Rough Estimate, as follows:

Rough Estimate.

Khwājah Raḥmatullah, son of *Khwājah Aḥmad*, of Balkh. Whereas he was on duty in Province So-and-so, and according to order has reached the Blessed Stirrup (*i.e.* the Court)—

One thousand, Personal (*ẓāf*)

200 men, Horse (*sawār*)

Pay in *dāms*

34 lakhs

Personal

Troopers
(*tābīdār*)

18 lakhs

16 lakhs

= Total, 34 lakhs.

Feed of Four-footed animals (*Khūrah-i-dawābb*) remitted.

Parganah So-and-so,
situated in Province
So-and-so,
20 lakhs of Dāms.

Parganah So-and-so,
situated in Province
So-and-so,
14 lakhs of Dāms.

It will be seen, on referring to a previous page, that as the man was 1000 *zāt*, but had only 200 *sucār* rank, he was a third class *Hazārī*. By the table this gives him 18 lakhs, and then 200 horsemen at 8000 dāms each comes to 16 lakhs, making the 34 lakhs which are sanctioned in the above.

The *dawl*, or estimate, was made over to the diary-writer (*wāḳī'ah navīs*), who, after he had entered it on the *wāḳī'ah* (diary), prepared an extract called a memorandum (*yād-dāsh*t) for submission to the office of the confirmation of orders (*'arṣ-i-mukarrar*, lit. second petition). The *yād-dāsh*t repeated the facts much in the same form as the *ḥaḳīḳat* and the *dawl*. On it the wazīr wrote: "Let this be compared with the diary (*wāḳī'ah*) and then sent on to the confirmation office (*'arṣ-i-mukarrar*)." On the margin the diary-writer (*wāḳī'ah navīs*) then reported: "This *yād-dāsh*t accords with the *wāḳī'ah*." Next the superintendent (*dāroghah*) of the confirmation office wrote: "On such-and-such a date of such-and-such a month of such-and-such a year this reached the confirmation office. The order given was—'Approved.'" We need not follow here the further fate of the order after it left the Court and reached the governor of the province referred to.

Loans, Advances, and Gifts.—The technical name for a loan or advance of pay was *muṣā'adat* (Steingass, 1225, H, helping, favour, assistance, aid), and the conditions as to interest and repayment are given in Book ii, *Ā'in* 15, of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, i, 265). Historians frequently mention the advance of money under this name. In later times, especially from the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, no commander ever took the field without

the grant of the most liberal cash advances to meet his expenses. Possibly these were never repaid, or were from the first intended as free gifts. When we meet with the phrase *tankhucāh-i-ina'm*, I presume that there can be no doubt of the payment being a gift. Here the word *tankhucāh* seems to denote the order or cheque on the treasury, and the word *ina'm* (gift, present), differentiates it from other *tankhucāh*, which were in the nature of payments to be repeated periodically. The recovery of loans and advances came under a head in the accounts called *mutālībāh* (Steingass, 1259, asking, claim, due). Another term of somewhat similar import, *bāz-yāft* (Steingass, 146, the resumption of anything, a deduction, stoppage), seems to have been confined to the recovery of items put under objection in the revenue accounts by the *mustaufis*, or auditors. At one time the recovery of an advance was made from a man's pay in four instalments; but towards the end of 'Ālamgīr's reign, it was taken in eight instalments (B.M. No. 1641, fol. 58b).

Deductions.—Of these I have found the following: *kasūr-i-do-dāmī* (fraction of the two dāms), *kharch-i-sikkah* (expenses of minting), *ayyām-i-ḥilālī* (days of the moon's rise), *ḥiṣṣah-i-ijnās* (share in kind), *khūrāk-i-dawābb* (feed of four-footed animals).

Kasūr-i-do-dāmī.—*Kasūr* is, literally, fractions, deficiencies, faults. This item was a discount of five per cent., that is, of two dāms in every forty, and therefore styled "do-dāmī" (B.M. 1641, fol. 37a). The origin of this is to be found possibly in Akbar's five per cent. deductions from the Aḥadī troopers on account of horses and other expenses (*Ā'in*, i, 250, line 14). The rate of deduction is differently stated in fol. 58b, B.M. 1641, as four dāms in the 100, if the officer drew seven or eight months' pay, and two dāms in the 100, if he drew less than that number of months.

Kharch-i-sikkah was also deducted: in 'Ālamgīr's reign the rates were Rs. 1 12a. 0p. per cent. on Shāhjahān's coinage, and Rs. 1 8a. 0p. per cent. on the coin of the reigning emperor. Under the rules then in force, the Shāhjahānī

coins, not being those of the reigning emperor, were uncurrent, and therefore subject to a discount. Why a deduction was made on the coins of the reigning emperor, is harder to explain. It was not till Farrukhsiyar's reign, I believe, that the coinage was called in annually, from which time only coins of the current year were accepted, even by the government itself, at full face-value.

Ayyām-i-ḥilāl.—This was a deduction of one day's pay in every month except Ramzān. *Manṣabdārs*, *Aḥadis*, and *barḳandāz* (matchlockmen) were all subject to it. But, towards the end of 'Ālamgīr's reign, it was remitted until the Narbada was crossed, that is, I presume, so long as a man served in the Dakhin (B.M. 1641, fol. 55b, 62b). The reason for making this deduction is difficult to fathom; and about the name itself there is some doubt. In the first of the two entries just quoted, I read the word as *talāfī* (Steingass, 321, obtaining, making amends, compensation, reparation); but this variant, instead of throwing light on the subject, leaves it as obscure as before.

Ḥiṣṣah-i-ijnās.—*Jins* (goods) is used in opposition to *naḳd* (cash), and this item (*ḥiṣṣah*=share, *ijnās*=goods) seems to mean the part of a man's pay delivered to him in kind. Apparently this item did not apply to the cavalry. In the case of the matchlockmen, artillerymen, and artificers, the deduction was $\frac{1}{4}$ if the man were mounted, and $\frac{1}{8}$ if he were not. This represented the value of the rations supplied to him. There is another entry of *rasad-i-jins* (supplies of food?), the exact nature of which I cannot determine (B.M. 1641, fol. 62b).

Khūrāk-i-dawābb.—This is, literally, *khūrāk*, feed, *dawābb*, four-footed animals. It was a deduction from a *manṣabdār's* pay on account of a certain number of horses and elephants belonging to the emperor, with whose maintenance such officer was saddled. The germ of this exaction can, I think, be found in Akbar's system of making over elephants to the charge of grandees (*Ā'in*, i, 126). "He (Akbar) therefore put several *halkahs* (groups of baggage elephants) in charge of every grandee, and required them to look after them."

Akbar would seem to have paid the expenses; but in process of time, we can suppose, the charge was transferred to the officer's shoulders entirely, and in the end he had to submit to the deduction without even the use of the animals being given to him. At any rate, the burden became a subject of great complaint. This is shown by a passage in *Khāfi Khān*, ii, 602.

"In the reign of 'Ālamgīr the *manṣabdārs* for a long period were reduced to wanting their evening meal, owing to the lowness of the assignments (*pārebāqī*) granted by the emperor. His stinginess reminds one of the proverb 'one pomegranate for a hundred sick men,' *yak anār, sau bīmār*. After many efforts and exertions, some small assignment (*jāgīr*) on the land revenue would be obtained. The lands were probably uncultivated, and the total income of the *jāgīr* might not amount to a half or even a third of the money required for the expenses of the animals. If these were realized from the officer, whence could come the money to preserve his children and family from death by starvation? In spite of this, the Akhtah Begī (Master of the Horse) and other accursed clerks caused the cost of feeding the emperor's animals to be imposed on the *manṣabdārs*, and, imprisoning their agents at court, used force and oppression of all kinds to obtain the money.

"When the agents (*wakīl*) complained of this oppression to the emperor, the head of the elephant stables and the Akhtah Begī so impressed matters on the emperor's mind, that the complaints were not listened to, and all the men were reduced to such an extremity by this oppression, that the agents resigned their agency. In Bahādur Shāh's reign, the *Khān-i-Khānān* decided that when the *manṣabdārs* received a *jāgīr* for their support, the number of *dāms* required for the cost of feeding cattle should be deducted first from the total estimated income, and the balance should be assigned as the income. In this way, the obligation for meeting the cost of feeding the animals was entirely removed from the heads of the *manṣabdārs* and their agents. Indeed, to speak the truth, it was an order to absolve them

from the cost of the cattle provender." Dowson (Elliot, vii, 403) could make nothing of this passage.

In the case of officers below a certain rank, the deduction of *khūrak-i-dawābb* was not made. The rule says that where the pay (*tankhwāh*) did not come up to 15 lakhs of *dāms*, the deduction was not made; but apparently no lower rank than that of 400 *zāt*, 200 *zucār*, was liable. This rank would by the tables draw a pay of 20 lakhs of *dāms*. As to the rate of deduction, the records are so obscure that I am unable to come to any conclusions. Sometimes we are told that the calculation was made at so many *dāms* on each 100,000 *dāms* of pay; at others, that for each 100,000 *dāms* one riding and five baggage elephants were charged for. A distinction in rates was made between Mahomedans and Hindus, the former paying more; also between officers holding *jāgirs* in Hindūstān and those holding them in the Dakhn and Aḥmadābād, the former paying slightly less than the latter.

Fines.—We come now to the subject of fines, which were of various sorts, such as *tafāwat-i-asp* (deficiency in horses), *tafāwat-i-silāh* (deficiency in equipment), *tafāwat-i-tābānān* (deficiency in troopers), also called, it would seem, *kamī-i-barādārī*, *tawakkūf* o 'adam-i-taḥkīk (non-verification), *saḥaṭī* (casualties), *bartarāfī* (rejections).

Tafāwat-i-asp.—This is literally "difference of horses," and refers to a classification of horses by their breed and size, which will be referred to more fully under the head of Branding and Verification. In each rank or *manṣab* a certain number of each class of horse had to be maintained, and if at Verification it was found that this regulation had not been complied with, the result was a fine. In the section on Branding I give the rates so far as recorded.

Tafāwat-i-silāh.—This "difference in armour" was a fine for not producing at inspection arms and armour according to the required scale. The amount of fine and so forth I have stated further on under the head of Equipment.

Tafāwat-i-tābānān (difference of followers) or *kamī-i-barādārī* (deficiency in relations) was a fine imposed on an

officer for non-production of the number of men stipulated for by the *sucār* rank. The following rates are stated in B.M. 1641, fol. 37a, and I presume that the deductions apply to *manṣabdārs* as well as to *Aḥadis*, and that they were made from the monthly pay for each man deficient, although the entry is so brief as to remain very obscure:—

	NUMBER OF MONTHS FOR WHICH PAY WAS DRAWN.				
	FOUR MONTHS.	FIVE MONTHS.	SIX MONTHS.	SEVEN MONTHS.	EIGHT MONTHS.
Amount of Fine in Rupees.	R. A. P. 2 8 0	R. A. P. 3 0 0	R. A. P. 4 0 0	R. A. P. 7 0 0	R. A. P. 8 0 0

In another passage, fol. 41, the same authority explains the matter thus. In the twenty-first year of 'Ālamgīr, a report on this subject having been made, the emperor allowed a term of four turns of guard (*chauki*) for a *manṣabdār* to produce men of his own class or family (*barādari*), and for this period pay for the men was passed as if they had been present. But subsequently, on the first Rabi' of the twenty-third year, the delay was extended to two months, and for the time during which such men were not actually present, pay at half-rates was sanctioned.

Aḥshām.—In the case of the *Aḥshām*, or troops belonging to the infantry and artillery, we have a little more definite information under this head (B.M. 1641, fol. 64a). Officers of this class fell into three subdivisions, *hazāri* (of a thousand), *ṣadiwāl* (hundred-man), and *mirdahah* (lord of ten). The first class was always mounted (*sucār*) and the second sometimes; these mounted officers might be two-horse (*dūaspah*) or only one-horse (*yakaspah*) men. Working on these distinctions, we get the following scheme of pay. *Dūaspah Sucār*: Where, inclusive of the officer's own retainers (*khāisah*), there were one hundred men present per 100 of rank, pay was drawn at *dūaspah* rates. But

if the number were under fifty per 100 of rank, pay was passed to the *hazārī* as if he were a mounted *ṣadīcāl*; subject to restoration to *dūaspah* pay when his muster again conformed to the standard. *Yakaspah*: If, including *khāṣah* men, there were fifty men present per 100 of rank, full pay was given; if only thirty-one or under, then the *hazārī* was paid as a *ṣadīwāl piyādah* (unmounted), and certain other deductions were made. *Piyādah* (unmounted officer).—If a *ṣadīwāl* produced under thirty-one men out of his hundred, he received nothing but his rations. When the numbers rose above thirty, he was paid as a *mirdahah* till his full quota was mustered. In the case of a *mirdahah*, the production of two men entitled him to his pay. If one man only was paraded for inspection, a deduction from the pay was made, varying, on conditions which I have not mastered, from one to three annas per man.

Tawakkuf-i-taṣṭihah (Delay in Verification).—The rules for Branding and Verification will be found further on. If the periods fixed were allowed to elapse without the verification having been made, a man was reported for delay; and then a *manṣabdār* was cut the whole, and an *aḥadī* the half, of his pay (B.M. 1641, fol. 58b).

Sakaṭī and *Barṭaraṭī*.—The first word is from *sakaṭ* *shudan* 'to die' (applied to animals, Steingass, 687), and may be translated casualties. The other word means setting aside or rejecting, in other words to cast a horse as unfit. We find the groundwork of the *sakaṭī* system in the *Ām-i-Akbarī*, Blochmann, i, 250. In later times there were the following rules for regulating pay in such cases. First it was seen whether the man was *dūaspah* (paid for two horses) or *yakaspah* (paid for one horse). In the first case, (1) if one horse died (*sakaṭ sharvad*) or was cast (*bar ṭaraṭ shud*), the man was paid at the *yakaspah* rate; (2) if both horses died or were turned out, the man obtained his personal pay for one month, and if after one month he had still no horse, his personal pay was also stopped. In the second case, that of a *yakaspah*, if there were no horse, personal pay was disbursed for one month;

but after one month nothing was given (B.M. 1641, fol. 41a).

If an *ahadī's* horse died while he was at headquarters, the clerk of the casualties, after having inspected the hide, wrote out his certificate (*saḥat-nāmah*), and pay was disbursed according to it. If the man were on detached duty when his horse died, the brand (*dāgh*) and the tail were sent in to headquarters (B.M. 1641, fol. 29b).

Other incidents of military service considered as affecting pay.—Among these may be mentioned: (1) *Ghair-hāziri* (absence without leave); (2) *Bimāri* (illness); (3) *Rukḥṣat* (leave and furlough); (4) *Farāri* (desertion); (5) *Bartarajī* (discharge or resignation); (6) Pension; (7) *Fauti* (death).

(1) *Ghair-hāziri*.—If a man were absent from three consecutive turns of guard (*chauki*), his pay was cut; but if he did not attend the fourth time, the penalty was dismissal, and all pay due was confiscated. Absence from night guard or at roll-call (*jāizah*) involved the loss of a day's pay. If absent at the time of the emperor's public or private audience, or on a day of festival (*īd*), half a day's pay was taken (B.M. 1641, fol. 39a, 62b).

(2) *Bimāri*.—Absence on the ground of illness was overlooked for three turns of guard (*chauki*), but after that period all pay was stopped, and a medical certificate (*bimāri-nāmah*) from a physician was demanded (B.M. 1641, fol. 39a, 58a). The rule is somewhat differently stated in B.M. 6599, fol. 163b.

(3) *Rukḥṣat*.—Men who went on leave for their own business received no pay while doing no duty (B.M. 1641, fol. 41b). In another place in the same work, fol. 64b, we find a different statement. We are there told that for one month a man received half-pay; if he overstayed his leave it was reduced to one-fifth or one-tenth; and after three months' absence he was classed as an absconder. Leave on account of family rejoicings or mournings was allowed for one turn of duty; if the man were absent longer his pay was cut (B.M. 1641, fol. 39a). Again, on fol. 57b, a rule is stated, of which I am not able to understand the bearing. It

seems to be that not more than two months of arrears were to be paid to a man who took leave; but whether that means the arrears due to him when he left, or the pay accruing during his absence, I cannot say.

(4) *Farāri*.—If, among the *Aḥshām*, an absconder who had been some time in the service, left after drawing his pay in full, the amount was shown on the margin (*hasho*) of the pay-bill (*kabẓ*) as recoverable, and one month's pay was realized from the man's surety. If a recruit absconded after drawing money on account, the whole advance was recovered, but a present of one month's pay was allowed. If a matchlockman deserted the service of one leader to enter that of another, he was cut half a month's pay (*nim-māhah*). But, if it were found that the *mirdahah* or *ṣadiwāl*, to whom he had gone, had induced him to desert, such officer had to pay the fine himself (B.M. 1641, fol. 64*b*). Pay of absconders was reckoned up to the date of the last verification, and three months' time was allowed (*idem*, fol. 57*b*). By the last phrase I understand that they were allowed that time to reappear, if they chose. If they were again entertained, their rations only were passed, that is, I presume, for the interval of absence (*idem*, fol. 64*b*).

(5) *Bartarāft*.—If the discharged *manṣabdar* produced a clear verification roll, he received half of the pay of his *ṣāt* rank, and the full pay of his horsemen (*tābīnān*). Matchlockmen received their pay in full up to the date of discharge (B.M. 1641, fols. 57*b*, 62*a*).

(6) *Pension*.—So far as I have ascertained, there was no pension list, under that express name. No retiring allowances could be claimed as of right. When a man retired from active service, we hear sometimes of his being granted a daily or yearly allowance. Such was the case, for instance, when Nizām-ul-Mulk in Bahādur Shāh's reign threw up the whole of his offices and titles, and retired into private life. But the ordinary method of providing for an old servant was to leave him till his death in undisturbed possession of his rank and *jāgīr*.

(7) *Fault*.—It seems that in the case of deaths a different

rule prevailed, according to whether the death was a natural one or the man lost his life on active service. In the one case half-pay and in the other full-pay was disbursed to the heirs on the production of a certificate of heirship (*wārīṣ-nāmah*) attested by the *kāzī*.

IV. REWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS.

The promise of honorary distinctions has been in all ages and in all countries one of the most potent agencies employed to incite men to exertion. We have our medals, crosses, orders, and peerages. The Moghul sovereigns were even more ingenious in converting things mostly worthless in themselves into objects to be ardently striven for and dearly prized. Among these were: (1) Titles; (2) Robes of Honour; (3) Gifts of Money and other articles; (4) Kettle-drums; (5) Standards and Ensigns.

1. *Titles*.—The system of entitlature was most elaborate and based on strict rule. This subject belongs, however, to the general scheme of government, and need not be set forth at length here. Suffice it to say, that a man would begin by becoming a *Khān* or Lord (added to his own name). After that, he might receive some name supposed to be appropriate to his qualities, coupled with the word *Khān*, such as *Ikh-lāṣ Khān*, Lord Sincerity; an artillery officer might be dubbed *Ra'd-andāz Khān*, Lord Thunder-thrower, or a skilful horseman, *Yakah-Tāz Khān*, Lord Single Combat, and so on. Round such a title as a nucleus, accreted all the remaining titles with which a man might from time to time be invested. As the empire declined in strength, so did the titles increase in pomposity, and long before the end of the dynasty the discrepancy between a man's real qualities and his titles was so great as often to be ridiculous. Still, these titles were never given quite at random, nor were they self-adopted. Yet I read quite recently in a history of India, by a well-known and esteemed author, that one governor of Bengal was "a

Brahman convert 'calling himself Murshid Kuli Khan.' Now Murshid Kuli Khān no more called *himself* by that name than has Baron Roberts of Candahar called himself by the title he bears. Both titles were derived from the accepted fountain of honour, the sovereigns of the states which those bearing them respectively served.

(2) *Robes of Honour*.—The *khila't* was not peculiar to the military department. These robes of honour were given to everyone presented at court. Distinction was, however, made according to the position of the receiver. There were five degrees of *khila't*, those of three, five, six, or seven pieces; or they might as a special mark of favour consist of clothes that the emperor had actually worn (*malbūs-i-khāṣ*). A three-piece *khila't*, given from the general wardrobe (*khila't-khānah*), consisted of a turban (*dastār*), a long coat with very full skirts (*jāmah*), and a scarf for the waist (*kamrband*). A five-piece robe came from the *toshah-khānah* (storehouse for presents), the extra pieces being a turban ornament called a *sarpech* and a band for tying across the turban (*bālāband*). For the next grade a tight-fitting jacket with short sleeves, called a Half-sleeve (*nīmah-astin*), was added. A European writer, Tavernier (Ball, i, 163), thus details the seven-piece *khila't*: (1) a cap, (2) a long gown (*kn'bah*), (3) a close-fitting coat (*arkalon*), which I take to be *alkhālīk*, a tight coat, (4) two pairs of trousers, (5) two shirts, (6) two girdles, (7) a scarf for the head or neck.

(3) *Gifts, other than money*.—These were naturally of considerable variety. I have drawn up the following list from Dānishmand Khān's history of the first two years of Bahādur Shāh's reign (1708–1710): Jewelled ornaments, weapons, principally swords and daggers with jewelled hilts, pālki with fringes of gold lace and pearls, horses with gold-mounted and jewelled trappings, and elephants. The order in which the above are given indicates roughly both the frequency with which these presents were granted and the relative value set upon them, beginning with those most frequently given and the least esteemed.

(4) *Kettledrums*.—As one of the attributes of sovereignty, kettledrums were beaten at the head of the army when the emperor was on the march; and in quarters they were beaten every three hours at the gate of his camp. The instruments in use, in addition to the drums, will be found in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, i, 51). As a mark of favour, kettledrums (*naḥkārāh*) and the right to play them (*naubat*) might be granted to a subject. But he must be a man of the rank of 2000 *sucār* or upwards. As an invariable condition, moreover, it was stipulated that they should never be used where the emperor was present, nor within a certain distance from his residence. Marching through the middle of Dihli with drums beating was one of the signs by which Sayyad Husain 'Alī Khān, Amīr-ul-Umarā, notified defiance of constituted authority, when he returned from the Dakhn in 1719, preparatory to dethroning the Emperor Farrukhsiyar. The drums when granted were placed on the recipient's back, and, thus accoutred, he did homage for them in the public audience hall. In Lord Lake's case the investment was thus carried out: "Two small drums of silver, each about the size of a thirty-two pound shot, the apertures covered with parchments, are hung round the neck of the person on whom the honour is conferred, then struck a few times, after which drums of the proper size are made."—Thorn, "War," 356.

(5) *Flags and Ensigns*.—The flags and ensigns displayed, along with a supply of spare weapons, at the door of the audience hall and at the entrance to the emperor's encampment, or carried before him on elephants, were called collectively the *Kūr* (Pavet de Courteille, "Dict.," 425, ceinture, arme, garde), and their charge was committed to a responsible officer called the *Kūr-begī*. An alternative general name sometimes employed was *māhi-o-marātib* (Fish and Dignities), or more rarely, the *panjah* (literally, Open Hand). It is, no doubt, the *Kūr* which Gemelli Careri describes thus (French ed. iii, 182): "Outside the audience tent I saw nine men in red velvet coats embroidered with

gold, with wide sleeves and pointed collars hanging down behind, who carried the imperial ensigns displayed at the end of pikes. The man in the middle carried a sun, the two on each side of him had each a gilt hand, the next two carried horse-tails dyed red. The remaining four, having covers on their pikes, it could not be seen what it was they held."

In the *Ā'in*, i, 50, we are told of eight ensigns of royalty, of which the first four were reserved exclusively for the sovereign. The use of the others might, we must assume, be granted to subjects. The eight ensigns are—(1) *Aurang*, the throne; (2) *Chatr*, the State umbrella; (3) *Sāibān* or *Āftābgīr*, a sunshade; (4) *Kaukabāh* (plate ix, No. 2); (5) *'Alam*, or flag; (6) *Chatr-tok*, or yak-tails; (7) *Tūman-tok*, another shape of yak-tails; (8) *Jhanda*, or Indian flag. To these we must add (9) *Māhī-ḍ-marātīb*, or the fish and dignities.

The origin and meaning of the different ensigns displayed by the Moghul Emperors in India have been thus described, *Mirāt-ul-Istilāh*, fol. 5b:—

(1) *Panjah*, an open hand, is said to mean the hand of 'Alī. Taimūr ordered it to be carried before him for a charm and as a sacred relic. It was said that he captured it when he overcame the Siyāhposh tribe. In 1753 Gentil saw four different "pondjebs" (*ie. panjabs*) carried on horseback in Salābat Jang's cavalcade; they were copper hands fixed on the end of a staff ("Mémoires," 61).

(2) *'Alam*, a flag or standard.—This was supposed to be the flag of Husain, and obtained by Taimūr at Karbalah. To it he attributed his victory over Bāyūzīd, the Kaiser of Rūm.

(3) *Mizān*, a balance, was a reference to the equal scales of Justice, and was adopted as having been the emblem of Nūshīrwān the Just. There is a figure on a plate in Gentil's "Mémoires," which is probably the *Mizān*.

(4) *Āfšāb*, or Sun, was obtained from the fire-worshippers when they were conquered; it was an article used in their worship.

(5, 6) *Azhdaha-paīkar*, Dragon-face.—From the time of Sikandar of the Two Horns, the rajahs of Hind had worshipped this emblem in their temples, and when Taimūr made his irruption into India it was presented to him as an offering. It consisted of two pieces, one carried in front and the other behind the emperor.

(7) *Māhi*, or Fish, was said to have been an offering from the islands of the ocean, where it was worshipped.

(8) *Kumkumah* (Steingass, 989, a bowl, a jug, a round shade, a lantern).—This also was obtained from the Indian rajahs. The *Āḡm-i-Akbarī*, i, 50, has *kaukabah* for apparently the same thing (see figure No. 2 on plate ix). There is also what looks like the *kaukabah* in a plate in Gentil's "*Mémoires*." The definition of *kaukabah* in Steingass, 1063, corresponds with the figure in the *Āḡm*, viz. "a polished steel ball suspended from a long pole and carried as an ensign before the king." Careri, iii, 182, tells us that he saw a golden ball hanging by a chain between two gilt hands, and adds that "it was a royal ensign carried on an elephant when the army was on the march."

All these emblems, we are told, were carried before the emperor as a sign of conquest over the Seven Climes, or, in other words, over the whole world.

Māhi-o-marātīb.—Some words must be added with special reference to this dignity, which was borne on elephants or camels in a man's retinue. It was one of the very highest honours, as it was not granted to nobles below the rank of 6000 *zāt*, 6000 *sucār* (*Mirāt-ul-Istilah*, fol. 3). *Māhi* (literally, a fish), was made in the figure of a fish, four feet in length, of copper gilt, and it was placed horizontally on the point of a spear (*Seir*, i, 218, note 150, and 743, note 51). Steingass, 1,147, defines *māhi-marātīb* as "certain honours denoted by the figure of a fish with other insignia (two balls)." But in careful writers I have always found it as *māhi-o-marātīb*, "fish and dignities," and, as I take it, the first word refers to the fish emblem and the second to the balls or other adjuncts which went with it. The *marātīb* Thorn, "War," 356, describes as a ball of copper gilt

encircled by a *jhālar* or fringe about two feet in length, placed on a long pole, and, like the *māhi*, carried on an elephant. Can this be Gemelli Careri's "golden ball"? Perhaps it was identical with the *kumkumah* or *kaukabah* already described above. The translator of the *Seir-Mutaqherin*, i, 218, note 150, tells us that the fish was always accompanied by the figure of a man's head in copper gilt. This must have been in addition to the gilt balls. The *māhi*, as conferred on Lord Lake on the 14th August, 1804 (Thorn, "War," 356), is described as "representing a fish with a head of gilt copper and the body and tail formed of silk, fixed to a long staff and carried on an elephant." James Skinner, who recovered Mahādājī-Sendhia's *māhi-o-marātib* in a fight with the Rajputs, speaks of it as "a brass fish with two chourees (horse-hair tails) hanging to it like moustachios" (Fraser, "Memoir," i, 152). Gentil, "Mémoires," 62, calls the *māhi* simply "the head of a fish on the end of a pole." As a sign of the rarity of this dignity, he adds that while in the Dakhin (1752-1761) he only saw four of them.

Sher-marātib, or lion dignity.—This is a name only found, so far as I know, in Gentil, "Mémoires," 62; and he only saw it displayed by Šalābat Jang, nāẓim of the Dakhin. At the head of the dedication of the above work to the memory of Shujā'ud-Daulah, are the figures of two elephants; one of which bears a standard that is most likely identical with this *Sher-marātib*. The flag bears a lion embroidered on it, and the head of the staff is adorned with the figure of a lion.

'Alam.—The flags seem to have been triangular in shape, either scarlet or green in colour, having a figure embroidered in gold and a gold fringe. The staff was surmounted by a figure corresponding to the one embroidered on the flag. A plate in Gentil's "Mémoires" shows four of these embroidered emblems—1st, a *panjah*, or open hand; 2nd, a man's face with rays; 3rd, a lion (*sher*); and 4th, a fish. A flag, or *'ulam*, could be granted to no man under the rank of 1000 *sawār*.

Āftābgīrī.—This sun screen (*āftāb*, sun; *gīr*, root of *gīrītan*, to take), shaped like an open palm-leaf fan, was also called *Sūraj-mukhī* (Hindī, literally, sun-face). By the Moghul rules it could only be granted to royal princes (*Mīrāt-ul-Istīlāh*, fol. 3). In the eighteenth century, however, the Mahrattas adopted it as one of their commonest ensigns, and even the smallest group of their cavalry was in the habit of carrying one.

Tūman-togh.—This is one of the two *togh* mentioned in Akbar's list, *Ā'in* i, 50, and figured on plate ix of that volume. Pavet de Courteille, "Dict.," 236, has *توغ* (*togh*), "étendard se composant d'une queue de قنّاس (*kaṭās*) ou bœuf de montagne (i.e. yak) fixée à une hampe, au dessus d'un pavillon triangulaire." This yak's-tail standard was not unfrequently granted to high officers of rank, by whom it was esteemed a high honour. The *togh* consisted generally of three tails attached to a cross-bar, which was fixed at the end of a long pole or staff.

Summary.—Thus, apart from titles or money rewards, or ordinary gifts, a man might be awarded any of the following honorary distinctions, of a more permanent character—(1) the right to carry a flag or simple standard, (2) the right to display a yak-tail standard, (3) the right to use kettle-drums and beat the *naubat*, (4) the right to display the fish and its accompanying emblems, (5) the right to use a litter adorned with gold fringes and strings of pearls. Of course, all these things were dependent on the caprice of the monarch; for in the Moghul, like in all Oriental states—*Ba yak nuktaḥ mahram* (محرم) *mujrim* (مجرم) *shavvad*: By one spot "confidant" becomes "criminal."

V. PROCEDURE ON ENTERING THE SERVICE.

Single men who resorted to the Court in the hope of obtaining employment in the army, were obliged first to seek a patron. A man generally attached himself to a chief from his own country or of his own race: Mughals became the

followers of Mughals, Persians of Persians, Afghāns of Afghāns, and so on. At times men of high rank who desired to increase their forces would remit large sums of money to the country with which they were specially connected, and thereby induce recruits of a particular class to flock to their standard. For instance, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748), Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, filled his ranks in this way with men from the Bangash country and with Afridī Pathāns. According to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers, would be the rank (*manṣab*) assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little money would buy extra horses and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a *silāḥdār* (literally, equipment-holder), and one riding somebody else's horse was a *bārgir* (burden-taker). The horses and equipment were as often as not procured by borrowed money; and not unfrequently the chief himself made the advances, which were afterwards recovered from the man's pay. The candidate for employment, having found a patron, next obtained through this man's influence an introduction to the *Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik* or *Mir Bakhshī*, in whose hands lay the presentation of new men to the emperor, and on his verdict a great deal depended as to the rank (*manṣab*) which might be accorded.

The Bakhshī. — This officer's title is translated into English sometimes by Paymaster-General, at others by Adjutant-General or Commander-in-Chief.¹ None of these titles gives an exact idea of his functions. He was not a Paymaster, except in the sense that he usually suggested the rank to which a man should be appointed or promoted, and perhaps countersigned the pay-bills. But the actual disbursement of pay belonged to other departments. Adjutant-General is somewhat nearer to correctness. Commander-in-Chief he was not. He might be sent on

¹ Blochmann, *Ā'in*, i, 261, has Paymaster and Adjutant-General.

a campaign in supreme command; and if neither emperor, vicegerent (*wakil-i-mutlak*), nor chief minister (*wazir*) was present, the command fell to him. But the only true Commander-in-Chief was the emperor himself, replaced in his absence by the *wakil* or the *wazir*. The word *Bakhshī* means 'the giver,' from *bakhshidan*, P. 'to bestow,' that is, he was the giver of the gift of employment in camps and armies (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 232). In Persia the same official was styled 'The Petitioner' (*ʿariz*). This name indicates that it was his special business to bring into the presence of the emperor anyone seeking for employment or promotion, and there to state the facts connected with that man's case. Probably the use of the words *Mir ʿArz* in two places in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, i, 257, 259) are instances of the Persian name being applied to the officer afterwards called a *Bakhshī*. The First *Bakhshī* (for there were four) seems to have received, almost as of right, the title of *Amīr-ul-Umarā* (Noble of Nobles); and from the reign of 'Ālamgīr onwards, I find no instance of this title being granted to more than one man at a time, though in Akbar's reign such appears to have been the case (*Āīn*, i, 240, Blochmann's note).

Duties of the Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik.—These duties comprised the recruiting of the army; maintaining a list of *manṣabdārs* with their postings, showing (1) officers at Court, (2) officers in the provinces; keeping a roster of the guard-mounting at the palace; preparing the rules as to grants of pay (*tankhūdah*); keeping up a list of officers paid in cash, and an abstract of the total pay-bills; the superintendence of the mustering for branding and verifying the troopers' horses and the orders subsidiary thereto; the preparation of the register of absentees, with or without leave, deaths, and dismissals, of cash advances, of demands due from officers (*mutālibah*), of sureties produced by officers, and the issue of written orders (*dastak*) to officers sent on duty into the provinces.¹

¹ *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 232, *Dastūr-ul-Aml*, B.M. 6599, fol. 159a, and B.M. 1641, fols. 28, and 17b to 22a.

One special duty belonging to the *Bakhshī* was, in preparation for a great battle, to assign posts to the several commanders in the van, centre, wings, or rear-guard. The *Bakhshī* was also expected on the morning of a battle to lay before the emperor a present state or muster roll, giving the exact number of men under each commander in each division of the fighting line.

The other Bakhshis.—Besides the First *Bakhshī*, ordinarily holding the title of *Amīr-ul-Umarā*, and styled either *Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik* (B. of the Realms) or *Mir Bakhshī* (Lord B.), there were three other *Bakhshis* at headquarters. It is a little difficult to fix upon the points which distinguished their duties from those of the First *Bakhshī*. The Second *Bakhshī*, usually styled *Bakhshī-ul-Mulk* (B. of the Kingdom), was also called the *Bakhshī-i-Tan*.¹ As *tan* (literally, body) was a contraction for *tan-khwāh*, pay (literally *tan*, body, *khwāh*, desire, need), it might be supposed that his duties were connected with the records of *jāgirs*, or revenue assignments granted in lieu of pay, just as in the revenue department the accounts of these grants were under a special officer, the *Dāstār-i-Tan*. But on examining such details of the Second *Bakhshī's* duties as are forthcoming, I find that this supposition does not hold good. On the whole, the duties of the First, Second, and Third *Bakhshis* seem to have covered much the same ground. The main distinction, perhaps, was that the Second *Bakhshī* dealt more with the recruiting and promotion of the smaller men, while only those above a certain rank were brought forward by the *Mir Bakhshī*. The Second *Bakhshī* was, it would appear, solely responsible for the bonds taken from officers, a practice common to all branches and ranks of the imperial service. His office would seem also to have been used to some extent as a checking office on that of the First *Bakhshī*, many documents

¹ Dāniyahmand Khān, 18th Shawwāl 1119, Khāfi Khān, ii, 601, Yahyā, Khān, fol. 114a.

requiring his seal in addition to that of the *Mir Bak̤hshī*, and copies of many others being filed with him. The same remarks apply generally to the Third *Bak̤hshī*, the greatest difference being perhaps that he took up only such recruiting work as was specially entrusted to him, and that whatever he did required to be counter-sealed by the First and Second *Bak̤hshī*. His duties were on altogether a smaller scale than those of the other two.

From the details in one work, *Dastūr-ul-ʿAml*, B.M. 1641, fols. 28*b*, 29*a*, it might be inferred that the Second *Bak̤hshī*'s duties were connected with the *Aḥadīs*, or gentlemen troopers serving singly in the emperor's own service. The difficulty, however, at once arises that the Fourth *Bak̤hshī* had as his alternative title that of *Bak̤hshī* of the *Aḥadīs*. The Third *Bak̤hshī* was also called occasionally *Bak̤hshī* of the *Wālā Shāhīs*, that is of the household troops, men raised and paid by the emperor out of his privy purse.¹

Provincial and other Bak̤hshīs.—In addition to the *Bak̤hshīs* at headquarters there were officers with similar functions attached to the governor of every province. With the office of provincial *Bak̤hshī* was usually combined that of *Wāqīʿah-nigār*, or Writer of the Official Diary. And in imitation of the imperial establishments, each great noble had his own *Bak̤hshī*, who performed for him the same functions as those executed for the emperor by the imperial *Bak̤hshīs*.

First Appointment of an Officer.—On one of the appointed days, the *Bak̤hshī* laid before His Majesty a written statement, prepared in the office beforehand and called a *Ḥaḳīkat* (statement, account, narration, explanation). The man's services having been accepted, the emperor's order was written across this paper directing the man to appear, and a few days afterwards the candidate presented himself in the audience-hall and made his obeisance. When his turn came the candidate was brought

¹ *Kāmcār Ḳān*, entry of 1st Jamādī I, 1119.

forward, and the final order was passed. The following is a specimen of a *Hākikat*, with the orders upon it:—

Report

is made that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, in hope of serving in the Imperial Court, has arrived at the place of prostration attached to the Blessed Stirrup (*i.e.* the Court). In respect of him what are the orders?

[First Order.] The noble, pure, and exalted order issued that the above-named be brought before the luminous eye (*i.e.* of His Majesty), and he will be exalted according to his circumstances.

[Second Order in two or three days' time.] To day the aforesaid passed before the noble sight; he was selected for the rank (*manṣab*) of One Thousand, Two Hundred Horse (*sucār*).

The next step was the issue of a *Taṣḍīq*, or Certificate, from the *Bakhshī's* office, on which the *Bakhshī* wrote his order. It was in the following form:—

Certifies

as follows, that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, on such-and-such a date, of such-and-such a year, in the hope of serving in this homage-receiving Court, arrived at the Blessed Stirrup and passed before the luminous sight. The order, to which the world is obsequious and the universe submissive, was issued that he be raised to the rank (*manṣab*) of One Thousand, Two Hundred Horse (*sucār*).

One Thousand, *gāt*.

Two Hundred, *sucār*.

[Order thereon of the *Bakhshī*.] Let it be incorporated in the Record of Events (*Wāḳī'ah*).

On the arrival of the Certificate (*Taṣḍīq*) in the office of the *Wāḳī'ahnigār*, or Diary Writer, he made an appropriate entry in his record and furnished an extract therefrom,

which bore the name of a *Yād-dāsh̄t*, or Memorandum. In form it was as follows:—

Memorandum (*Yād-dāsh̄t*).

On such-and-such a date, such-and-such a day of the week, such-and-such a month, such-and-such a year, in the department (*risālah*) of One endowed with Valour, a Shelter of the Courageous, the Object of various Imperial Condescensions, Submissive to the Equity of the world-governing favours, the *Bakhshī* of the Realms So-and-so, and during the term of duty as Event Writer of this lowliest of the slaves So-and-so, it was reduced to writing that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, having come to the place of prostration in the hope of service at the Imperial Court, on such-and-such a date passed before the pure and noble sight. The world-compelling, universe-constraining order obtained the honour of issue, that he be raised to and selected for the rank (*manṣab*) of One Thousand Personal (*ẓāt*) and Two Hundred Horsemen (*sucār*) in the chain (*silḥ*) of rank-holders (*manṣabdārān*). — On such-and-such a date, in accordance with the Certificate (*Taṣdiq*), this Memorandum (*Yād-dāsh̄t*) was penned.

One Thousand, *ẓāt*.

Two Hundred, *sucār*.

I. [Order of the Wazīr.]

After comparing it with the Diary (*Wāḳī'ah*), let it be sent to the Office of Revision (*'Arṣ-i-mukarrar*).

II. [Report of the Event Writer.]

Agrees with the diary (*Wāḳī'ah*).

III. [Order of the Superintendent of Revision, literally Renewed Petition (*'Arṣ-i-mukarrar*).]

On such-and-such a date, of such-and-such a month, of such-and-such a year, it was brought up for the second time.

In the later notices of the system we find few mentions of the paper called in the *Ā'in* (Blochmann, i, 258) the *ta'likah*, which was, it seems, an abridgment of the *Yad-dāsh*. This paper the *ta'likah*, formed at that time the executive order issued to the officer concerned (*Ā'in*, i, 255). I have found *ta'likah* used once in this sense as late as 1127 H. (1716), by Sayyad 'Abd-ul-Jalīl, Bilgrāmī, in his letters sent from Dihli to his son ("Oriental Miscellany," Calcutta, 1798, p. 247).

The Ahadis.—Midway between the nobles or leaders (*mansabdārs*) with the horsemen under them (*tabīndū*) on the one hand, and the *Ahshām*, or infantry, artillery, and artificers on the other, stood the *Ahadi*, or gentleman trooper. The word is literally 'single' or 'alone' (*A. ahad*, one). It is easy to see why this name was applied to them; they offered their services singly, they did not attach themselves to any chief, thus forming a class apart from the *tabīndū*; but as they were horsemen, they stood equally apart from the specialized services included under the remaining head of *Ahshām*. The title of *Ahadi* was given, we are told (*Seir*, i, 262, note 201), to the men serving singly "because they have the emperor for their immediate colonel." We sometimes come across the name *Yakkah-tāz* (riding alone), which seems, when employed as the name of a class of troops, to mean the same body of men as the *Ahadis*. Horn, 20, 56, looks on the *Ahadis* as a sort of body-guard or *corps d'élite*; and in some ways that view may be taken as true, though there was not, as I think, any formal recognition of them as such. The basis of their organization under Akbar is set out in *Ā'in* 4 of Book ii (Blochmann, i, 249), and they are referred to in several other places (i, 20, 161, 231, 246, 536). In the strictest sense, the body-guard, or defenders of the imperial person, seem to have been the men known as the *Wala Shāhi* (literally, of or belonging to the Exalted King), and, no doubt, these are the four thousand men referred to by Manucci ("Catrou," English ed. of 1826, p. 297) as 'the

emperor's slaves.'¹ Whether slaves or not, the *Wālā Shāhi* were the most trusted troops of the reigning sovereign. From various passages I find that they were chiefly, if not entirely, men who had been attached to his person from his youth and had served under him while he was still only a royal prince, and were thus marked out in a special manner as his personal adherents and household troops. The *Yasāwāl*s or armed palace guards were something like the *Wālā Shāhi* so far as they were charged with the safety of the sovereign; but they differed from the latter in not having the same personal connection with him. The *Aḥadīs* received somewhat higher pay than common troopers. In one instance we are told expressly what those rates were in later times. On the 2nd *Šafar* of his second year (1120 H.=22nd April, 1708), Bahādur Shāh, as Dānishmand Khān tells us, ordered the enlistment of 4,700 extra *Aḥadīs* at Rs. 40 a month, the money to be paid from the Exchequer.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the household troops, we are told, *Seir*, i, 94, note 90, amounted to 40,000 men, all cavalry, but usually serving on foot in the citadel and in the palace. They consisted then of several corps besides the *Aḥadīs*, such as the *Surkh-posh* (wearers of red), the *Sultānī* (Royal), the *Wālā Shāhi* (High Imperial), the *Kamal-posh* (Blanket Weavers). Haji Mustapha is not, however, quite consistent with himself, for elsewhere (*Seir*, i, 262, note 201), when naming still another corps, the *A'īlā Shāhi* (Exalted Imperial), he asserts that the *Surkh-posh* were all infantry, eight thousand in number. The curious title used above, *Kamal-posh*, comes from the Hindī word *kammāl*, a coarse blanket, having also the secondary meaning of a kind of cuirass (*Seir*, i, 143, note 105). The latter is no doubt the signification here.

¹ The word meant may be *Bandahkhān*, or, perhaps preferably, the *Kāśī*, the Chaghatūe for 'slave.'—P. de Courteille, 433.

VI. BRANDING AND VERIFICATION.

False musters were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers. Great efforts were made to cope with this evil, and in the earlier times with some success. In the later reigns, notably from the middle of Muhammad Shāh's reign (1719-1748), all such precautions fell into abeyance, amid the general confusion and ever-deepening corruption.

Mustapha, the translator of the *Siyar-ul-Mutākhharin*, gives us an instance of the length to which this cheating was carried (*Seir*, i, 609, note). In Bengal, in the year 1163 H. (1750), when 'Alī Wirdī Khān, Mahābat Jang, was nāzim, an officer receiving pay for 1700 men could not muster more than seventy or eighty. Mustapha, who wrote in 1787-8, adds from his own experience—"Such are, without exception, all the armies and all the troops of India; and were we to rate by this rule those armies of 50,000 and 100,000 that fought or were slaughtered at the decisive battles of Palāsi [Plassy] and Baksar [Buxar] (and by some such rule they must be rated), we would have incredible deductions to make. Such a rule, however, would not answer for Mīr Kāsim's troops (1760-1764), where there was not one single false muster, nor would it answer for Haidar 'Alī's armies."

It was to put down these evil practices that the emperor Akbar revived and enforced more strictly than before a system of descriptive rolls of men and horses, the latter being branded with a hot iron before they were passed for service. This branding, with the consequent periodical musters for the purpose of comparison and verification, formed a separate department under the *Bakhshi* with its

own superintendent (*dāroghah*), and this was known as the *dāgh-o-taṣṭīḥah*, from *dāgh*, a brand, a mark, and *taṣṭīḥah*, verification. The usual phrase for enlisting was *asp ba dāgh rasānidan*, "bringing a horse to be branded." Branding was first introduced by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī in 712 H. = May, 1312–April, 1313, but on his death it was dropped (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 233). The emperor Sher Shāh, Afghān, started it again in 948 H. = April, 1541–April, 1542. Akbar (*Ā'in*, i, 233) re-established the practice in the eighteenth year of his reign (about 981 H., 1573–4), and it was continued until the time when the whole system of government finally broke down in the middle of the eighteenth century. At first many difficulties were made (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 234), and evasions were attempted, but at length the system was made effective. The great nobles, holding the rank of 5000 and upwards, were exempt from the operation of these rules; but when ordered, they were expected to parade their horsemen for inspection (*Dastūr-ul-'Amī*, B.M., No. 6599, fol. 144b). The technical name for these parades was *ماہلہ* *maḥallah* (Steingass, 1190), a word evidently connected with that used in Akbar's time for branding, viz. *dāgh-o-maḥallī* (*Ā'in*, i, 242; *Buddoni*, ii, 190).

As said before, the recruit was supposed, at any rate so far as the State was concerned, to furnish his own horse. Orme states the case thus:—"Every man brings his own horse and offers himself to be enlisted. The horse is carefully examined: and according to the size and value of the beast, the master receives his pay. A good horse will bring thirty or forty rupees a month. Sometimes an officer contracts for a whole troop. A horse in Indostan is of four times greater value than in Europe. If the horse is killed the man is ruined, a regulation that makes it the interest of the soldier to fight as little as possible."—"Historical Fragments," 4to edition, 418. Along with his horse the man

brought his own arms and armour, the production of certain items of which was obligatory. In actual practice, however, the leaders often provided the recruits with their horses and equipment. When this was the case the leader drew the pay and paid the man whatever he thought fit. Such a man, who rode another's horse, was called a *bārgir* (load-taker); while a man riding his own horse was in modern times called a *silāhdār* (weapon-holder). The latter word is the origin of the Anglo-Indian phrase of "Sillidar cavalry," applied to men who are paid a lump sum monthly for themselves, horse, uniform, and equipment.

Descriptive Rolls.—When an officer entered the service (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 160a) a *Chihrah* or descriptive roll¹ of the new *manṣabdār* was first of all drawn up, showing his name, his father's name, his tribe or caste, his place of origin, followed by details of his personal appearance. His complexion might be "wheat-colour" (*gandum-rang*), "milky," i.e. white (*shīr-fām*), "red" (*surkh-post*), or "auburn" (*maigun-rang*). His forehead was always "open" (*farāgh*); his eyebrows either full (*kushādah*) or in whole or in part *moshah* (?); his eyes were sheep-like (*mīsh*), deer-like (*āhū*), ginger-coloured (*adrak*), or cat's eyes (*gurbah*). His nose might be "prominent" (*buland*) or "flat" (*past*). He might be "beardless" (*amrad*) or "slightly bearded" (*rish o barwat aghāz*); his beard might be black (*rish o barwat siyāh*), or "slightly red" (*siyāh i maigun-numā*), "thin" (*khall* ?), *marash* (?), goat-shaped (*kosah-i-khurd*), or "twisted up" (*shakīkah*). So with any moles he might have; the shape of his ears, whether projecting or not,

¹ Literally 'face,' 'countenance.' It must not be confounded with *chirāh*, which means (1) a kind of turban, (2) a pay-roll, on which the recipients signed, (3) the pay itself. *Chirah* is used in the second sense in *Aḥmedī-ut-Tāwīdīn*, fol. 230b; and also by Ghulām Hasan, Samin, when telling us of the taunt addressed in 1170 H. (1757) by Ahmad Khān, Bangash, to Najib Khān, Najib-ud-danlah, of having been once a private trooper in Farrukhābād, where his pay-rolls (*chirah-Aḥs*) were still in existence.

whether the lobes were pierced or not, and whether he was pock-marked or not—all these things were noted.

Roll for Troopers.—The troopers (*tābīnān*) were also described, but not quite so elaborately. A specimen is as follows (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 163a):—

Troopers' Roll (*Chihrah-i-Tabīnān*).

Kamr 'Alī, son of Mīr 'Alī, son of Kabīr 'Alī, wheat complexion, broad forehead, separated eyebrows, sheep's eyes, prominent nose, beard and moustache black, right ear lost from a sword-cut. Total height, about 40 *shānah*.


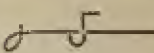
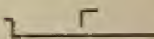
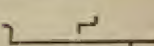
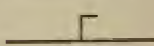

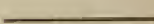

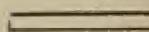
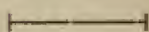
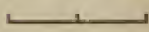

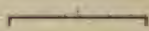

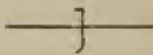
Horse.—Colour *kabūd* (iron-grey?). Mark on left of breast. Mark on thigh on mounting side. *Laskar* (?) on thigh on whip side. Brand of four-pointed stamp +

Descriptive Roll of Horses (*Chihrah-i-aspān*).

The next thing done was to make out an elaborate description of the horse or horses (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 160b). There were twenty principal divisions according to colour, and eight of these were again subdivided, so that there were altogether fifty-eight divisions. Then there were fifty-two headings for the marks (*khal-o-khat*) which might occur on the horse's body.

The Imperial Brand.

The hot iron was applied on the horse's thigh (*Seir*, i, 481, note 27). The signs used in Akbar's reign are given in the *Ā'in*, i, 139, 255, 256; but in the end he adopted a system of numerals. In 'Ālamgīr's reign and about that time there were twenty different brands (*tamghah*), of which the shapes of fifteen have been preserved and are reproduced below (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 161a). I am not certain of the spelling, and in most instances I am utterly unable to suggest a meaning for the names.

NAME.	FORM OF BRAND.
1. <i>Chahār parhā</i> (four feather?)	
2. <i>Chahār parhā jomar-khaj</i>	
3. <i>Chahār parhā dūr khaj</i>	
4. <i>Chahār parhā sihsar khaj</i>	
5. <i>Chakūsh</i>	
6. <i>Istād</i> (upright)	
7. <i>Uflādah</i> (recumbent)	
8. <i>Istādah o uflādah</i>	
9. <i>Yak ba do</i> (one with two)	
10. <i>Asaran</i>	
11. <i>Togh</i> (horse-tail standard)	
12. <i>Panjah-i-murgh</i> (hen's foot)	
13. <i>Mizān</i> (balance)	
14. <i>Do dārah taur</i>	
15. <i>Chahār bārah makar khaj</i>	

The Noble's Brand.

It is obvious that in addition to the imperial brand, a second mark was required by each noble for the recognition of the horses ridden by his own men. Accordingly we find direct evidence of this second marking in Bernier, 216, and again 243, when he speaks of the horses "which bear the omrah's mark on the thigh." Towards the end of the period the great nobles often had the first or last letter of their name as their special brand (*Seir*, i, 481, note 27), as, for instance, the

sin-dāgh (س) of Sa'dat 'Alī Khān, nāẓim of Audh. Ghulām 'Alī Khān (B.M., Add. 24,028, fol. 63b) tells us that about 1153 H. (1740-41) Muḥammad Ishāq Khān used the last letter of his name, a *ḳāf* (ك), as his brand.

Classification of Horses.

According to the *Ā'in*, i, 233, there were seven classes of horses founded on their breed—(1) *'Arabī*, (2) *Persian*, (3) *Mujannas*, resembling Persian, and mostly Turkī or Persian geldings, (4) *Turkī*, (5) *Yabū*, (6) *Tazī*, (7) *Janglah*.

In 'Ālamgīr's reign we find (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 163a) the following classification: (1) *'Irāqī*, (2) *Mujannas*, (3) *Turkī*, (4) *Yabū*, (5) *Tazī*, (6) *Janghī*. This is practically the same as Akbar's, except that Arab horses are not mentioned. This must be an oversight, since we learn from many passages in the contemporary historians that Arab horses were still in use. The *Tazī* and *Janghī* were Indian horses, what we now call country-breeds, the former being held of superior quality to the latter. The *Yabū* was, I suppose, what we call now the *Kābulī*; stout-built, slow, and of somewhat sluggish temperament. The *Turkī* was an animal from Bukhārā or the Oxus country; the *'Irāqī* came from Mesopotamia.

In 'Ālamgīr's reign the proportion in which officers of the different ranks were called on to present horses of these different breeds at the time of branding was as follows:—

RANK OF OFFICER.	CLASS OF HORSE.				TOTAL.
	'IRĀQĪ.	MUJANNAS.	TURKĪ.	YĀBŪ.	
400	3	1	1	0	5
300-350	2	1	1	0	4
100-150	0	0	3	0	3
80-90	0	0	2	0	2
50-70	0	0	1	1	2
40	0	0	1	0	1

These figures differ from those in the *Āḥn*, i, 248-9, where the number of horses is given for all *manṣabs*, up to the very highest.

According as the standard was exceeded or not come up to, the branding officer made an allowance or deduction by a fixed table. This calculation was styled *tafācut-i-asṣān* (discrepancy of horses)—B.M. No. 6599, fol. 163a. The extra allowances were as follows:—

HORSE REQUIRED BY REGULATION.	HORSE PRODUCED.	ADDITIONAL ALLOWANCE.
		Rs.
<i>Turki</i>	<i>Ṭrāki</i>	12
<i>Turki</i>	<i>Mujannās</i>	6
<i>Ṭāzi</i>	<i>Turki</i>	8
<i>Yābū</i>	<i>Turki</i>	9

When an inferior horse was produced the following deduction was made:—

HORSE REQUIRED BY REGULATION.	HORSE PRODUCED.	DEDUCTION.
		Rs.
<i>Turki</i>	<i>Jangli</i>	12
<i>Yābū</i>	<i>Jangli</i>	10
<i>Ṭāzi</i>	<i>Jangli</i>	8

Subordinate Establishment.

An establishment of farriers, blacksmiths' forges, and surgeons had to be maintained by each *manṣabdār*, according to the following scale (B.M. No. 1641, fol. 38b):—

RANK OF OFFICER.	NUMBERS OF ESTABLISHMENT.		
	FARRIERS (<i>Na'iband</i>).	BLACKSMITHS' SHOPS (<i>Āhangar</i>).	LEECHES OR SURGEONS (<i>Jarāh</i>).
4000	8	2	2
3500	7	2	2
3000	6	2	2
2500	5	1	0
2000	4	1	2
1500	3	0	1
1000	2	0	1

Or, according to a more recent scale :—

1500-4000	6	3	0
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Verification (*Taṣḥīḥah*).

Something on this subject will be found in the *Ā'in*, i, 250, where the reference is confined to the *aḥadīs*; Dr. Horn, so far as he goes into the matter at all, deals with it on p. 49 of his work. In later times, at all events, the rule of mustering and verification seems to have been of almost universal application. For example, in a work called the *Guldastah-i-Bahār*, a collection of letters from Chhabīlah Rām, Nāgar, compiled in 1139 H. (1726-7), of which I possess a fragment, I find on fol. 18a an instance of the verification rules being enforced against a *maṇṣabdār* in the end of Bahādur Shāh's reign (1118-24 H.). Chhabīlah Rām, who was then *faujdar* of Karrah Mānikpur (ṣūbah Allāhābād), complains to his patron that the clerks had caused his *jāgīr*, in parganah Jājmau, bringing in ten lakhs of *dāms*, to be taken away from him, because he had not produced vouchers of *dāgh-o-taṣḥīḥah*. He sends the papers by a special messenger, and prays his correspondent, some influential man at Court, to obtain the restoration of the *jāgīr* in question.

The intervals after which verification was imperative differed according to the nature of the man's pay. If he were paid in *jāgīr*, he had to muster his men for verification once a year, and, in addition, a period of six months' grace was allowed. If the officer were paid in *naqd* (cash), the time allowed depended upon whether he was—(1) present at Court (*hāzīr-i-riḳāb*), or (2) on duty elsewhere (*ta'īnāt*). In the first case he had to procure his certificate at six-month intervals, or within eight months at the outside. In the second case he was allowed fifteen days after he had reported himself at Court. An *aḥadī* seems to have been allowed, in a similar case, no more than seven days. Where an officer drew his pay partly in *jāgīr* (assignment) and partly in *naqd* (cash), if the former made more than half the total pay, the rule for *jāgīrdārs* was followed; if the *jāgīr* were less than half, the *naqdī* rule was followed. (B.M. 1641, fols. 31a, 39b.)

When the interval and the period of grace had elapsed, the man was reported for *tawakkuf-i-taṣṭihah* (delay in verification). A *manṣabdār* lost the whole of his pay for the period since the last verification; or, if he were important enough to have been presented to the emperor (*rā-shīnās*, known by sight), he might succeed in obtaining his personal pay. An *aḥadī* lost half his pay, and it was only by an order on a special report that he could be excused the penalty. The proportion of horsemen (*tābīnān*) that a *manṣabdār* must produce differed when he was at Court and when he was on duty in the provinces. In the first case he was bound to muster one-fourth, and in the second one-third, of his total number. There were three seasons appointed for verification, from the 26th Shawwāl to the 15th Zūl Ǵa'dh (twenty days), the 19th Ṣafar to the 15th Rabi' I (twenty-five days), and the 16th Jamādī II to the 15th Rajab (twenty-nine days). (B.M. 1641, fols. 31a, 39b, 58b; B.M. 6599, fol. 148a.)

VII. THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE SERVICE.

Although in writing this paper I think it better to retain the divisions of the original authorities, who distribute the army into *manṣabdārs* with their *tābinān*, *aḥadis*, and *aḥshām*, it is quite true that, as Dr. Horn says, p. 11, the Moghul army consisted of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. But the second and third branches held a very subordinate position towards the first. The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Moghuls from beyond the Oxus were accustomed to fight on horseback only; the foot-soldier they despised; and in artillery they never became very proficient. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a night-watchman, and guardian over baggage, either in camp or on the line of march. Under the Moghuls, as Orme justly says ("Hist. Frag.," 4to, p. 418), the strain of all war rested upon the numbers and goodness of the horse which were found in an army.

There was no division into regiments. Single troopers, as we have already said, enlisted under the banner of some man a little richer or better known than themselves. These inferior leaders again joined greater commanders, and thus, by successive aggregations of groups, a great noble's division was gathered together. But from the highest to the lowest rank, the officer or soldier looked first to his immediate leader and followed his fortunes, studying his interests rather than those of the army as a whole.¹ It was not till quite the end of the period that, under the influence of European example, and also partly in imitation of the Persian invaders, it became usual for the great nobles to raise and equip at their own expense whole regiments without the intervention

¹ For remarks to the same general effect, see W. Erskine, "History," ii, 540.

of petty chiefs. In Audh, Şafdar Jang and Shujā'-ud-Daulah had such regiments, as, for instance, the *Kizzilbāsh*, the *Sher-bachah*, and others, which were all clad alike, and apparently were mounted and equipped by the Nawāb himself.

When Akbar introduced the *manṣab* system, which ranked his officers according to the number of men supposed to be under the command of each, these figures had possibly some connection with the number of men present under those officers' orders, and actually serving in the army (Horn, 39). But it is tolerably certain that this connection between the two things did not endure very long: it was, I should say, quite at an end by the reign of Shāhjahān (1627-58). Indeed, if the totals of all the personal (*zāt*) *manṣabs* in existence at one time were added together, we should arrive at so huge an army that it would have been impossible for the country, however heavily taxed, to meet such an expense. If paid in cash, the army would have absorbed all the revenue; if paid by assignments, all the land revenue would have gone direct into the hands of the soldiery, leaving next to nothing to maintain the Court or meet the expenses of the other branches of the government. The inference I wish to draw is, that from the grant of rank it does not follow that the soldiers implied by such rank were really added to the army. The system required that a man's rank should be stated in terms of so many soldiers; but there is abundant testimony in the later historians that *manṣab* and the number of men in the ranks of the army had ceased to have any close correspondence.

Thus it seems to me a hopeless task to attempt, as Dr. Horn does, p. 39, following Blochmann (*Ā'in*, i, 244-7), to build up the total strength of the army from the figures giving the personal (*zāt*) rank of the officers (*manṣabdārs*). The difficulty would still exist, even if we had sufficiently reliable accounts of the number of such officers on the list at any one time. For we must remember that the number of men kept up by any officer was incessantly varying. On a campaign, or on

active employment in one of the provinces, either as its governor or in a subordinate position, an officer kept up a large force, generally as many as, if not more than, he could find pay for. On the other hand, while attached to the Court at Dihli, his chief or only duty might be to attend the emperor's public audience twice a day (a duty which was very sharply enforced), and take his turn in mounting guard at the palace. For duties of this sort a much smaller number of men would suffice. If we reckoned the number of men in the *sucār* rank, for whom allowances at so much per man were given by the State to the *manṣabdār*, we might obtain a safer estimate of the probable strength of the army. But for this also materials fail, and in spite of musterings and brandings, we may safely assume that very few *manṣabdārs* kept up at full strength even the quota of horsemen (*tāblnān*) for which they received separate pay. In these matters the difference between one noble and another was very great. While one man maintained his troops at their full number, all efficiently mounted and equipped, another would evade the duty altogether. As, for instance, one writer, Khūshāl Chand, in his *Nādir-uz-zamānī* (B.M. Or. 1844, fol. 140a) says: Luṭfullah Khān Sūdiq, although he held the rank of 7,000, "never entertained even seven asses, much less horses or riders on horses." In Muḥammad Shāh's reign he lived quietly at home at Pānīpat, 30 or 40 miles from Dihli, his attention engrossed by his efforts to get hold of all the land for many miles round that town, and passing his days, in spite of his great nominal rank, like a mere villager.

It seems to me equally hopeless to attempt a reconstruction of the force actually present at any particular battle by adding together the numerical rank held by the commanders who were at that battle. This Dr. Horn has tried to do on p. 67, without feeling satisfied with the results. But, as far as I can see, there was little, if any, connection between the two matters. The truth is that, like all things in Oriental countries, there existed no rules which were

not broken in practice. A man of high rank would, no doubt, be selected for the command of a division. But it was quite an accident whether that division had more or fewer men in it than the number in his nominal rank. The strength of a division depended upon the total number of men available, and the extent of the contingents brought into the field by such subordinate leaders as might be put under the orders of its commander. It was altogether a matter of accident whether the number of men present corresponded or not to the rank of the commanders.

Bernier, 43, has an excellent remark on the vague way that numbers were dealt with by historians: "Camp-followers and bazar-dealers . . . I suspect, are often included in the number of combatants." Again, on p. 380, he seems to come to the conclusion that it would be a fair estimate to take the fighting men at about one-third of the total numbers in a Moghul camp. I have seen somewhere (I have lost the reference, but I think it was in *Khāfī Khān*) an admission that the gross number of a so-called "fauj" (army) was always reckoned as including no more than one-third or one-fourth that number of fighting men. I give below, for what they are worth, a tabular summary of Dr. Horn's figures (pp. 39-45)—

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF MOGHUL ARMY.

PERIOD.	CAVALRY.	MATCHLOCKMEN AND INFANTRY.	ARTILLERY- MEN.	AUTHORITY.
Akbar	12,000	12,000	1000	Blochmann, i, 246.
Do.	384,758	3,877,557	—	<i>Ā'in-i-Akbari</i> . ¹
Shāhjahān	200,000	40,000	—	<i>Badrakshnāmāh</i> , ii, 715; <i>Ā'in</i> , i, 244.
Aurangzeb	240,000	15,000	—	Bernier.
Do.	300,000	600,000	—	Caitou.
Mhd. Shāh	200,000	500,000	—	<i>Tūrikh-i-Hindī</i> of Rustam 'Alī.

¹ These include all the militia levies and zamindār's retainers throughout the provinces, besides the army proper.

NUMBERS PRESENT ON PARTICULAR OCCASIONS.

NAME OF BATTLE OR COMMANDER.	NUMBER OF IMPERIALISTS.				NUMBER OF ENEMY.				AUTHORITY.
	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Artillery.	Elephants.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Artillery.	Elephants.	
Sarkhej	10,000	—	—	100	40,000	100,000	—	—	<i>Albarnamah</i> , iii, 424.
Under Khān 'Agim	10,000	—	—	—	30,000	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> iii, 593.
Under Khān Khānān ...	1200	—	—	—	5000	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> iii, 608.
Sādik Khān...	3000	—	—	—	8000	—	—	80	<i>Id.</i> iii, 714.
Kandahār (1061 H.)...	50,000	10,000	—	10	—	—	—	—	Elliot, vii, 99.
Jahāngir (1616 H.)...	12,500	2000	—	60	—	—	—	—	<i>Id.</i> vi, 318.
Ahmad Abdālī (1174 H.)...	60,000	20,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

VIII. EQUIPMENT—(A) DEFENSIVE ARMOUR.

The generic name for arms and armour was *silāh*, plural *aslāh* (Steingass, 693). Weapons and armour of all kinds were much prized in India, much taste and ingenuity being expended on their adornment. Every great man possessed a choice collection. The following extract describes that of the Nawāb Wazīr at Lakhnau, in 1785:—"But beyond everything curious and excellent in the Nawāb's possession are his arms and armour. The former consist of matchlocks, fuzees, rifles, fowling-pieces, sabres, pistols, scymitars, spears, syefs (long straight swords), daggers, poniards, battle-axes, and clubs, most of them fabricated in Indostan, of the purest steel, damasked or highly polished, and ornamented in relief or intaglio with a variety of figures or foliage of the most delicate pattern. Many of the figures are wrought in gold and silver, or in marquetry, with small gems. The hilts of the swords, etc., are agate, chrysolite, lapis-lazuli, chalcidony, blood-stone, and enamel, or steel inlaid with gold,

called *tynashee* or *koft* work. The armour is of two kinds, either of helmets and plates of steel to secure the head, back, breast, and arms, or of steel network, put on like a shirt, to which is attached a netted hood of the same metal to protect the head, neck, and face. Under the network are worn linen garments quilted thick enough to resist a sword. On the crown of the helmet are stars or other small device, with a sheath to receive a plume of feathers. The steel plates are handsomely decorated with gold wreaths and borders, and the network fancifully braided." ("Asiatic Miscellany," i, 393. Calcutta, 1795. 4to.)

The fines for not producing at inspection a man's own armour and that of his elephant (*pākhar*) were as follows (B.M. 6,599, fol. 162a):—

RANK OF OFFICER.	AMOUNT OF FINE FOR NON-PRODUCTION OF				
	Headpiece (<i>Kāūd</i>).	Body Armour (<i>Baktar</i>).	Elephant Armour (<i>Pākhar</i>).	Greaves (<i>Rānak</i>).	Harhai (?). ¹
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
400	2 0 0	5 0 0	4 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0
350	2 0 0	4 0 0	3 12 0	1 12 0	0 16 0
300	1 12 0	4 0 0	3 8 0	1 8 0	0 14 0
250	1 8 0	3 8 0	3 4 0	1 4 0	0 13 0
200	1 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	1 0 0	0 12 0

Armour was worn by all horsemen who could afford it; nay, officers of a certain rank were required to produce it at the time of inspection, subject to a fine if it were not forthcoming. Its use was never discontinued; it was even worn by men of European descent when they entered the native service. For instance, James Skinner, writing of the year 1797, says, "as I was exercising my horse *in full armour*" (Fraser, "Memoirs," i, 125); and again, "I was only saved by my armour" (*id.* 127). George Thomas, the

¹ Read *sari-aspi* in B.M. 1641, fol. 37a, but to neither reading can I assign a meaning.

Irish adventurer, also wore armour (*id.* 229). Nor is the use of armour entirely discontinued even to this day, as those can testify who saw the troops of the Bundelkhand States paraded before the Prince of Wales at Agrah in January, 1876.

The armour was worn as follows (W. Egerton, 112, note to No. 440):—Depending from the cuirass was generally a skirt, which was at times of velvet embroidered with gold. Underneath the body armour was worn a *kabchah*,¹ or jacket quilted and slightly ornamented. Silken trousers and a pair of kashmir shawls round the waist completed the costume of a nobleman of high rank. As to these quilted coats, we are told elsewhere (*Seir*, i, 624, note) that “common soldiers wore an ample upper garment, quilted thick with cotton, coming down as far as the knee. These coats would deaden the stroke of a sabre, stop the point of an arrow, and above all kept the body cool by intercepting the rays of the sun.” Or as a still later writer tells us (Fitzclarence, “Journal,” 143)²:—“The irregular cavalry throughout India are mostly dressed in quilted cotton jackets; though the best of these habiliments are not, as I supposed, stuffed with cotton, but are a number of cotton cloths quilted together. This serves as a defensive armour, and when their heads are swathed round, and under the chin, with linen to the thickness of several folds, it is almost hopeless with the sword to make an impression upon them. They also at times stuff their jackets with the refuse silk of the cocoons, which they say will even turn a ball.” This habit of swathing the body in protective armour till little beyond a man’s eyes could be seen, gives the point to the scoffing remark of Dāūd Khān, Pannī, at

¹ Apparently the diminutive of *kaddi*, a close long gown or shirt (Steingass, 956).

² Lieut.-Col. Fitzclarence was, I believe, created Earl of Munster in 1831, and if so, he is the Lord Munster referred to by Dr. Horn on p. 8 as the author of a series of questions on Mahomedan military usages. His “Journal,” the work of a close observer and graphic writer, proves that he was quite competent to write for himself, and not merely “schreiben zu lassen,” the history that he had planned.

the battle against Husain 'Alī Khān, fought on the 8th Sha'bān, 1127 H. (6th Sept., 1715), that his assailant, one Mīr Mushrif, "came out to meet him like a bride or a woman, with his face hidden" (Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Mukaddamah-i-Shāh 'Ālam-nāmah*, fol. 22b).

I now proceed to describe each part of the armour, *seriatim*, beginning with the helmet.

Khūd, *Dabalghah*, or *Top*.—This was a steel headpiece with a vizor or nose-guard. There are several specimens in the Indian Museum; and in W. Egerton, "Handbook," several of these are figured, Nos. 703 and 704 on plate xiii, No. 703 on p. 134, and another, No. 591, on p. 125. *Khūd* is the more usual name, but *dabalghah* is the word used in the *Ā'in* (Blochmann, I, iii, No. 52, and plate xiii, No. 43). The latter is Chaghatāe for a helmet; and Pavet de Courteille gives four forms, داوولغا, داوولغان, دبولغه (p. 317), and دولوغه (p. 322). I have only met with it once in an eighteenth-century writer (*Ahucāl-ul-Khawākīn*, c. 1147 H., fol. 161b), and then under the form of دبولغه, *dobalghah*. *Top*, for a helmet, appears several times in Egerton; for instance, on p. 119 and p. 125. This is apparently an Indian word (Shakes., 73), توب, which must be distinguished from the word *top*, توب, a cannon, to which a Turkish origin is assigned. A helmet seems to have been called a *top* by the Mahrattas and in Maisūr; but the word is not used by writers in Northern India. If we disregard the difference between ت and ت, then we can derive *top*, 'a helmet,' and *topi*, 'a hat,' as does the compiler of the "Madras Manual of Administration," iii, 915, from the ordinary Hindī word *topnā*, 'to cover up.' But I hardly think this is legitimate.

Khoghī.—The next name to the *dabalghah* on the *Ā'in* list, the *khoghī*, No. 53, must be something worn on the head; but there is no figure of it, and I fail to identify the word in that form. From the spelling it is evidently of Hindī origin; and a note in the Persian text has *ghokhī* as an alternative reading. Has it anything to do with *ghoghī*, a pocket, a pouch, a wallet (Shakespeare, 1756), or

ghūnghī, cloths folded and put on the head as a defence against the rain (Shakes., 1758)? The latter may point to a solution: the *khoghī*, or, better, the *ghūghī*, may have been folds of cloth adjusted on the head to protect it from a sword blow.

Mighfar is defined (Steingass, 1281) as mail, or a network of steel worn under the cap or hat, or worn in battle as a protection for the face, also a helmet. It is evidently the long piece of mail hanging down from the helmet over the neck and back, as shown in No. 45, plate xii, of the *Ā'in*, vol. i, and called there and on p. 111, No. 54, the *zirīkkulāh* (cap of mail). It was through the *mighfar* that, according to Ghulām 'Alī Khān's history, the arrow passed which wounded 'Abdullah Khān, Kutb-ul-Mulk, just before he was taken a prisoner at the battle of Hasanpur (13th Nov., 1720), and the following verse brings in the word, as also the *joshan*:—

Chah yāre kunad mighfar o joshan-am,
Chūn Bārī na kard akhtar roshan-am.

"What aid to me is vizor and coat of mail,

"When God has not made my star to shine."¹

Baktar or *Bagtar*.—This is the name for body armour in general, whether it were of the cuirass (*chahār-ā'īnah*) or chain-mail (*zirīh*) description. Steingass, 195, defines it as a cuirass, a coat of mail. See also the *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 228. The *bagtar* is No. 58 in the *Ā'in* list (i, 112), and is shown as No. 47 on plate xii. From the figure it may be inferred that, in a more specific sense, *bakhtar* was the name for fish-scale armour. *Bargusturān*, as Mr. H. Beveridge has pointed out to me, is a general name for armour used in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, text 119

¹ *Muqaddimah-i-Shāh 'Ālam-nāmah* by Ghulām 'Alī Khān, B.M. Add. 24,028, fol. 40a. The last line probably contains an allusion to Roshan Akhtar, the original name of Muhammad Shāh, to whom 'Abdullah Khān succumbed.

(Raverty, 466 and note); but that work belongs to a period long before the accession of the Moghuls. Steingass, 178, restricts *burgustucān* to horse armour worn in battle: the *Aḥcāl-i-Khawākīn*, fol. 218b, applies it to the armour worn by elephants, and I have found it in no other late writer.

Chahār-āīnah.—This is literally 'four mirrors': it consisted of four pieces, a breast plate and a back plate, with two smaller pieces for the sides. All four were connected together with leather straps. Steingass, 403, has 'a kind of armour.' It is No. 50 in the *Āīn*, i, 112, and figure No. 49 on plate xiii. It is also shown in Egerton, plate ix, and again on p. 144. The specimens in the Indian Museum are No. 364 (p. 103), 450, 452 (p. 112), 569, 570 (p. 119), 587 (p. 124), 707 (p. 135), 764 (p. 144).

Zirih.—This was a coat of mail with mail sleeves, composed of steel links (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 228). The coat reached to the knees (W. Egerton, 125, note to No. 591). It is No. 57 in the *Āīn*, i, 112, and No. 46 on plate xiii of that volume. There are six examples in the Indian Museum—W.E. 361, 362 (p. 103), 453 (p. 112), 591, 591 T (p. 125), 706 (p. 135). Apparently, judging from the plate in the *Āīn*, the *baktar* (fish scales) or the *chahār āīnah* (cuirass) was worn over the *zirih*. W. H. Tone, "Maratta People," 61, note, gives a word *beuta* as the Mahratta name for the chain-mail shirt that they wore. I cannot identify or trace this word.

Jaibah.—Blochmann, *Āīn*, i, 111, No. 56, and his note 4, says it was a general name for armour. He gives no figure of it. Erskine, "History," ii, 187, has *jaba*. Steingass, 356, says it is from the Arabic *jubbāt*, and spells it *jubah*, a coat of mail, a cuirass, any kind of iron armour. The word is used in the '*Ālamgir-nāmah*, 245, l. 7:—"tan ba zeb-i-jubah o joshan pairāstah"—"body adorned with the decoration of *jabah* and *joshan*." It is also used in *Aḥcāl-ul-Khawākīn* (c. 1147 H.), fol. 164a, in the form *jaibah*.

Other items of body armour (*Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 228) were the *joshan*, the *jihlam*, the *angarkhah*, the *daghlah*. In other authorities we also meet with the *ṣādīkī*, the *koṭhī*, the *bhanjū*, and the *salhḳaba*. Of the last, the *salhḳaba*, *Ājn*, No. 66, we have no figure, and I am unable to identify it, as I have never seen the word elsewhere. Other words which have defied identification are *harhai*, as I read it (B.M. 6599, fol. 162a; B.M. 1641, fol. 37a), and three articles in the *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 228, which I read *sūbī*, *maḳ*, and *masarī*. We have also the *kamal*, the *ghughawah*, the *kanthā-sobhā*. Finally, there were the *dastcānah* or arm-pieces, the *rānak* or greaves, and the *mozah-i-āhanī*, a smaller pattern of leg-piece.

Joshan.—This is No. 59 of the *Ājn* list, p. 112, and is figured as No. 48 on plate xiii. It appears to be a steel breastplate extending to the region of the stomach and bowels. Blochmann, p. xi, calls it an armour for chest and body; Steingass translates more vaguely 'a coat of mail.'

Jihlam.—According to the dictionary (Shakes., 825), this is the Hindī for armour, coat of mail, vizor of helmet; but I do not know what was its special nature or form. Steingass, 405, has *chahlam*, a sort of armour; also *chihal-tah*, a coat of mail. *Kām Rāj*, 58b, has a passage—"Mīr Musbrif came quickly and lifted his *jihlam* from his face." This makes the word equivalent to vizor. It is not in the *Ājn*.

Angarkhah.—Hindī for a coat, possibly identical with that sometimes called an *alkhālīḳ* (a tight-fitting coat). Probably this coat was wadded so as to turn a sword-cut. It is No. 63 of the *Ājn*, i, 112, and figure No. 52 of plate xiv, where we see it a long, loose, wide coat worn *over* the armour.

Daghlah or *Dagla*.—The second of these is the Hindī form of the word. It was a coat of quilted cloth.

Chihilkad.—This is No. 67 of the *Ājn*, 112, and is shown as figure No. 54 on plate xiv. Muḥammad Kāsim, *Aḥwāl-*

ul-Khawākin, 161b, spells it *چَلَقَا*, *chalkat*. It was a doublet worn over the armour, and possibly identical with the *chiltā*, literally forty-folds (Shakespear, 884; Steingass, 398).

Ṣādīkī.—*Ā'in*, 112, No. 62, and No. 51 on plate xiv, a coat of mail something like the *joshan* in shape, but with epaulettes.

Koṭhī.—We have this in the *Ā'in*, 112, No. 61, and it appears on plate xiv, No. 50, as a long coat of mail worn under the breastplate and opening down the front.

Bhanjā.—This is No. 64 of the *Ā'in* list, i, 112, but I have never seen the word anywhere else; it must be a Hindi word, but it is not in Shakespear's Dictionary. The only figure is the one reproduced from Langlès by Egerton, No. 9 on plate i, opposite p. 23. This might be almost anything; the nearest resemblance I can suggest is that of a sleeveless jacket.

Kamal.—This word is literally 'a blanket,' and from it the corps known as the *kamal-posh* (blanket-wearers) derived its name. The word seems to have had the secondary meaning of a cuirass or wadded coat, possibly made of blanketing on the outside. There were wadded coats of quilted cotton, as well as of wool, which would stand the stroke of a sabre. Some stuffed with silk refuse were considered capable of withstanding a bullet (*Seir*, i, 143, note 105). This sort of protection was very common. "Almost every soldier in the service of a native power has his head secured by many folds of cotton cloth, which not only pass round but likewise over it and under the chin; and a protection for the back of the neck is provided of similar materials. The jacket is composed of cotton thickly quilted between cloths, and so substantial as almost to retain the shape of the body like stiff armour. To penetrate this covering with the edge of the sword was to be done only by the practice of cutting." (Valentine Blacker, "War," 302.)

Ghūghrah.—This must, from its position in the *Ā'in* list, No. 55, be some kind of armour, but I cannot identify the word, which is of Hindi form. In plate xiii, No. 44,

the *thing* is shown as a long coat and cowl of mail, all in one piece. In Egerton's plate (No. i, figure 4) it is something quite different, of a shape which it is difficult to describe, and for which it is still more difficult to suggest a use. The word seems to have some affinity to *khoghī* or *ghūghī* (see *ante*). It represents the Eastern Hindī form of *ghoghā*, following the usual rule of vowel modification, thus: H. H., *ghorā*; E. H., *ghurcā* 'a horse.' There being also a slight indication of the diminutive in this form, *ghughcā* would be a small *ghoghā*. There is a chain epaulette shown in one of the plates in Röckstuhl and Gille, which suggests the shape of the *ghughcā* figured by Egerton, and possibly that was its purpose.

Kanthā-sobhā.—This is No. 70 in the list in the *Ā'in*, 112, and, as we can see from figure 7 on plate i of W. Egerton's catalogue, it was a neck-piece or gorget. No. 69 (*rānak*) and No. 71 (*mōzah-i-āhanī*) are both worn by the man and not the horse; then why does Blochmann, in his note, suggest that No. 70 (*kanthā-sobhā*) was attached to the horse's neck? The derivation is from *kanthā* (Shakes., 1616) a necklace, and *sobhā*, *id.* 1338, ornament, dress, decoration.

Dastcānah.—This was a gauntlet, or mailed glove, with steel arm-piece. It is No. 68 of the *Ā'in*, 112, and is shown as No. 55 on plate xiv. The specimens in the Indian Museum are Nos. 452, 453, 454, 455 (Egerton, p. 112), 568, 570 (*id.* 119), 587, 590 (*id.* 124), 745 (*id.* 139). Three of these are shown, two on plate xii, opposite p. 122, and one on plate xiv, opposite p. 136.

Rānak.—In the *Ā'in* list, 112, No. 69, appears the word *rāk* or *rāg*, which is quite unmeaning. When we turn to No. 56 on Blochmann's plate xiv, we see that the thing itself is an iron leg-piece or greave. Now, wherever there are lists of armour in the MS. *Dastūr-ul-'Aml*, I find a word راک, which is invariably shown with a fourth letter of some sort; it might be read *rātak*, *rālak*, *rānak*, but never *rāk*. As *rān* means in Persian the 'thigh,' I propose to substitute for Blochmann's *rāk* the reading *rānak*,

the diminutive ending being used to denote relation or connection, a formation like *dastak* (little hand), a short written order, fit to be (as it were) carried in the hand. The word *rānak* is not in Steingass.

Mozah-i-āhanī.—This "iron-stocking" is No. 71 on page 112 of the *Ā'in*, and No. 56 on plate xiv. It is a smaller form of the *rānak*.

Patkah.—I find in *Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Muḥaddamah*, fol. 38b, an epithet *پشک پوشان*, *patkah-poshān*, applied to both Sayyads and horse-breakers (*chābuk-sucārān*). It appears to refer to some part of military equipment, but what it is I do not know. It is evidently used in a depreciatory sense.

Having enumerated the man's defensive armour, we go on to that of the horse. The elephant armour I will leave till we come to the special heading devoted to those animals.

Kajīm.—This is in *Ā'in*, 112, No. 72 (*kajem*), and is shown as figure No. 57 on plate xiv. Erskine, "History," ii, 187, has the form *kichim*. It was a piece of armour for the hind-quarters of a horse, and was put on over a quilted cloth called *artak-i-kajīm* (*Ā'in*, 112, No. 73).

The other pieces of armour for the horse were the frontlet (*kashkah*: *Ā'in*, 112, No. 74, and plate xiv, No. 60) and the neck-piece (*gardani*: *Ā'in*, 112, No. 75). Blochmann's description of the latter (p. 112, note 3) does not seem very appropriate, as he makes it a thing which hangs down in front of the horse's chest. *Gardani*, however, is the name still applied to the head and neck-piece, the hood, of a set of horse-clothing. It is the neck-shaped piece in figure No. 58 of Blochmann's plate xiv, and is separately shown in Egerton's plate i, figure No. 3. *Kashkah* is the word used in Persian for the Hindu sect-mark or *tilak*, applied on the centre of the forehead. R. B. Shaw, J.A.S. Bengal for 1878, p. 144, gives it as the Eastern Turki for an animal's forehead.

Horse trappings were often most richly adorned with silver or gold, embroidery or jewels. When so enriched they were styled *sāz-i-tildā*, or *sāz-i-marāṣṣā'*. The names

of the various articles are as follows (W. Egerton, 125): *paltah* (headstall) and *'inān* (reins), *zerband* (martingale), *dumchī* (crupper), *khogir* (saddle), *ustak* (shabracque), *bālātang* (surcingle), *rikāb* (stirrups), *shikārband* (ornamental tassels at corners of saddle). The list of stable requisites can be seen in *Ā'in*, i, 136.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE TĀJ OR RED CAP OF THE SHĪ'ĀHS.

Dresden,
April 21, 1896.

DEAR SIR,—Two days ago, while translating a Persian MS. entitled "*Basātīn-us-Salātīn*"—a history of the 'Ādil Shāhī kings of Bijāpur—I met the following passage, which occurs in the account of the reign of Isma'il 'Ādil Shāh, the second king of the dynasty:—

"He ordered all the soldiers in his army to wear on their heads the red *tāj* [cap] of twelve notches [*tarāk*]; and whoever did not wear the *tāj* was not allowed to come to the *salām* [levée]. Moreover, in that reign it was impossible for anyone to go to and fro in the city without the *tāj*. If anyone chanced to be seen without a *tāj* he was punished by the King. This custom continued to the end of the reign of Isma'il Shāh."

It was a curious coincidence that the very day after translating this passage I received my copy of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, and in Dr. Denison Ross' paper on "The Early Years of Shāh Isma'il," I read on pp. 254-5 what appears to be the traditionary account of the origin of the red caps mentioned above.

I have in my possession a small history of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, entitled "*Guldastah-i-Bijāpur*," which gives a likeness of each of the kings, and Isma'il 'Ādil Shāh is represented wearing a head-dress corresponding to the description of the *tāj*.

Isma'il—like his father, Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh—was a Shī'ah; but his father was a tolerant one, and Isma'il extremely bigoted. The prime minister, Kamāl Khān, was a Sunnī, and whilst he held the reins of government during the minority of Isma'il, he restored the Sunnī faith; but when Isma'il, after the assassination of Kamāl Khān, assumed the government himself, one of his first acts was to re-introduce the Shī'ah religion; and it was in connection with this that he ordered the wearing of the red *tāj* of twelve points, doubtless symbolical of the twelve Imāma. Shāh Isma'il Ṣafavī and Isma'il 'Ādil Shāh were contemporaries, and the former sent an embassy to the Court of the latter.—Yours faithfully,

J. S. KING (Major).

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. PARSEE PUNCHAYET.

131, Hornby Road, Bombay,

March 6, 1896.

To the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

SIR,—I am directed by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet to request you to be good enough to bring the following matter to the notice of your Oriental scholars travelling through and taking interest in Central Asia.

You know that the regions of Central Asia were once either inhabited by the ancient Zoroastrians, or were under their direct or indirect influence. So the Parsees, or the modern Zoroastrians, being the descendants of those ancient Zoroastrians, take an interest in these regions. They would welcome any information obtained in these regions that would throw some light on their ancient literature and on the manners, customs, and history of their ancient fatherland of Iran. If your scholars and travellers will put themselves in literary communication in English with us, their contribution on these subjects will be very gratefully received. The Trustees will be glad to patronize any publication in English treating of the researches in these

regions from an Iranian point of view.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
Secretary, Parsee Punchayet.

3. KURANDA.

102, *Cheyne Walk, Chelsea,*
London, S.W.

SIR,—Your correspondent Mr. St. Andrew St. John may be interested in knowing that *Barleria prionitis* is still, in Maratha, "Kanta-koranta" and "Pivala- (yellow) koranta." It is of a rich cream-colour. Mr. Nairne, the latest writer on the subject, says "buff." There are many others of the genus, blue, lilac, pink, and white. None are at all like the English "blue-bell" (wild hyacinth), or the "Blue Bells of Scotland" (*Anglicé* "harebells"). These belong to other orders, and are not familiar to natives of the plains of India. It is, therefore, perhaps to be regretted that the word "blue-bell" should be used in translation of the Indian name of a tropical plant, even if its flower were blue.—I remain, yours truly,

W. F. SINCLAIR.

Rugby,
April 18, 1896.

SIR,—In the passage quoted by Mr. St. John from my translation of the Jātaka, vol. ii, p. 46, in the number of the Journal for April, 1896, p. 364, "yellow robe" stands in inverted commas. If the robe were yellow in truth, the point is lost. The man in question violated all the rules of taste by wearing a white outer robe, a *blue under robe*, holding a carved fan, etc., etc.; and the sentence was intended to mean—"he wore a blue robe instead of the proper yellow robe." Would not an Englishman be understood if he were to say of some clergyman, "his 'white tie' on this occasion was bright blue"?—Yours truly,

W. H. D. ROUSE.

4. CHŪHĀ SHĀH DAULA.

In the Panjāb certain dwarfs are seen called "Chūhā Shāh Daula," Rats of the shrine of Shāh Daula, a Muhammadan Saint.

In 1851 I saw two of these dwarfs exhibited at Paris, riding on ostriches, and described as a peculiar race of pigmies. I asked our new member, Muhammad Latif, to send an account of them for our Journal, with the following result.

ROBERT N. CUST,

Hon. Sec. of R.A.S.

63, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.

May 20, 1896.

Jalandhar City, Panjāb,

April 27, 1896.

SIR,—I have made inquiries regarding the people known in the Panjāb as "Chūhā Shāh Daula" found in Gujrat District and elsewhere in the Panjāb. The hereditary custodians of the shrine of Shāh Daula, in the city of Gujrat, maintain, that parents not endowed with a child make a vow at the Chawngāl, or mausoleum of the Saint, that, should they be gifted with a child, male or female, they would make an offer of him or her at the shrine of the Saint. Through the blessings of the Saint a child is born to the parents, and in fulfilment of the vow they offer the child at the shrine. The child's head is invariably small, and so the epithet *Chūhā* or "Mouse" is given to it. The story, however, is wrong. In the first place, why should parents ask the gift of a child whose head is so small that the child, when grown up to manhood, becomes an idiot and is devoid of all senses? A child so born is quite useless to the parents and to the world at large. Secondly, the story as to the blessings of the Saint is absurd, since the gift of a child in such condition is rather a curse to the parents than a blessing.

The truth of the matter is, that *Chūhā*—males or females—born with small heads, are extraordinary creatures, and

the fashion has grown in the Panjāb of making an offer of a child so born at the shrine of Shāh Daula in Gujrat, and the child is called "*Chāhā* Shāh Daula." I made inquiries about the matter from old and well-informed people, and they all agree, that there is nothing supernatural in the birth and constitution of the sect in question, and that they are merely extraordinary creatures.

At a time, it was gravely suspected by the authorities, that the hereditary custodians of the shrine of Shāh Daula in Gujrat, who keep a number of these extraordinary creatures at the shrine (who prove to them a source of gain), employ artificial means of making the heads of newborn children small, and prevent the natural growth of the head by squeezing it in an iron vessel, and keeping it in such condition for a length of time until its further growth has ceased. But at length careful inquiries into the causes of the smallness of the head showed, that it was due neither to supernatural powers, nor to artificial agencies, but that the people were merely extraordinary creatures.

The saint Shāh Daula was born in 975 A.H. (1567 A.D.), and died at the age of 150 in 1125 (1713 A.D.), or in the time of the Emperor Jahandār Shāh. He was a descendant of the Behlol kings, and on the mother's side was related to Sultan Sārang Khan, *Ghakkar* chief. He was an eye-witness of the events of the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shāhjahan, and Aurangzeb, the four celebrated Moghul emperors.—Yours obediently,

MAHOMED LATIF.

5. ROSARIES IN CEYLONESE BUDDHISM.

I have found no references in European literature to the rosaries of the Buddhists of Ceylon; and several writers on the Buddhism of that island, whom I addressed on this subject, gave it as their opinion that rosaries are unknown to Ceylonese Buddhists.

Having devoted some attention to Buddhist ritual, and

described in detail the rosaries of the Tibetan¹ and Burmese² Buddhists, I took advantage of a recent flying visit to Ceylon to inquire locally into this question, and I found that rosaries are used by all the Ceylonese Buddhist monks, as well as by the laity.

They call the rosary *Mālē*, the Sinhalese form of the Sanskrit *Mālā* 'a garland.' It is also called *Nawa guṇa mālē* or 'the nine-virtues' garland,' for the reason, it is said, that one of the chief uses to which it is put is to tell over the beads the nine virtues or attributes (*guṇa*) of the Buddha. As, however, the word *guṇa* also means 'a string,' it is possible that this epithet may have had a more general meaning.

The beads number 108, as in the Tibetan, Burmese, and some of the Japanese³ rosaries; and they are manipulated in the same manner. The material of which the beads are composed varies with the wealth and caprice of the owner. The commonest rosaries have their beads of coconut shell, or of a seed, the name of which I have mislaid; while many are made of a yellowish wood like that of the so-called *Bodhi*-tree of the Burmese and Japanese, though the wood is not that of the *Pipal*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*). Some rosaries are of *Sandal*-wood, and a few are of precious stones. But no importance seems to be placed upon the particular material of the beads, as is done in Tibet, where the rosary has attained its highest development.

As to the time and manner in which the rosary was introduced into Ceylonese Buddhism, the monks whom I interrogated at Colombo could not tell, but they told me that it has certainly been used at least since the time of Buddhaghosa, who mentions the use of the rosary in the *Silaniddesa*.

The rosary is daily used by the Ceylonese Buddhists in reciting the formulas which are employed in the exercise of the mystic meditation called *Kammaṭṭhānam*. This latter

¹ See my "Buddhism of Tibet," pp. 202-210.

² *Proc. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Dec. 1892.

³ J. M. James in *Trans. Jap. Asiatic Soc.* 1881, p. 173 *et seq.*

term, says Childers,¹ is applied to "certain religious exercises or meditations by means of which *Samādhi*, *Jhāna*, and the four Paths are attained. Each of these is based on a certain formula or rite." Forty modes of *Kammapāṭhāna* are mentioned in the *Visuddhi Magga*. A particular one of these is selected, and its formula is repeated by the monk or lay devotee many times on the rosary, in order to concentrate the mind upon it. These formulas sometimes seem to be categorical lists of elements, etc., but they probably seldom, if ever, consist of unmeaning mummerly and jargon such as with the Tibetan Buddhists. Nor are the formulas repeated to such inordinate lengths as with the Lāmas.

Of the *Gāthās* which are daily told by monks on the rosaries, the most common are the three on the greatness of the Buddha, the Law, and the Assembly, commencing—*Buddhānussati Iti pi so Bhagavā arahaṃ Sammā*, etc., which are said to be extracted from the *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta*.

Perhaps some resident of Ceylon will give us more details about these rosaries and their formulas. And we still require definite information on these points in regard to Siam.

L. A. WADDELL.

Medical College, Calcutta,

April 21, 1896.

6. THE BAKHTIĀRI DIALECT.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—It is rather late to allude to an article in the October, 1895, number, but I had not time to read it till lately. I refer to the poem in the Bakhtiāri dialect, mentioned in Mr. Browne's article on "Poetry of the Persian Dialects," on page 816 of that number.

In the last line محمدیل should be two words = "Mohammad the hero." In the same line رهس I was

¹ Childers' *Pāli Diet.*, p. 179.

told by a Lur, = رهانيدش = "let him go"; which would be equivalent to the gloss Mr. Browne quotes, خلاص شر, but not as he takes it.—I remain, yours very truly,

W. McDouall.

7. EPIGRAPHIC DISCOVERIES AT MATHURÂ.

[From the *Academy* of May 2nd.]

Vienna,

April 20, 1896.

A letter from Dr. Führer, accompanied by a batch of impressions of inscriptions, informs me that a grant of 300 rupees from the Government of the North-western Provinces enabled him to resume his explorations at Mathurâ during February last. Dr. Führer spent this (for excavations) rather insignificant sum partly on "prospecting operations" in the large Katra Mound, which is said to conceal the ruins of Keśava's ancient temple, destroyed by Aurungzebe, and partly on diggings in some unexplored portions of the Kankâlî Tilâ, which some years ago yielded the splendid collection of important Jaina inscriptions.

The Katra Mound furnished none of the hoped-for Brahmanical sculptures and inscriptions, but only, as in former times, fragments belonging to a Buddhist Stûpa of the Kushana period. But the results of Dr. Führer's work in the Kankâlî Tilâ were as valuable as those of 1889-93. Besides a number of smaller fragments of inscriptions, giving the names of various Jaina schools and teachers, he found a longer one, which, in spite of the omission of the reigning king's name, possesses a considerable interest, and perhaps indicates that the dates of the Kushana kings, Kanishka, Huviska, and Vāsudeva or Vāsushka, must be interpreted otherwise than is usually done.

The curiously misspelt text of the mutilated document runs thus:—

1. *Namāscarośīdhanā Ārchāntanā | Mahārājasya rājatir-
ājasya svaraccharasvate d[ā]*

2. 200 90 9 (?) *hemantamāse* 2 *divase* 1 *ārāhāto* *Mahāvīrasya* *prātim*[ā*]

3 . . . *syā* *Okhārikāye* *vitū* *Ujhatikāye* *ca* *Okhāye* *śācīkābhagīniy*[e*]

4. *śrīkasya* *Śivadināsyā* *ca* *eteh* *ārāhātāyutāne* *sthāpit*[ā]

5. *devakulam* *ca* |

With the obvious corrections *namas-sarva*² for *namasvarva*², *sañcecccharasate* for *scarvacccharasate*, *dhitū* for *vitū*, *śrācīkā*² for *śācīkā*², and *etāih* for *eteh*, as well as with the highly probable restoration *dū*[*tiye nava* (?) *-navatyadhike* at the end of L. 1, the following translation may be given :—

“Adoration to all Siddhas, to the Arhats ! In the second century [*exceeded by ninety-nine* (?)], 299 (?) of the Mahārāja and Rājātīrāja, in the second month of winter, on the first day—an image of the Arhat Mahāvīra was set up in the Arhat-temple by the following [*persons*], by . . . and by Ujhatikā, daughter of . . . [*and*] of Okhārikā, by Okhā, the lay-sister . . . or . . . śrīka and Śivadinna . . . and a temple.”

As the first two numeral signs are very distinct, and only the third is somewhat blurred and of unusual form, it is evident that the document was incised at all events after the year 290 (possibly in the year 299) of an unnamed era, and during the reign of an unnamed king who bore the titles *mahārāja* and *rājātīrāja*. The last-mentioned circumstance permits us to determine, at least, to which dynasty the king belonged. For though the two combined titles occur before the names of Azes, Azilises, Gondopherres, Pakores, Kadphises I and II, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva, only one of the last three kings can be here intended, because, as far as is known at present, none of the first six ruled over Mathurā. And to this conclusion points also the type of the characters of the inscription. It fully agrees with that of the numerous votive inscriptions of the time of the Kushana rule over Mathurā; and it

preserves in the broad-backed *śa* with the slanting central stroke, and in the tripartite subscript *ya*, two archaic forms which during this period occur only occasionally for the later *śa* with the horizontal cross-bār and the bipartite *ya*. These characteristics, as well as the general appearance of the letters, preclude also the (otherwise possible) assumption that the inscription might belong to the time of a later Kushana king, who ruled after Vāsudeva and before the conquest of Mathurā by the Guptas about 400 A.D.

Under these circumstances, the date of Dr. Führer's inscription, which differs from those found in the other inscriptions of the Kushanas of Mathurā, gains a considerable importance. Hitherto we possessed only documents with the years 5-28 for Kanishka, 29-60 for Haviṣka, and 74 (misread 44)-98 for Vāsudeva; and these dates have been taken by most Sanskritists to be years of the Śaka era of 78 A.D., supposed to have been established by Kanishka, but by Sir A. Cunningham as years of the fifth century of the Seleucid era, or equivalent to [40]5-[4]98, i.e. 93-191 A.D. If we now have reason to believe that the new date Saṃ 299 fell in the reign of one of these three kings, that may be explained in two ways. Either it may be assumed that the Kushanas of Mathurā used two eras—one established by Kanishka, and a second which began much earlier; or it may be conjectured that their dates with the figures 5-98 are abbreviated by the omission of the hundreds, and that, being in reality equivalent to 295-298, they have to be referred to the era which occurs so frequently in the lately discovered Kharosthī inscriptions from the Panjab, as well as in some older finds.

It seems very tempting to consider the Mathurā date of Śodāsa, Saṃ 72, the Taxila date of his contemporary Patika, Saṃ 78, the date Saṃ 102 of M. Senart's No. 35 (*Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*, v), the Takht-i-Bahī date of Gondopherres, Saṃ 103, the date, Saṃ 113, of Dr. Waddell's Kaldavra inscription (*Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. x, No. 1), the Panjtar date of a Gushana king (name lost), Saṃ 123, the date, Saṃ 200, of M. Senart's No. 34, the

date, Sam 276 or 286, of the Hashtnagar image, and Dr. Führer's new Mathurā date, Sam 299 (?), as links of one and the same chain, to which also the abbreviated dates of Kanishka and his successors, Sam [20]5-[2]98, belong. If all these dates are really connected in the manner suggested, the beginning of this Northern era must fall in the first half of the first century B.C. For the time of Gondopherres, who ruled in its 103rd year, is undoubtedly the first half of the first century A.D.

For the present, and until more dated inscriptions of this period with royal names are found, this suggestion, which coincides in the main with M. Senart's views expressed at the end of his article quoted above, is nothing more than a bare possibility. Perhaps further explorations in the Kankālī Tilā, which Dr. Führer intends to undertake, will prove its correctness.

G. BÜHLER.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1896.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

April 14, 1896.—Sir William Wilson Hunter in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. W. J. Prendergast, of the Nizam's College,
Haidarabad,

Mr. W. R. H. Merk, C.S.I.,

Major Leigh, I.S.C.,

Major Deane, I.S.C.,

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. Beveridge read a paper on "Anquetil Du Perron." It dealt chiefly with his personal history, and was mainly an abstract of the "Discours Préliminaire" of the "Zend-avesta." His voyage to India was described, as also his interviews with Siraj-ud-Daula and Mir Madan (the hero of Plassey), and his wonderful journey of 1200 miles from Colgong to Pondicherry. The only novelty in the paper was some extracts from the proceedings of the Councils of Bombay and Surat of September and October, 1759, which gave details about Du Perron's encounter with another Frenchman in the streets of Surat. It appeared from these that Du Perron's antagonist was a M. Biquant.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Thornton, Mr. Desai, Sir Henry Norman, Mrs. Rhys Davids, and the Secretary took part.

May 12, 1896, Anniversary Meeting.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

The Rev. G. Margoliouth and
Mr. H. North Bushby

had been elected members of the Society.

The Right Hon. the Lord Loch, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., P.C. :
Gentlemen,—It is a very pleasing duty that has devolved on me, and that is to propose the re-election of Lord Reay for another term of three years. I feel sure you realize how much good he has done to the Society during the past three years. Since he has presided over us, he has been able to use his great influence with a view to save the Archæological Commission in India from destruction; and I am sure if that were the only service that he had performed to the Society, he would be deserving of our most sincere thanks. But besides that, he attended at the Congress at Geneva, and he moved our motion that the Congress should formulate a scheme for the transliteration of Oriental alphabets. The carrying of that motion, and the subsequent publication of the Congress scheme, will go far to settle a question which has divided Orientalists for many years, and the settlement of which is of practical importance. These are only two of the services which Lord Reay has performed for the Society, and I am sure that they are quite enough to lead you to join with me in voting his re-election for another term of three years. I believe the financial position of the Society is very satisfactory, and I believe also that there is an increased number of members joining us. I only wish that we could enlist still greater interest in the work of the Society, so that we might really get a very large increase of our members, and put all anxiety as regards our funds out of the question. For although our financial position is good, and I believe improving, still at the same time we should like very much indeed—and I believe Professor Rhys Davids will confirm me in this—we should like to have several hundreds a year

more than we at present have for the purpose of carrying on more efficiently the great work of interpreting the East to the West which the Society was founded to do. I have much pleasure now in moving that Lord Reay be elected for another term of three years.

Mr. R. N. Cust, LL.D. (Hon. Secretary) : I rise to second the proposition made by Lord Loch. Lord Loch spoke in the name of the Members of the Society; I speak in the name of the Council. We heartily desire the re-election of Lord Reay. I have known the Society now for many many years, and am one of the oldest members of the Council. We have been fortunate in having so many distinguished noblemen and gentlemen as our Presidents—Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Lord Northbrook, Sir Henry Yule, Sir Thomas Wade, and now Lord Reay; and we heartily desire, and hope it will be agreeable to all of you, that Lord Reay be asked for another term of three years to remain in the office. There are special reasons also why we desire it, because the International Congress is to take place at Paris next year, in which Lord Reay will represent the Society in a way which no one else could do so well.

[Lord Loch then put the motion to the meeting, and it was carried with enthusiasm.]

The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D. : Lord Loch and Gentlemen,—I can assure you that I highly appreciate the compliment which you have paid me, and the very flattering remarks which both Lord Loch and Dr. Cust have made on this occasion. I consider it a great privilege to preside over a Council and over a Society in which there are so large a number of most distinguished Orientalists; and I need not say that it is only because I know that I have the support of these distinguished Orientalists that I, who have no claim whatever to call myself an Orientalist, venture to preside over this Society, in which I have become more and more interested in the past three years; and also because the distinguished Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, places his knowledge

and experience always in the most kind and generous way at my disposal. I ought to add that, if there be a special reason which makes me desirous to remain a little longer in your midst, it is the expectation that, during the next three years, London will at last obtain an Oriental School worthy of the Metropolis, placed on the same footing as the great schools which cast lustre on foreign capitals. I do not hesitate to say that I consider every year of delay in the establishment of such a school as a national disgrace. (Hear, hear.) I trust that at last we shall carry a Bill creating a Statutory Commission to reorganize the London University on the lines of the Report of the Royal Commission. As you are aware, the Royal Commission reported in favour of a large recognition of Oriental studies in London. That is a debt England owes to India—to itself as a great Asiatic Power. This Asiatic Society forms one of the most precious links between Occidental and Oriental learning. The interest I take in Indian affairs has certainly increased, not decreased, since I have come to realize the aims of this Society; and I wish to see it become more and more the headquarters of the eminent men who, I am happy to say, in growing numbers, desire to give not only their time but their money to this Society. If I can be of some use, and not disappoint those who have so kindly proposed and elected me as their President for the ensuing term, it will be a source of every satisfaction to me.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1895 was then read by the Secretary:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1895.

The Council regrets to have to report the loss by death, or retirement, of the following thirteen members:—

There have died—

1. Mr. Hyde Clarke,
2. Sir Cyril Graham,
3. Captain Sir F. Hughes,

4. Sir W. Mackinnon,
5. Major-Gen. Sir Peter Melvill,
6. Major-Gen. Sir H. Rawlinson,
7. Sir Thomas Wade,
8. Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra.

There have retired—

1. Rev. C. J. Ball,
2. Mr. R. Batson Joyner,
3. Mr. H. Stuart,
4. Viscount Cranbrook,
5. Professor Stumme.

On the other hand there have been elected the following thirty-eight members :—

1. H.H. The Mahārāja of Travancore,
2. Mr. Perceval Lowell,
3. Mr. Kunwar K. Pal Sinha,
4. Mons. E. Blochet,
5. The Rev. J. J. Bambridge,
6. Miss Kennedy,
7. Mr. Tahl Ram,
8. Mr. Gazafar Ali Khan,
9. Mr. C. M. Fernando,
10. Syed Mohammed Latif,
11. Mr. St. George Lane Fox Pitt.
12. Mrs. Bode,
13. Mr. G. Phillips,
14. Mr. Rājesvar Mitra,
15. The Rev. W. G. Shellabear,
16. Mr. Horace Peatling,
17. Mr. Walter Lupton,
18. Captain Bower,
19. Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi,
20. Mr. Percy Sykes,
21. Dr. E. B. Landis,
22. Captain G. E. Gerini,

23. Professor E. Hardy,
24. Professor M. T. Quinn,
25. Babu Nagendranath Mukerji,
26. Mr. T. Callan Hodson,
27. Mr. Abdullah ibn Yusuf Ali,
28. Major W. R. Livermore,
29. The Hon. Maulvi Khuda Baksh,
30. Mr. Salah-ud-din Khuda Baksh,
31. Mr. Hugh Raynbird, jun.,
32. Mr. C. Otto Blagden,
33. Mr. Diwan Tek Chand,
34. Mr. R. A. Nicholson,
35. The Rānī Brooke of Sarawak,
36. Prof. P. S. Pillai.
37. The Rev. F. B. Shawe,
38. Prof. E. Hess-Müller.

The names of the following members have, under Rule 46, to be struck off as defaulters :—

1. Mohun Lal Jag,
2. Rāja Lachman Singh,
3. Lakshmi Narayan,
4. Rang Lal.

To the list of subscribing libraries, which pay the same annual subscription as our non-resident members, the Council reports the addition of the following names :—

1. The British and Foreign Bible Society,
2. The Naples University Library,
3. The Sydney Free Library,
4. The Lucknow Museum Library,
5. The Montefiore College, Ramsgate,
6. The Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society.
7. The Melbourne Public Library,
8. The San Francisco Free Library.

The general result is that against a loss of 17 supporters there is to be set a gain of 46, which leaves a nett gain

of 29, bringing the total up to 521—the largest number yet reached by the Society. The totals in previous years have been as follows:—

1888 ..	411	1892 ..	459
1889 ..	432	1893 ..	476
1890 ..	442	1894 ..	493
1891 ..	451	1895 ..	492

As the receipts from rents and dividends remain about the same, the only item of the receipts that calls for notice is the sale of the Journal. The following table shows the gradual increase under this head:—

SUBSCRIP- TIONS.		SALES.		TOTAL RECEIPTS.		TOTAL EXPEN- DITURE.		GAIN.		LOSS.		RESULT SINCE BEGINNING OF THE SOCIETY.
£		£		£		£		£		£		£
1833 ...	639	...	11	...	1263	...	1058	...	205	...	—	+365
1834 ...	677	...	28	...	1107	...	1523	...	—	...	416	-51
1835 ...	625	...	15	...	1184	...	1036	...	148	...	—	+98
1836 ...	502	...	21	...	1335	...	1310	...	25	...	—	+123
1837 ...	618	...	—	...	2120	...	2459	...	—	...	339	-216
1838 ...	692	...	30	...	1151	...	1026	...	125	...	—	-91
1839 ...	565	...	53	...	1056	...	945	...	111	...	—	+10
1840 ...	555	...	64	...	1033	...	1084	...	—	...	51	-41
1841 ...	544	...	73	...	994	...	964	...	30	...	—	-11
1842 ...	540	...	16	...	830	...	1037	...	—	...	207	-218
1843 ...	554	...	26	...	935	...	821	...	114	...	—	-104
1844 ...	545	...	3	...	998	...	912	...	86	...	—	-18
1845 ...	560	...	10	...	946	...	732	...	214	...	—	+196
1846 ...	617	...	32	...	1030	...	1292	...	—	...	262	-66
1847 ...	550	...	30	...	850	...	896	...	—	...	46	-112
1848 ...	—	...	—	...	918	...	1672	...	—	...	654	-766
1849 ...	513	...	34	...	922	...	1004	...	—	...	82	-848
1850 ...	469	...	64	...	654	...	825	...	29	...	—	-819
1851 ...	—	...	—	...	1333*	...	1077	...	256	...	—	-563
1852 ...	528	...	99	...	1491*	...	900	...	591	...	—	+28
1853 ...	534	...	39	...	885	...	1105	...	—	...	220	-192
1854 ...	567	...	37	...	929	...	999	...	—	...	70	-262
1855 ...	491	...	29	...	802	...	936	...	—	...	134	-396

* Special Government grant of £500 for the publication of Cuneiform inscriptions.

	SUBSCRIP-	SALES.	TOTAL	TOTAL			RESULT
	TIONS.		RECEIPTS.	EXPEN-	GAIN.	LOSS.	SINCE
	£	£	£	DITURE.	£	£	BEGINNING
							OF THE
							SOCIETY.
							£
1856	602	64	1053	923	130	—	-266
1857	500	50	849	852	—	3	-269
1858	488	19	823	746	77	—	-192
1859	454	26	671	773	—	202	-394
1860	483	23	809	886	—	76	-469
1861	591	29	972	1229	—	257	-726
1862	585	73	881	936	—	55	-781
1863	583	—	885	970	—	82	-853
1864	644	128	973	1007	—	34	-897
1865	540	16	911	814	97	—	-809
1866	517	2	827	858	—	31	-831
1867	522	12	898	820	78	—	-763
1868	513	—	828	895	—	67	-820
1869	497	—	900	1370	—	470	-1290
1870	492	—	754	744	10	—	-1250
1871	488	2	862	807	55	—	-1225
1872	403	—	733	688	—	155	-1380
1873	425	5	813	729	84	—	-1296
1874	376	—	772	713	59	—	-1237
1875	395	—	916	956	—	40	-1277
1876	389	1	774	783	—	9	-1286
1877	485	1	866	819	47	—	-1239
1878	463	2	928	1033	—	105	-1344
1879	486	5	891	820	71	—	-1273
1880	603	3	1036	972	64	—	-1209
1881	538	1	1041	1128	—	87	-1296
1882	580	1	1201	1210	—	9	-1306
1883	657	—	1160	1030	130	—	-1160
1884	668	70	1243	1271	—	28	-1178
1885	615	81	1193	966	227	—	-951
1886	581	79	1145	1188	—	43	-994
1887	553	94	1162	1125	37	—	-967
1888	575	47	1177	1087	90	—	-867
1889	515	119	1130	1339	—	299	-1078
1890	479	187	1094	1076	18	—	-1058
1891	529	110	1187	1130	57	—	-1001
1892	585	200	1223	1390	—	167	-1168
1893	613	196	1352	1298	54	—	-1114
1894	674	184	1270	1260	10	—	-1095
1895	570	217	1285	1173	112	—	-983

From this table it appears that the receipts from the sale of the Journal, which had become practically nothing for many years, have now, since 1884, gone on pretty steadily increasing, until, in the year under review, they amounted to £217, a very substantial addition to the slender income of the Society, and the largest so far received under that head.

The Council regrets that there is no entry this year under the head of donations to the Society. In former years there were considerable donations made from time to time in aid of the researches carried on by the Society. It would have been impossible for the Society without such help to have set on foot and successfully carried out the long series of translations which it was able to publish under the old Oriental Translation Fund. The necessities of the cause have grown with the growth of knowledge. And whereas other learned societies, especially those dealing with natural science, are either housed rent free by the Government, or receive an allowance in lieu of rent, this Society has no such grant, and has lately been compelled to submit to an increase in the high charge it has to pay for rent. The consequence is that our shelves are crowded with MSS. which ought to be translated, and which the Society cannot hope, even with the present improvement in its financial position, to translate. The Oriental Translation Fund has now been started afresh, and by the great generosity, at first of Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, since supplemented by the Earl of Northbrook and Mr. Sturdy, it has done and is doing good and important work. But it very urgently needs further support, and the Council, therefore, publishes the following list of donations given to the Society in the past in the hope that friends of Oriental research may be stimulated to like efforts in the future:—

replace the amount taken to pay for the repair of the roof, etc., from the Society's capital fund. The fund now (12th May, 1896) stands thus:—

	£	s.	d.
£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock ...	979	5	10
£177 Midland 3 per cent. Debentures ...	219	9	7
In P.O. Savings Bank ...	102	9	3
	<u>£1301</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>

A similar table showing the value of the various investments on the 31st December, 1895, is appended to the statement of account. The capital account has varied as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
1833 ...	2,100	0	0
1838 ...	1,942	7	1
1849 ...	1,300	0	0
1853 ...	1,806	19	5 ¹
1863 ...	1,200	0	0
1809 ...	700	0	0
1882 ...	824	8	11
1885 ...	1,000	0	0 ²
1886 ...	1,100	0	0 ³
1887 ...	1,200	0	0 ²
1892 ...	802	13	7

The various deductions, amounting to no less a sum than close on £1,800, have been for the most part on previous occasions, as in the last instance, due to expenditure in the nature of rent, and will be found to coincide in time with the various leases taken by the Society. This makes it all the harder that this Society, one of the oldest of the learned Societies, should have been omitted from the list of those who have house-room provided for them by the national Government.

¹ This increase is due to the special Government grant referred to in the note on the first table.

² These increases were due to the improved state of the ordinary revenue of the Society.

The Council regrets to have to announce the death of two of the Honorary Members of the Society—Dr. Reinhold Rost and Professor von Roth. In their place the Council recommends the election of Professor Baron von Rosen, of St. Petersburg, and of Professor Windisch, of Leipzig.

By the rules of the Society five gentlemen retire from the Council, two of whom are re-eligible, that is to say—

Mr. Arbuthnot,
Dr. Thornton,
Prof. Douglas,
Mr. Strong, and
Sir Raymond West;

and the death of Dr. Rost creates one vacancy. The Council recommends the election in their stead of—

Mr. Arbuthnot,
Prof. Macdonell,
Dr. Thornton,
Mr. Watters,
Mr. Wollaston, and
Mr. Walhouse.

By the rules of the Society Professor Cowell, Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, and Sir Fred Goldsmid retire from the Vice-Presidency. The Council recommends the election in their stead of—

The Right Hon. Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, G.C.S.I., F.R.S.,
Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., and
Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., LL.D.

The usual statement of accounts is laid on the table.

Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L.: My Lord Reay, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to move the adoption of the Report which you have just heard, and I very gladly do so. At the same time I must confess it is somewhat of a mystery to me why I have been

selected for this very honourable office; but though the honour is quite undeserved, I like it all the same. It is possible that whoever has selected me for this honour, has selected me on the Aristotelian principle, which is a very true one, that things are sometimes best explained by their contraries, and that therefore he has chosen one, who cannot claim to be an Orientalist, as the exponent of a Report of one of the most ancient and most successful Asiatic Societies in existence. But though, in common with many of my brethren in the Indian Civil Service, I cannot claim to be an Orientalist (because during my career in India I was far too preoccupied in affairs to be able to prosecute Oriental studies), yet I still take the deepest interest in them. Like a devout Hindoo, the retired Anglo-Indian still worships towards the Land of the Rising Sun, and is glad to seek refuge from the keen blasts of the North in the sunshine of the Light of Asia.

And now as to the Report itself. It is a somewhat chequered record—on the one hand, of terrible losses; but on the other hand, of steady progress and hope for the future. We have lost, ladies and gentlemen, the most illustrious of our members, the great Sir Henry Rawlinson, who for many years was the Director of our Society. We have lost the unrivalled scholarship and the genial presence of Sir Thomas Wade. We have lost the painstaking research of Dr. Trilokya Nāth Mitra; and we have more recently lost the wide knowledge, the extended experience, of our late friend and colleague, Dr. Rost. Yes, they are gone; but they will not soon be forgotten. Bedded like rocks in the stream of human progress, their work and their memory survive. "The waters flow by"—so runs the Afghan proverb—"the waters flow by, the floods cease, but the stones remain for ever." But fortunately for human happiness, no man, however great, is indispensable; and it so happens, therefore, that in spite of our losses, the year's history is one, not of sensational, but what is perhaps better, of continuous and satisfactory advance.

When I first joined this Society, on my retirement from

India about the year 1881, its income from subscriptions was £538; the receipts from the sale of the Journal and advertisements amounted to the magnificent sum of £1; and on the year's income and expenditure there was a loss of £87. Now, during the year 1895, in spite of long-continued financial depression, and in spite of our having, in the case of a certain class of members, reduced the amount of the subscription—notwithstanding all this, the total amount of the receipts from subscriptions amounted to £570; our income from the sale of the Journal and advertisements was £217, the largest amount from that source ever received; there was a surplus of £112, and during the year a sum of nearly £300 was invested: so that at the end of the year the debt to capital, which had accrued, owing to our having to sell out securities from time to time, in order to meet deficits to the extent of £1700, was reduced to £900—in other words, at the close of the year a debt of about £800 was wiped out. Moreover, though the income from subscriptions has not very largely increased, the number of subscribers has increased in far greater proportion, owing to the reduction in the amount of fee in certain cases.

It is a very satisfactory feature that, during the year 1895, eleven of our new subscribers were natives of India. I trust that if any of our new members, natives of India, happen to be present—I think I see one in the room here—I hope that they will inform their compatriots how very glad we shall be to welcome many more.

But, though our financial position is far better than it was, you must not suppose that we are wealthy. Such is far from being the case, for our ideas are far grander than our resources. We could wish, for instance, to have co-operated much more effectively and substantially in aid of the formation of the Oriental Translation Fund, which, thanks to the liberal generosity of Mr. Arbuthnot—(applause)—and of our late President, Lord Northbrook, and others, has been formed, and, as we are told in the Report, is doing excellent work. But matters are improving, and let us hope that some day or other there may arise another Colonel North,

equally open-handed and generous with him who has just departed, but with Oriental instead of nitrate proclivities.

But the most satisfactory, though not always, I admit, the most successful, means of raising money is—to deserve it. Let us consider, therefore, how far during the year we have deserved the contributions that we have received, and that we hope to receive. Let us inquire how far, during the year, we have endeavoured to carry out the objects of our institution, that is to say, what we have done towards the “investigation and encouragement of Arts, Science, and Literature in relation to Asia.”

Well, on this point the Journal itself will tell you a great deal. In the first place, the Journal for 1895 contains 27 original communications, some of them of very great value, and—this is an important point—nearly all of them would, in all probability, have never seen the light but for the opportunity afforded for their publication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Among the more important of these papers I would venture to mention that of Mr. Guy Le Strange's text and translation of “Ibn Serapion's Description of Mesopotamia and Bagdad in A.D. 900”; and Dr. Winternitz' very learned paper on “The Connection between the NeJamesha, Naigamesha, and Nemeso.” These are not what would usually be considered lively reading, but as specimens of laborious and careful scholarship, they are of the greatest value. Then there is Mr. Hopkins' valuable account of “The Origin and Early History of the Chinese Coinage,” and Mr. Strong's “History of the Island of Kilwa,” from a previously unpublished old Arabic text, which is given *in extenso*. Then there is a Sinhalese gentleman, Don Martino de Zilwa Wickremasinghe—and we are particularly glad to welcome as a fellow-worker one born in that remarkable island, which can boast an unbroken succession of good scholars for more than 2000 years—who has deciphered for us “The Sinhalese Inscriptions on Copperplates in the British Museum.” Dr. Bühler's “Notes on Past and Future Archaeological Explorations in India” is full of interesting

and valuable suggestions; and then there is Mr. Chalmers' paper on "The Nativity of the Buddha"; Mr. Browne's "Notes on the Poetry of the Persian Dialects"; Mr. Rapson's papers on "The Counter-marks on the Early Persian and Indian Coins." Each of them adds to the world's knowledge on the subjects discussed; and I dare say there are many other papers that have struck other members and subscribers as being papers of very great value.

Then, again, the Report contains forty-five Reviews or Notices of Books. And here I would venture to express on behalf, I think I may say, of the Council, our thanks to those gentlemen who, at considerable trouble, have undertaken to review the books that from time to time appear in our Journal. We have no funds from which to remunerate them, and therefore their kindness is all the greater. Then, again, in the Notes of the Quarter that are published in our Journal will be found a contemporaneous record of Oriental research. And in addition to all this we have had several Committees of some importance—one, for instance, on Transliteration, which is still sitting; and we have also had several interesting meetings and discussions.

Well, for such success as has been obtained in all these departments of our work, the main credit, of course, is due to our able and indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Rhys Davids—(applause); but no small portion of the results of the year is due to the inspiring energy of our distinguished President—(applause)—who has stimulated us by his example and taken the keenest interest in our work. Thanks to his Lordship, the Royal Asiatic Society was admirably represented at the last Oriental Congress at Geneva, and it was through his initiation that the Society took part in pressing upon the Government the importance of establishing a teaching University for London, and in connection with it an Oriental department, and thus removing what his Lordship has appropriately described as a most disgraceful blot upon the educational escutcheon of the Metropolis. And now that we have, I am glad to say, re-elected our distinguished President for another term of three years, we look forward

with the greatest pleasure to the prospect of his again adequately and honourably representing our Society at the forthcoming Congress at Paris.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have not much more to say. I referred in the commencement of my speech to the severe losses that we had experienced; but I do not like to conclude without saying that we are far from being discouraged. We have still with us many distinguished representatives of Oriental scholarship in the widest sense; some have already achieved for themselves a worldwide reputation, *e.g.*: Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams, or Professors Cowell, or Legge, or Sayce, or Douglas, or Bendall, or Rhys Davids; then there is our learned and ever active Honorary Secretary, Dr. Cust, and many others that I could name—Mr. Browne, who has given us some very valuable papers; Professor Macdonell, whom you have just elected on the Council; Mr. Rogers and Mr. Beveridge; and there is our friend Dr. Leitner, sitting immediately in front of us—he, too, is one of the illustrious band whose names are already known. But apart from all these, there are rising members of this Society whose work is of the highest promise. Amongst this younger generation we have Hopkins and Fraser, great in Chinese, and Guy Le Strange, Strong, and Ross in Persian and Arabic; and on the Indian side Rapson, and Taylor, and Chalmers, and Houghton, and Wickremasinghe; while in the domain of historical research we have in Edward MacLagan a very promising son of a distinguished father and old friend of ours; and last, and not least, there is to be mentioned the name of Mrs. Rhys Davids, the wife of our distinguished Secretary. (Hear, hear.) So altogether, notwithstanding our losses, the outlook is most encouraging. Death may make havoc in our ranks, but there are fine recruits ready to fill up the gaps, or, to change the metaphor, as in nature, so in scholarship—

Roses shall be where roses were,
Not shadows, but reality;
As if they never perished there,
But slept in immortality.

(Applause.) — With these remarks I have the honour to propose the adoption of the Report and the several recommendations contained in it.

Mr. J. Kennedy, I.C.S. (ret.): I have been asked, my Lord, to second the adoption of Dr. Thornton's resolution. When the request was first made to me, I, too, asked myself precisely the same question that Dr. Thornton asked himself, why was I selected for this office? and as I could find no answer in myself, I set about a diligent study of the Report. That Report is almost entirely financial; and as it so happens, I have on one or two occasions had the honour to act as Auditor for this Society, and I have had occasion to examine somewhat closely the financial aspects of the Society's work; I can therefore speak with the greater confidence on one or two points of the very gratifying Report before us. The income of this Society is mainly derived from four sources—a grant from the India Office, certain rents (derived by subletting the rooms to other societies), subscriptions, and the sale of the Journal. The grant from the India Office and the rents from other societies are of course more or less fixed, and, taken together, they almost cover the rent of this building; the solvency of the Society therefore depends entirely on the subscriptions and the sale of the Journal. Of the subscribers, the non-residents are the most numerous, and in many respects a most important section, though financially each non-resident member subscribes less than a resident member. The greater part of the non-resident subscriptions goes really to defray their share in the publication of the Journal. The Society, therefore, must mainly depend upon an increase in the number of resident subscribers. Now the circle from which the Society draws its resident subscribers is a limited one, and any increase under this head must be slow. I do not know whether the Council has ever considered the advisability of altering the rule with regard to composition, but at present it seems to me that the permission to compound instead of

subscribing annually is a source of loss, and not a source of gain, to the Society. It might be well either to abolish the rule altogether, or to modify it according to some scale of age as has been done, for instance, in the London Library. Then I come to the sale of the Journal, the most gratifying feature of this year's statement: eight years ago the income of the Journal did not reach anything like £100; this year we have derived over £217 from that source alone, and this result is in the main due undoubtedly to the enterprise and energy of our Secretary, which has resulted in the excellence and variety of the articles in the Society's Journal. I lay stress on the word variety, because some years ago in India there was an impression that the Society's interests were too much devoted to a few departments only. No one can now complain that the Society's interests are in any way restricted. We have subjects of all ages from the earliest periods to the eighteenth century, and ranging from the Magians of Persia and the Gnostics of Alexandria to the furthest East.

At the same time I think the Journal might be improved perhaps in two ways. I think that though we have articles on all subjects connected with history, and all subjects which go to the making of history—religion, ethnology, numismatics, and archaeology—yet of articles on history proper in its narrowest sense we have remarkably few. They are conspicuously absent. And such articles, I submit, appeal to a certain section of students, and might advantageously find a home in the Society's Journal. Another point in which we might improve, I think, is by the insertion of summaries of research—occasionally or annually in the Journal. This would be an immense boon to many of us who are not able to follow all the literature of the subjects; and by some reduction perhaps in the notices of the less important books, room might be made in the Society's Journal for such summaries. Then, again, I think that we have this year had two or three papers of interest which were not printed in the Journal. That

system, I submit, might be somewhat extended. We must all of us have often felt that it was impossible to criticize adequately, or in any case it was presumptuous of us to criticize, articles which the authors had devoted months and years to elaborating, when they were submitted to us at an hour's notice. These articles, I think, are better studied at home in the Journal, whereas very often articles of interest might be read here though they found no place in the Journal, and made no pretence to original research, provided they contained sufficient novel matter of general interest to the subscribers.

As to the expenditure, I need only say that the Society's expenditure has always been on the most frugal scale—one might be almost tempted to call us penurious, but it is a case of necessity and not of choice. Every year your Council is now able to show us a balance in our favour, an increasing balance as a rule; and I think we may all thank the Council most heartily for the wise and judicious manner in which our finances have been managed.

Dr. Thornton: I wish to be permitted, Lord Reay, to supplement what I said, for I find I have made an omission in my speech. I wished to mention our great indebtedness to the services of our excellent Assistant-Secretary—(Hear, hear, and prolonged applause)—who knows every book in the library, and is always most ready to help those in search of the information. When I said in the earlier part of my speech that "no man was indispensable," I was careful to limit the observation to the male sex. For men may come and men may go,—but what *should* we do without Miss Hughes? (Applause.)

The Chairman: We should be very pleased if any members present would make suggestions, either with reference to the Journal, or the recommendations of the Council, or any other matters affecting the Society. We are in Committee of Supply, and any member has the right to speak.

Mr. Raynbird: For some sixteen years I have been engaged on original research. It has been a tremendous

struggle for me, and I was very pleased to hear what his Lordship had to say with regard to the Oriental School for London. I owe my first taste for Oriental learning to a visit to my brother down in the centre of Russia. I was there about four months, and picked up some few words of Russian. Afterwards I was a student under the late Dr. Rost, and in studying Sanskrit with him I was very much struck with the similarity of some of the Russian and Sanskrit words. I am sorry to say that owing to a lack of facilities for studying Sanskrit, and especially, what I consider most important, for the study of the Indian vernaculars, the Prakrit, my studies have been obliged to be to a great extent laid on one side. They have been especially in the non-Aryan vernaculars of Northern India—Gondi, Khond, Uraon, and Malto—as well as the Kolarian group, Santhali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Bhil, Korwa, Agaria, and others. In these studies I was assisted especially by my wife, who is a native of India. And what I wanted to say now was that I should like very much, if it were possible, to be able to prepare a paper on this subject, "The Comparison of the non-Aryan Languages of Central India with the neo-Aryan Languages of India"; but I am sorry to say it is a work that I cannot do myself. I have tried to do it; I have worked hard for the last sixteen years, but it is impossible for me; and unless I get assistance, I must abandon it. I wish to put this before you, because I think it is only right that the Oriental public should know what is going on. I remember at the Oriental Congress held in London, Mr. Baines called attention to these non-Aryan languages of Central India. They are dying out with the advance of the railway. I and my wife have done as much as we could to preserve them, and I believe there are other students at work on the subject; but, as I am sure everyone in this room must be aware, they are studies that are entirely uncommercial. If I have been personal in this matter, I hope you will excuse me; I thought it was well that those of you who are pushing this matter of the Oriental School might

realize the urgency of it. I do not plead for myself in any way, but for the subject on which I am engaged, because I believe for many years many Oriental scholars have been trying to throw some light upon this subject, but for want of materials they have not been able to make much advance. Such materials as were available to me I have made over to the Royal Asiatic Society; I believe they are on the shelves at the present day. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Desai: Ladies and gentlemen, allusion has been made to India. I may say that the Indians will receive with entire satisfaction the election of Lord Reay, who has been beloved by every citizen of India. I think there could not be a better stimulus to the Asiatic Society than the election of Lord Reay. I have spoken to several Indians who might be willing to join the Asiatic Society, and I think the election of Lord Reay will be an additional stimulus to them, and before long there will be a good many Indians joining this Society.

Dr. Leitner: Apart from the personal satisfaction which we all feel at the re-election of Lord Reay and of the members of the Council who have done so very well indeed in the past, I should like to take the opportunity of referring again to the importance of his still further advocating the establishment of a great Oriental School. The importance of this cannot be sufficiently accentuated; and I may mention, with reference to this point, the labours in the past of myself and others, rewarded as they were in the establishment of an Oriental Section at King's College in 1859-64, in which one of my pupils, Dr. Wells, now the Chief Interpreter at the Foreign Office, is Professor. The amalgamation between University College and King's College, in London, in the present Oriental School under the Imperial Institute, has turned out two or three promising scholars, amongst whom I may mention Mr. Ross. I feel inclined, with reference to this School (although personally pleased with the fact that both my son and my nephew have been scholars of the Institute), to find great fault with its want of organization, and to express

the hope that this Society will not be satisfied with the Oriental School there, the result of a paper that was read here by Sir Charles Wilson. No, have a School that shall not be an apology for one—that shall combine the scholarly manner, say of the Vienna Academy, and the practical (perhaps too practical) tendency of the Berlin School, in which the classical languages are sacrificed to the vernaculars; in which the dialects of Arabic are, *e.g.*, studied in preference to the classical Arabic, by which alone a man can acquire any influence among Muhammadans. You ought to make it politically, academically, and practically the best possible School in the world. As soon as our President gains his main point of having established that School, I hope he will insist that it shall benefit, first and foremost, by the examples of the schools that I have mentioned, and then by such real liberality to be shown by the State towards it, as in the case of the French, German, and Russian Schools. It is almost too bad, I would say, considering how Oriental questions are pressing on us, to have to stop at the present not altogether successful stage. The formation of a great Oriental School is a *necessity* to science and to this country. My Lord, we hope that, in your chair as President of this Society, and in your seat in Parliament, and in all other positions which you are filling with so much credit to yourself and advantage to the public—that this should be insisted on in a manner in which, and be accomplished with a thoroughness and liberality with which, it has never been done before. Such a School we must have, if this country is to keep its own in its struggle with other countries, from every point of view—scientific and other.

Now, coming back to this Society, a great deal has been done by it, and it is ungracious to find fault; still, the success of this Society will depend on its sympathy with criticism, and on its readiness to benefit by it. The Journal has, certainly, been much improved. The proof of that is in its large sale, which we owe to the Secretary. Whether the suggestions that have now been made might not be taken

into serious consideration, I will not venture to say; but I certainly would suggest that the Journal be in touch, not merely with the best learning and the best research, but also with Oriental actualities. I do not wish for a moment to bring you within the range of political discussion; but when you had such an inquiry as that of the Mahdi, the academical treatment of it would not only have dissipated many mists that gathered round that question, but would have materially assisted in telling us much of what we have since learned from Slatin Pasha's book, and, indeed, it would have taught that excellent official something, namely, the importance of studying classical Arabic. This would have enabled him to become the master of the situation, and the Khalifa would never have dared to keep him in captivity, because of the commanding influence he would have acquired. Do not think I wish to urge your intrusion for one moment on the domain of politics; but I do wish this Society, on all obscure questions of this kind, to take the position of the leading academical society, to which its antecedents entitle it, by dealing from an academical standpoint with Oriental actualities.

Excuse my having taken up your time. I sincerely trust that this Society will be the acknowledged representative of the various specialities which the Society, as a whole, so worthily represents; that in the Council itself we may find the authorities on all the branches of Oriental learning—Turkish, Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian, and so forth; and that you will put the concluding seal of success on Oriental learning by enlarging the domain of discussion and re-entering on that of its active promotion. In the success of the Oriental School none will more sincerely rejoice than the men who have tried to obtain what for many years they have thought essential to the success of this country. But I hope now many years will not pass before we shall have it as a *fait accompli*.

Professor Bendall: I would mention one small point in supplement to what fell from Dr. Thornton and in defence of our Journal. A very recent event was the assassination

of the Shah. That was attributed to the Babîs. Now I think the papers on the Babîs published in our Journal show that we takè real interest in the Oriental movements of the nineteenth as well as those of the eighth century.

The Secretary : I should like to draw attention to the fact that the Council proposes in place of two honorary members, whose services we have unfortunately lost during the past year, to elect Professor Baron von Rosen, of St. Petersburg, and Prof. Windisch, of Leipzig. I have no doubt that that proposition will meet with the very cordial sympathy of the meeting. Professor Baron von Rosen is the very life and soul of the famous Oriental School of St. Petersburg, of which we so earnestly wish we had a copy here in London ; he has edited its special Journal for a great many years, and although he is himself a scholar of the very highest standing, he is always willing to give his time and his help to all the young students there who are engaged in research. Among his other work, I may add, Professor von Rosen contributed very largely by his articles on the Babîs and their literature to the elucidation of a question which has been mentioned just now as coming most particularly within the purview of this Society. Then the other gentleman whom the Council recommends as an honorary member, Professor Windisch, is a many-sided man. Well known as one of the leading Professors of Sanskrit in Germany, he is also, I think I may say, one of the first Keltic scholars in Europe, having specially taken up the Irish side of Keltic studies. He has been elected during this last year as Rector of Leipzig University, and has been for many years the Secretary of the German Oriental Society. His recently published monograph on "Māra and Buddha" will be known to most of you as an excellent example of the right method of historical criticism in the comparison of documents of varying age in their treatment of one set of ideas. In all that has been done by both of these distinguished scholars they have been carrying out the objects this Society was founded to

promote. It is very difficult for us, who have only thirty vacancies to fill up, to choose rightly, and, of course, it is always somewhat invidious to choose at all, but I think there can be no doubt that the gentlemen the Council has named to you are worthy of the honour of being our honorary members. (Applause.)

Mr. Adler : I do not know if I am in order in suggesting a name for the Council, but I should like to suggest the name of Mr. Thomson Lyon, who has acted, I think, as Auditor of this Society for some time. He is a young man : I do not know if that be a fault : it will probably improve in time. He has done good work on the Transliteration Committee ; and I can speak of my own knowledge from this fact, that there is no member of this Society so popular at the reunions abroad of the Oriental Congresses as Mr. Lyon.

The Chairman : Before I put the motion which has been so eloquently and exhaustively moved by Dr. Thornton and so suggestively seconded by Mr. Kennedy, I shall only make a very few remarks. In the first place, it is quite true that this Society meets in rooms which are of a very modest character. But if it be any relief to your feelings, I may mention that I was lately present at a meeting of the Société Asiatique in Paris, and certainly the room where those gentlemen met was smaller and even lower as to its ceiling than this room. But I was very pleased to see that they were evidently proud of their humble surroundings ; and I am not sure that if the day ever comes that you will be in palatial surroundings, that the work will be more satisfactory than that which is performed now in these humble apartments. I heard M. Jules Simon relate, in most eloquent language, when he had lately to address an audience in the magnificent buildings of the new Sorbonne, how he regarded the day when he was admitted through a little door by M. Cousin to the tiny room in which M. Cousin lectured, as an event in his life which made him feel rather uncomfortable in those more sumptuous surroundings of the University.

Let us not forget, gentlemen, that after all this Society, its character and its future, depend on the seriousness of the work of its students; and so long as this Society shall have in the future, as it certainly has at present, the hearty co-operation of Orientalists of all departments and of all schools, both here and in India, of men like Professor Bhandarkar and of other learned Pundits in our Eastern dependency, and the respect which we now undoubtedly enjoy of all foreign societies, so long it shall prosper, even if its finances are not in the most brilliant condition. I wish your Treasurer could deliver a statement such as the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the other day about the finances of England; but I do not see that we can attain that condition for a very long time to come.

I listened to Mr. Kennedy's suggestions with great interest. One of them, he will be pleased to hear, will be carried out at once, for a proposal about the composition fee is to be made presently. Then his suggestion with regard to the papers which are read, and not printed in the Journal, must undoubtedly be considered. Perhaps even Mr. Kennedy might go a step further, and we might make this alteration, that a paper in the Journal which had been circulated among the members, might be discussed at one of our meetings—and some papers are well adapted to a debate. The members would come here after having read the paper in the Journal. There would be no necessity to read a paper, and we could at once enter upon a lively discussion. That is a suggestion growing out of the suggestion made by Mr. Kennedy. It would be to the same effect as if a sermon were published and the congregation invited to discuss the sermon. (Hear, hear.) I merely mention this as an idea which, perhaps by a revolutionary evolution, I deduced from what Mr. Kennedy said.

The very interesting speech made by Mr. Raynbird was not, I think, at all egotistical, but struck me, as I suppose it did most of the members present, as very practical and

very much to the point. We might certainly improve neglected opportunities in many ways. We have all listened with pleasure to Dr. Leitner's speech. He has taken up more or less the position of a candid friend of our Society, and he has a right to assume that position, because we all know that he does take a real interest in our work. We also know that he himself undertakes a good deal of work in the field that we cover, and there is plenty of room for all. What he has said about our Oriental School deserves our assent. I hope he did not think I meant merely widening the scope of any existing Oriental School. What I desire to get is an Oriental School forming an essential and principal branch of the London University, with recognized courses of instruction and degrees. We shall then be able to compete with the very important schools which exist abroad. I hope Dr. Leitner will be one of the witnesses called by the Statutory Commission, and will give evidence on the organization of Oriental studies in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. We can draw on the experience which has been gained in those various capitals. I am sure Professor Bühler's evidence would also be most valuable. In conclusion, I wish to thank you for having attended this meeting in such large numbers, and to say that the active co-operation of members, the suggestions made to us either about the Journal or about our meetings, will be most acceptable to those responsible for the increased usefulness of the Society. (Applause.)

[Dr. Cust here took the chair, as the President had to leave.]

M. Gaster, Ph.D.: I have to move a small change in one of our rules, and shall not detain you more than a few minutes. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the intellectual income of the Society is derived from two sources—men with brains and money, and men with brains but without money; and the question is, how can we enlist the greatest number of scholars and workers in the Society to make the Journal as complete as possible, and to widen the interest and work of the

Society. I have been entrusted, therefore, with the following resolution to submit to you: "That persons residing in London, who earn their livelihood by teaching or research, should be eligible as members of the Society on the same terms as non-residents." That is to say, they will pay 30s. instead of £3 3s. They will not be members of the Council, but will be entitled to all the other privileges which the non-resident members enjoy, and we should have the right to enjoy their intellectual services on behalf of the Society. It might bring us only a few shillings, but it will also bring mints of intellectual gold and increased interest in the proceedings of the Society.

Dr. Leitner: I have much pleasure in seconding this motion, and there is very little to be added to the eloquent and practical remarks of Dr. Gaster. It often happens that the working men in literature and science are not blessed with this world's means, and yet their adhesion is very valuable. I should almost think a guinea would be enough, but 30s. may not deter them. Besides the advantage of having new members, I think you are really tapping the brains of new men for your Society. I do not quite understand what is meant by their not being members of Council, and I am glad to see that is not embodied in the words of the resolution. I think it might be left for the Society to decide whether they should be eligible. I would welcome them there, and would simply make the rule that all engaged in teaching, and especially in the teaching and authorship of Oriental languages, should be admissible as members of the Society, and reserve all further questions for the Council to settle.

General G. G. Alexander: It seems to me that a proposition of that kind is so important that sufficient notice ought to be given, that it might be well thought over before it is brought to the vote; and, generally speaking, I think it is desirable to give notice beforehand of any motion that deals with the constitution of the Society. I propose, therefore, that the consideration of it be adjourned to some future meeting.

The Chairman: The rule is that "The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall ordinarily be held on the second Tuesday in May to receive and consider a report of the Council on the state of the Society; to receive the Report of the Auditors on the Treasurer's Accounts; to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing year; to elect Honorary Members; and to deliberate on such other questions as may be proposed relative to the affairs of the Society." This is the only occasion on which the Society meets collectively; the question has been thoroughly thrashed out in the Council. It is a liberal measure, and should not be put off. It may not be offered again.

[The motion was put, and carried unanimously.]

Professor Bendall: I have great pleasure in moving that Rule 42 should run as follows:—

"42.—The following compositions are allowed in lieu of annual subscriptions—

"For resident members for life, forty-five guineas.

"For non-resident members for life, twenty-two pounds ten shillings; for four years' subscription in advance, five guineas."

This question has been carefully considered by the Council, who appointed a small committee, of which I was a member, to go into the question. The Secretary was good enough to get us the rules of several other societies. We had, I think, before us, the rules of the London Library, but we thought them somewhat too elaborate. We came to the following somewhat simple result, but still in the direction which was indicated by Mr. Kennedy. We quite agreed that the Society did stand to lose by the existing rate of composition, which is ten years' subscription. I cannot say that it is inappropriate that I have been asked to bring this forward, for I am a standing example of the loss the Society suffers by it. I entered fifteen years ago, and compounded—I remember it was a great pull on me then—and for the last three or four years, since the ten years have passed, you have

been steadily losing by me. Perhaps in more fortunate days I may be able to join that noble army of the compounders who voluntarily pay extra; but meanwhile, we propose that the composition be calculated on a basis of fifteen years' subscriptions, as it is in most of the other societies.

Mr. H. Morris: I formally second that motion.

Mr. Thomson Lyon: May I ask when the change is to come into effect, for I was in the course of making an arrangement to commute?

The Chairman: I think it need have no retrospective effect if you have already communicated your intention.

Mr. Thomson Lyon: In that case I should be quite prepared to vote for it.

[The motion was put, and carried unanimously.]

Mr. Morris: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the change which I have now to propose is a formal one, but it goes very much in the direction of what Dr. Gaster said just now, of widening and broadening the basis of the Society. In Rule 9 you have this—

“Any person who has rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society shall be eligible for election as an Honorary Member.”

That makes two classes of persons, Ordinary Members and Honorary Members; and now we propose another clause respecting those who have distinguished themselves, and yet at the same time are unable to pay the ordinary subscriptions, and it is proposed to add Rule 9a—

“It shall be in the competence of the Council to elect in special cases any person as a Member of the Society without payment; such member to receive the Society's publications, and have all the privileges of a non-resident member.”

There are already two gentlemen who have been dealt with under the section which we propose, and the Secretary seemed to think it was out of order to have no rule providing for such cases; and therefore the Council agreed that

we should put these words in the rule in order that there should be no favour in the future. We had one very pathetic case of a gentleman abroad, who was unable to pay, and yet wanted to keep up his touch with the Society and to receive the publications. I beg therefore to propose the addition of Rule 9a.

Mr. Kay : I beg to second it.

The Chairman : This has always been the practical rule of the Geographical Society. There are men whose means are very narrow, and who cannot pay the subscription. They are very few; we have only two, but they are men who are certified to be most deserving of the indulgence.

[The motion was put, and carried.]

Mr. Morris : In Rule 24 we find—

“The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held once a month from November to June inclusive, and five shall form a quorum.”

and in Rule 26 we find—

“Five Members of Council shall constitute a quorum.”

This is a mere piece of redundancy; therefore the Council proposes that in Rule 24 the words “and five shall form a quorum” be expunged.

Rule 45 is another small matter. It says that—

“Every person elected a Non-Resident member shall make the payment due from him within eight calendar months after his election.”

This rule was written when we were a very long distance from India, and a very long distance from other Oriental countries. Nowadays, as you all know, we are very close to India and other Oriental countries, so we propose to alter the eight into six.

[These changes were put to the meeting, and carried.]

Professor Rhys Davids : At this late hour I would not venture to trouble you with the paper I was announced to read. With the permission of the Chairman, the reading will be postponed to the next meeting.

June 9th, 1896.—Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot in the Chair.

1. A letter from Dr. Waddell on "Ceylon Rosaries" was read; and Mr. Wickremasinghe exhibited some ancient beads found in a *dāgaba*, and described the use of the beads. Mr. Sewell, Professor Bendall, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Rhys Davids took part in the discussion. Dr. Waddell's letter will be found in this Number of the Journal.

2. The Secretary read Mr. J. Takakusa's paper on "The Discovery of a Pāli MS. in the Chinese Buddhist Collection." Mr. Watters, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Rhys Davids took part in the discussion. The paper appears in this Number of the Journal.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Band I, Heft 1.

Grierson (G.). On the Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.

Oldenberg (H.). Varuṇa und die Ādityas.

Jacobi (H.). Nochmals über das Alter des Veda.

Stickel (Dr.) and Dr. Verworn. Arabische-Felseninschriften bei Tör.

Goldziher (I.). Ueber die Eulogien der Muhammedaner.

Foy (W.). Iranica.

Fraenkel (S.). Die Hauptstadt der "Franken" in arabischen Berichten.

Nöldeke (Th.). Zur persischen Chronologie.

Praetorius (Fr.). Weitere Bemerkungen zu der sabäischen Vertragsinschrift.

Wellhausen (J.). Ergänzung einer Lücke im Kitab al-Aghani.

Lidzbarski (M.). Eine angeblich neuentdeckte Recension von 1001 Nacht.

Hardy (E.). Jona c. I u. Jat. 439.

2. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. x, No. 1.

Jensen (P.). Die kilikischen Inschriften.

Bittner (M.). Zum "Indischen Ocean des Seidî 'Alî."

Kühnert (Fr.). Ein Geschichtscapitel auf einer chinesischen Theekanne.

Bittner (M.). Türkische Volkslieder. Nach Aufzeichnungen von Schahen Efendi Alan.

Bühler (G.). A new Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Swāt.

3. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série 9: Tome vii, No. 1.

Senart (E.). Notes d'épigraphie indienne.

De Harlez (C.). Un ministre chinois au VII^{me} siècle avant J.C. Kuan-tze de Tsi et le Kuan-tze-Shuh.

Chabot (J. B.). Notice sur les Yézidis.

Carra de Vaux (M. le Baron). Note sur un ouvrage attribué à Maçoudi.

Tome vii, No. 2.

Sauvaire (H.). Description de Damas (suite).

Nau (F.). Notice sur le *Livre des trésors* de Jacques de Bartela, évêque de Tagrit.

III. OBITUARY NOTICE.

Henri Sauvaire.

Henri Sauvaire died on the 4th April last, aged 65 years, at Robernier, a property he possessed in the south of France, and which some fifteen years ago became his permanent place of abode. His death will be lamented by many who had experienced the charm of his genial and kindly nature, and who have lost in him a much valued friend; but it is an unquestionable loss also to all interested in Arabic studies.

Sauvaire's life was spent in the Consular Service of his country. From 1857 he held successive appointments in

the Levant as Oriental interpreter. He was attached in 1860 to the French Mission in Syria. In 1876 he was placed in charge of the French Vice-Consulate at Casablanca, in Morocco; and in 1879 he was promoted to the rank of Consul. In the following year he was, at his own request, placed on the unattached list (*en disponibilité*); and in 1883 he was granted his retirement, to which he had become entitled by the rules of the Service.

Throughout the years of his official life, his hours of leisure were unremittingly devoted to the cultivation of the language and literature of the Arabs, a labour of love which endured almost to the last day of his life, and in which his distinguished talents and unflagging industry long ago gained him a deservedly high reputation. His cabinet of Muhammadan coins, formed during his long residence in Egypt and Syria, ranks as one of the very finest private collections of the kind that has been made, remarkable alike for its richness and for the many rare specimens it includes. But of still greater value are the innumerable papers on Oriental numismatics, due to his indefatigable pen, published for the most part in the *Annuaire de la Société Numismatique*, in the *Journal of the Société Asiatique*, and some also in the *Journal of this Society* and in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In all these Sauvaine's learning and scholarly care are conspicuously shown, and not a few have thrown light upon obscure points of history.

Among other works deserving particular notice is a series of articles on the history of Muhammadan numismatics and metrology, consisting of a large selection of extracts from the works of native writers. They were collected into four volumes, which appeared in 1882-7, forming a store of materials which future students of the subject will find of the greatest service.

In 1876 were published his excerpts from the Muhammadan history of Jerusalem and Hebron, the *Uns al-Jalil* of Mujir ad-din: in 1884, his translation of the journal of a Moorish envoy sent, in 1691, to the Court

of King Charles II of Spain: in 1893, an exhaustive description of an Arab astrolabe, dated A.H. 609 (A.D. 1212-3) and made at Seville, in the scientific portion of which he was assisted by M. de Rey-Pailhade. In the following year the first volume appeared of his translation, enriched with numerous and valuable notes, of 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ's historical account of the pious foundations of Damascus. Both the last-mentioned works were reprints from the *Journal Asiatique*.

Sauvaire was Correspondent of the Institute, and took part at Paris last summer in the celebration of its centenary. So far back as 1865, he was appointed Knight of the Legion of Honour, and among his other well-earned distinctions was that of Commander in the Spanish order of Isabella the Catholic.

In a letter received by the writer in December last, Sauvaire mentioned that he was engaged in the final revision for the press of an account of the Judicial Astrology of the Arabs, extracted and translated from Ibn al-Ḳummi's *Madkhal* (or *Mudkhal*), a work which will without doubt add to the debt due to its author for his labours in the cause of Eastern research.

H. C. K.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

American Oriental Society.—This Society held its annual meeting in the middle of April last, and about thirty papers on various branches of Oriental inquiry were submitted for publication in its Journal. We are glad to learn that the financial position of the Society is satisfactory, and that a new issue of the Journal may shortly be expected. There is a good deal of first-class work in Oriental matters now being done by American scholars, who have so often received part of their training in Germany; and the prospect of help in our researches from the New World is full of promise.

Sanskrit at Yale.—Mr. Edward Washburn Hopkins, author of "The Religions of India" and "Ruling Castes in Ancient India," has been appointed Professor of Sanskrit in succession to Professor Whitney.

A Survey of Vernacular Languages.—Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., with the encouragement of the Government of India and the Royal Asiatic Society of Calcutta, has undertaken a work of considerable interest and importance in which Bombay is concerned—namely, a survey of the vernacular languages of Northern, Central, and Western India. This is intended to be preliminary to a fuller linguistic survey which may be arranged for later on if the preliminary survey be successful. The idea is, in the first place, to compile a catalogue of the name of every language and dialect spoken in India. It will surprise most people, we (*Bombay Gazette*) imagine, to hear that this is so little determined that some estimate the number at 150 and others at 250. The next thing will be to obtain specimens of each language or dialect in the shape of a translation of some one fable or other piece of English suitable for the purpose; and finally, there will be the classification of the languages according to their affinities and characteristics.—*Homeward Mail*.

Pāli and Sanskrit in Japan.—The Rev. Shaku Kōnen has returned from his journey to Ceylon, undertaken with a view of studying Buddhism there, and has opened a school at Kanagawa, in Japan, for the study by Japanese Buddhists of the Pāli documents of their religion.—Another Japanese, Mr. Tokuzawa Chiezo, is still studying Pāli at the Widyodaya College, in Colombo.—Mr. Sensei Murakami is lecturer on Indian Philosophy at the Tokyo University; and a Chair of Sanskrit has been recently established there, with Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio as Professor.

Study of Persian in London.—Dr. E. Denison Ross, M.R.A.S., has been appointed to the Chair of Persian at University College, London. This Chair was held for many years by Dr. Rieu, now Professor of Arabic in Cambridge, conjointly with the Chair of Arabic; but it has now been decided to separate the two Chairs.

Dr. Richard Morris.—The First Lord of the Treasury has granted pensions of £25 a year on the Civil List to each of the three unmarried daughters of this distinguished philologist, late member of Council of the R.A.S.

Wright's Arabic Grammar, 3rd Edition.—This new edition of the standard Arabic Grammar in English very modestly styles itself again "translated from the German of Caspari," although it has outgrown this till nearly twice the size of the original. We can confine ourselves to simply notifying the fact that the first volume has just appeared, whilst the second is in the press. Part of it was already prepared by the late Prof. Robertson Smith; the remainder went through the hands of Profs. de Goeje in Leyden and Bevan in Cambridge. For the numerous remarks bearing on common Semitic philology, references are made in the new edition to the author's "Lectures on the Comparative Grammar, etc.," edited, 1890, by the late Robertson Smith. The names mentioned as editors and coadjutor are sufficient guarantee for the excellence of this edition.

Indian Chronology.—The work on Indian Chronology, upon which Miss Duff has been so long engaged, is promised for publication before the end of the year. Modelled on Fynes Clinton's "Epitome of the Chronology of Greece and Rome," it aims at giving in tabular form all those dates relating to the civil and literary history of India, between the sixth century B.C. and the sixteenth century A.D., which have been established by the historical, archaeological, and literary researches of recent years. As each date is accompanied by references to the sources from which it is derived, the book, besides giving a chronological register of events, will serve, at the same time, as an index to the bibliography of Indian Chronology generally; a fact which should make it useful to scholars engaged in this branch of research. An appendix of dynastic lists, arranged similarly to those in Prinsep's "Useful Tables," will be included in the work.

Indian and Oriental Armour.—The public are indebted to Lord Egerton of Tatton for a new edition of his most

interesting work on Indian and Oriental armour. The catalogue originally drawn up for the illustration of the arms at the India Museum has to a certain extent become useless by the transfer of the collection to South Kensington, and as yet neither the authorities at South Kensington nor at the British Museum have published a separate catalogue. As the "Handbook of Oriental Arms" alludes to both of those collections, its author deemed it advisable to bring out a new edition, and to add a chapter on Arab arms, with which our recent experiences in the Soudan have made us more fully acquainted. He also desired to describe his own collection, which contains some examples not found in either of our national collections, and which also exemplifies the great variety and richness of design in Oriental arms. Hence the present volume. It has been beautifully illustrated, some of the plates being in colours.

Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures.—As is well known, these sculptures, found in such large numbers in and about the district formerly included in the kingdom of Gandhāra, have only hitherto been dated conjecturally, on reasoning based on artistic grounds alone. Hofrath G. Bühler read a paper last month before the historical branch of the Vienna Academy on an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters found on one of the sculptures in the Lahore Museum, which he dates, on palæographical grounds, in the second century A.D. This confirms the conclusions reached, by Mr. V. A. Smith and Prof. Grünwedel, on artistic grounds. The inscription merely mentions that the statue was the gift of one Sanghamitra.

Oriental Translation Fund.—The next work to be published by the Oriental Translation Fund is Bāṇa's romance, *Kādambarī*, translated, with occasional abridgments, by Miss C. M. Ridding. A full abstract of the continuation by the author's son is added, with translations of some portions. This volume will appear in the autumn.

V. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

NOTES ON BUDDHIST BAS-RELIEFS. By SERGE D'OLDENBOURG. 4to, pp. 28. (St. Petersburg, 1895.)

This work forms a part of the publications of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg, and the pages of the separate offprint are numbered 337-365. In it the learned author passes in review the bas-reliefs and paintings at Bharhut, Ajanta, and Boro Budur. The text is, unfortunately, in Russian, but, with the help of Mr. Ross, I have been able to make out the results arrived at. These are as follows:—

Bharhut.

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Pl. xviii. | Vidhūra Paṇḍita Jātaka 542. |
| „ xxv. | 1. Ruru Jātaka 482. ¹ |
| | 2. Kakkāṭa Jātaka 267. |
| | 3. Episode of Maha Ummagga Jātaka. |
| | 4. Mughapakkha Jātaka. |
| „ xxvi. | 5. Latukikā Jātaka 357. |
| | 6. Chuddanta Jātaka 514. |
| | 7. Alambusa Jātaka 523. |
| | 8. Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka 62. |
| „ xxvii. | 9. Kurunga-miga Jātaka 206. |
| | 10. Sandhibheda Jātaka 349. |
| | 11. Nacca Jātaka 32. |
| | 12. Bhaḷlāṭiya Jātaka 504. ² |
| | 13. Asadisa Jātaka 181. |
| „ xxxiii. | 4. Mahā-kapi Jātaka 407. |
| „ xli. | 1, 3. Camma-sāṭaka Jātaka 324. |
| „ xliii. | 2, 8. Miga-potuka Jātaka 372. |

¹ This is rather the Nigrodha Miga Jātaka No. 12, as is clear from the doe in the front of the scene laying her head on the block (as pointed out already in my "Buddhist Birth Stories," 1880, p. cii).

² As this is called Kinnara Jātaka on the stone, the Canda Kinnara Jātaka No. 465 may also be compared, especially as it is also illustrated at Buddha Gayā (Rāj. Mitra, pl. xxxiv, fig. 2).

Pl xlv.	2. Mahā-janaka Jātaka 539.
„ xlv.	5. Ārāma-dūsaka Jātaka 46 and 268.
	7. Kapota Jātaka 42.
„ xlv.	2. Dabbha-puppha Jātaka 400.
	8. Dūbhiya-makkata Jātaka 174.
„ xlvii.	3. Sujāta Jātaka 352.
	5. Kukuṭa Jātaka 383.
„ xlviii.	2. Makhā-deva Jātaka 9.
	7. Bhisa Jātaka 488.

There are twenty-five bas-reliefs almost certainly illustrative of Jātaka stories which still remain unidentified. Of the above twenty-six identifications, eighteen were given in the list appended to my "Buddhist Birth Stories"; the remaining eight have been discovered by various scholars since.

Ajanta.

Some of the paintings described by Burgess, in the Ninth Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India (Bombay, 1879), are identified as follows:—

p. 32. Cave	ii. Nos.	8, 9. Māha-haṃsa Jātaka 534.
38.	ii.	27. Ruru Jātaka 482.
47.	ix.	1. Siri Jātaka 499.
50.	x.	Chaddanta Jātaka 514.
65.	xvii.	19. Mahā-haṃsa Jātaka 534.
66.	xvii.	22-24. Vessantara Jātaka.
67.	xvii.	25. Mahā-kapi Jātaka 516.
70.	xvii.	26, 27. Māti-posaka Jātaka 455.
71.	xvii.	38. Sāma Jātaka.
71.	xvii.	39. Mahiṣa Jātaka 278.
75.	xvii.	54. Siri Jātaka 499.
81.	ii. outside.	Khantivāda Jātaka 313.

Boro Budur.

The following plates in the magnificent series of reproductions in line engraving of the bas-reliefs at this ruin,

published by the Dutch Government, are also identified with certain Jātakas in the Jātaka Mālā, as shown by the following table:—

PLATES.

cxviii.	16. The Merchant takes his Food.	} 4. Cresthi.
	17. Hell. Pratyekabuddha.	
	18. Pratyekabuddha flies away.	
cxviii.	24. Wild Beasts bring Gifts to Indra.	} 6. Čaça.
	25. The Hare prepares to throw itself into the Fire.	
	31. } Five Frogs (?) and the Shepherd.	
cxli.	32. }	} 8. Maitribala.
	33. }	
	34. } Emperor Maitribala and the Frogs (?).	
cxlii.	37. The Elephant is given over.	} 9. Viçvantara.
	38. The Children of Viçvantara.	
	39. The Frogs (?) carry off Viçvantara.	
cxlvi.	48. Unmādayanti is offered as wife to the Emperor.	} 13. Unmādayanti.
	49. The Emperor's Envoy and the Unmādayanti.	
	50. The Envoy gives the "reconing" to the Emperor.	
cxlvii.	51. Meeting of the Emperor with the Unmādayanti.	} 14. Supāruga.
	52. The Merchants on the Sea.	
	53. Fish in the Lake before the Rain.	
cxlviii.	56. Fish after the Rain.	} 15. Matsya.
	57. The Quail in the Nest at the time of the Fire.	
	58. Indra before the Emperor, with a Jar.	
cxlix.	59. Indra before the Emperor, with a Jar.	17. Kumbha.

cli.	65. }		
	66. }	The Hermit in the Wood.	18. Bīsa.
clii.	68.	Indra.	
cliii.	73.	Man and Woman go out into the Wood.	
	74.	The Emperor in the Wood.	21. Cadda-bodhi.
	75.	The Hermit carries the Woman off. ¹	
cliv.	77.	Swans on the Lake.	
	78.	They tell the Emperor about the Swans.	
	78.	Hunter takes some Swans.	22. Hamsa.
clv.	81.	Interview of the Swan with the Emperor. [A fragment.]	
clvii.	90.	The Emperor rides out to Hunt.	
	91.	The Emperor in the Gorge.	
	92.	Çarabha carries the Emperor through.	25. Çarabha.
clviii.	93.	Çarabha's Farewell.	
clix.	95.	Wild Beasts in the Wood.	
	96.	The Drowned (men) and Ruru.	26. Ruru.
	97.	The Emperor in the Wood.	
	98.	Ruru's Sermon.	
clx.	99. }	Fruit is brought to the	
	100. }	Emperor (?).	
	101.	The Emperor prepares to look for the Fruit.	27. Mahā-kapi.
	102.	The Apes save themselves in Flight.	
clxi.	103.	The Sleeping Emperor.	
	104.	The Emperor in search of Wives.	28. Kṣānti.
clxiii.	111.	Brahma reads the Sermon to the Emperor.	29. Brahma.

¹ Or *vice-versa*.

clxiv.	112. The Elephant and one of the Travellers.	} 30. Hasti.
	113. The Travellers.	
	114. The Elephant makes ready to throw itself down.	
	115. The Travellers do honour to the remains of the Elephant.	
clxv.	116. Sutasoma and the Brahmin.	} 31. Sutasoma.
	117. Saudāsa carry off Sutasoma.	
	118. Sutasoma listens to the maxims of the Brahmin.	
	119. Sutasoma reads the Sermon to Saudāsa and the Prince.	
clxvi.	120. Birth of the Prince.	} 32. Ayogaba.
	123. Expedition of the Prince.	
clxviii.	127. The Prince becoming a Hermit.	} 33. Mahiṣa.
clxix.	129. The Ape and the Ox.	
	130. The Frog asks the Ox why he tolerates the Ape?	
	132. The Frog listens to the Ox's Sermon.	
clxx.	134. The Lion who has a bone in his throat.	} 34. Ātapattra.
	135. The Woodpecker extracts the bone from the Lion's throat.	
	136. The Woodpecker converses with the Lion.	

There is no need to apologize for reproducing in a form more accessible than the Russian original these very interesting results of Prof. Serge D'Oldenbourg's work. To make, in the absence of any guiding inscriptions, such identifications as these, requires rare gifts of attention and of memory; and the results here set forth show the only way along which the many still unidentified bas-reliefs can be explained.

GURU-PŪJĀ-KAUMUDĪ. Small 4to, pp. 128, with a plate.
(Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1896.)

This very interesting volume contains thirty short papers on points of Indian history or philology, written by as many friends and pupils of Professor Weber and presented to him by way of congratulation on the jubilee of his doctorate of philosophy in the University of Breslau. It is prefaced by an eloquent and graceful letter from Hofrath Dr. Georg Bühler, in which the splendid services rendered by our distinguished Honorary Member through so many years to the cause of Indian research in all its branches, are set forth, and expression is given to the deep feelings of gratitude and reverence with which he is regarded, not only by his own pupils, but by scholars throughout the world.

It would be of course impossible within the limits of a book-notice in this Journal, even if one had the necessary knowledge, to pass in review each of the thirty essays dealing with points so widely scattered over the whole field of Indian study. Every Indianist must consult the volume itself, and more particularly for the questions coming within the range of his own speciality. But the whole volume is a remarkable sign of the times in two directions, which have certainly not been present to the minds of the writers, and are therefore all the more suggestive.

This is the first volume published by a number of distinguished Oriental scholars in which (apart from the plate illustrative of a question of palæography) there is not a single Oriental character employed. We have, of course, seen a similar phenomenon in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society. But that is a journal devoted to only one branch of Indian history. And though, no doubt, the complete success of the use of transliteration as applied to Pāli has opened the eyes of other scholars; still the prejudice in favour of Oriental type has been so strong, and has so many good reasons (and, what is of more importance, such powerful sentiments) in its favour, that

no one, even a few years ago, would have expected so striking an occurrence. Professor Weber was one of the first to rise superior to the feeling against transliteration, and to see that the balance of advantage lay, after all, on its side. It is a (no doubt quite unconscious) tribute to his foresight, that this gift volume of affectionate regard should be entirely transliterated.

The second matter is really, to a great extent, dependent on this other. Of the thirty essays, no less than one-third deal with points of Pāli or other Buddhist subjects. Now, of course, most Sanskritists are willing, not only to admit, but to maintain, that in the reconstruction of the temporarily lost history of Indian thought, documents in the prakrits must be allowed their proper value side by side with documents in Sanskrit; and the ideas of Jains or Buddhists or other heretics are not, merely by their opposition to the Brahmanical theologies, on that account of no importance. But these studies still rank only as bye-paths; and the necessity of mastering strange and uncouth alphabets would have gone a great way to deter scholars from turning off from the beaten track. Here, again, Professor Albrecht Weber was one of the first to welcome all available evidence, whether expressed in Sanskrit or not, and has been always eager to press forward—*et nihil tetigit quod non lustravit*—into unexplored fields of inquiry. It is especially fitting, therefore, that this *Festgabe* to him should consist so largely of what, to a narrower Sanskritist, would be extraneous studies. But this second tribute to his foresight is as undesigned as the other; and it marks a real step forward, which can now never again be lost, in the method of Indian research.

We take this opportunity of adding our congratulations to those of Professor Weber's friends and pupils, and of echoing the wish that he may be long spared to enjoy the high position he has won in the world of scholars, and to add still further by his creative work to the dignity and the value of the studies he has done so much to promote and foster.

DIE SPRACHE UND SCHRIFT DER JUČEN. Von Dr. WILHELM GRUBE, A.O. Professor an der Königl. Universität zu Berlin. (Leipzig, 1896.)

Those who are interested in the study of the people and the language known by such names as Nüchi, Nü-chen, and Juchen, will be grateful to Professor Grube for his "Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen."

This work begins with a short preface in which we have a few remarks about the grammar of the Juchen language. The first section of the treatise proper contains a Juchen-Chinese Glossary. This is a classified vocabulary of a number of Juchen terms with Chinese transcriptions of their sounds and the equivalents of the terms in Chinese. The student should use this glossary with care and caution, as some of the Chinese transcriptions and renderings are at least doubtful. He will probably find that he has to suppose the sounds of the Juchen terms to be given by the "*fan-ts'ieh*" process more frequently than Dr. Grube thinks. He will also observe that in some instances the terms given here as the Juchen equivalents for Chinese words and phrases are different from those given in Mr. Wylie's Vocabulary and in other books. Many of the terms given in the present glossary as Juchen are purely Chinese, and many others are closely related to modern Manchu words.

The second part of the treatise gives a list of the Juchen words in the glossary arranged according to the number of strokes in the characters; the third part gives an alphabetical index to the characters; the fourth part gives a Juchen-German glossary of the Juchen words in the original vocabulary; and the fifth part gives a series of Chinese documents with a literal translation of each into Juchen terms, together with transcriptions of the latter and translations from the Chinese into German.

I propose now to make a very few observations on some passages in this curious and interesting book.

At p. 6 we find the Chinese compiler of the glossary gives "*Han-shi-ha-ch'eng-yin*" (寒食哈稱因), that is,

"the period of cold food," as the equivalent of the Chinese *Ch'ing-ming* (清明) period. The latter, however, denotes the period which immediately follows the *Hanshi*, which is not a *chil* or period properly speaking. No. 101 on this page gives *Ch'ung-yang* or double *yang*, the ninth day of the ninth month, as in Juchen "Ch'u-wên tu-lu-wên." Here *Ch'u-wên* is apparently, as Dr. Grube states, for the Chinese *Ch'ung*; and *tuluwên*, which means "warm," is for *yang*. Dr. Grube calls the *Ch'ung-yang* the "Drachenfeste," but it has nothing to do with dragons.

On p. 17, No. 322, we have the Juchen term *Pai* (Poh)-i written 百夷, with the Chinese equivalent written with the same characters, translated by Dr. Grube "Die Barbaren." But who are the "100 Barbarians"? May not *Poh-i* here be for the term now written *Pao-i* and denoting the "serfs" of the people? The inner division of each Manchu Banner, Mr. Mayers tells us, "is composed of the so-called *pao-i* (包衣), from the Manchu *bo-i*, signifying a bondservant, who are especially bound to render suit and service" ("The Chinese Government," 2nd ed., p. 51).

At p. 18, No. 324, we find the native name corresponding to the Chinese "Nü-chi" given as *Chu-hsien* (朱先), that is, probably *Jusin*. This seems to agree with the statement made by Chinese authorities that the original name of the people was *Su-shên* (肅慎), and that this became corrupted to *Nüchên* and *Nü-chi*.

The series of texts and translations in Part V is not of much value from any point of view. On Dr. Grube's translations from the Chinese there is only one observation which need be made here. Each document ends with the words 奏得聖皇帝知道, and these the Professor translates—"Sr. Majestät zur Kenntnissnahme unterbreitet." Is not the meaning rather "The memorialist had the honour to receive the Imperial Rescript 'Noted' "? The character 奏 is apparently a mistake for 奉.

INSCRIPTIONS DE L'ORKHON DECHIFFRÉES PAR VILH. THOMSEN, Professeur de Philologie comparée à l'Université de Copenhague. (Helsingfors: Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise, 1896.)

This is the latest and in some respects the most valuable of the contributions to the literature of the Orkhon inscriptions.

In 1889 the Archæological Society of Finland published a volume of "Inscriptions de l'Jénissei." This was the first work to draw attention to the numerous specimens of some curious but unknown writing found in South Siberia. The work was the result of the researches instituted by the Finnish Archæological Society under the direction of Mr. Aspelin.

In the years 1890-1 new inscriptions, also in the unknown writing, were discovered in the valley of the Orkhon in North Mongolia, near the Kocho Tsaidam Lake and not far from the sites of the ruined cities Karakorum and Kara Balgassun. These inscriptions were photographed for the Finnish expedition under Mr. Heikel and for the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg by Professor Radloff.

The key to the unknown writing from Orkhon was found in a very ingenious manner by Professor Thomsen, of Copenhagen, and in 1894 he published his short notice entitled "Déchiffrement des Inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Jénissei." In this notice the Professor details the process by which he arrived at a clue to the nature of the strange writing, to the values of the letters, and the decipherment and translation of the inscriptions. At the end of the pamphlet he gives his proposed transcription and transliteration of the alphabet. It was not until the present year that the Professor was able to carry out his design of giving a full and particular account of the results of his researches in the Orkhon inscriptions, and this he has done in the volume now before us.

This treatise in the first part gives us the alphabet of

the language, ancient Turkish, in which the inscriptions are composed, the alphabet being arranged according to vowels and consonants. The author next describes the process by which he came to give the letters their values and to treat them as he does in his translations. At the end of this part of the treatise we have some remarks on the probable origin of the alphabet and on its affinities. M. Thomsen dismisses the conjectures as to the alphabet's relations advanced by others, and states his reasons for thinking it to be allied to the Semitic Aramean alphabet.

The next part of the treatise is the introduction to the translations, and in this we have a very interesting summary of the history of the Turks known in Chinese books as the "T'u-küe." The notices of this people given here are derived from Chinese originals through European translations. Then we have the transcription and translation of two of the Orkhon inscriptions. These are supplemented by notes and "Additions et Rectifications," an "Index analytique des matières," and an "Index ture" in two divisions. As an appendix, we have an English translation of the least defective of the Chinese inscriptions from Orkhon by Mr. E. H. Parker.

The two old Turkish inscriptions here transcribed and translated by M. Thomsen were found engraven on large stone monuments. Each of these monuments contains also a Chinese inscription from the T'ang Emperor Hsüan Tsung. The Turkish and Chinese writings are not in any degree related as original and translation, and they agree only in being concerned with the same Turkish heroes. The two Turkish inscriptions were apparently the work of Bilga Khan, though written out by a relative. This Khan was a son of the Kutluk Khan and elder brother of the Kul Teghin. It was to the memory of this last that one of the monuments, the Monument I of M. Thomsen, was erected and the Chinese and Turkish inscriptions on it were composed. The work was executed by Chinese artisans, and the monument was apparently set up in the year 732, the date of the Imperial epitaph for Kul Teghin.

The inscriptions on the Monument II of Professor Thomsen are in a much more mutilated and unsatisfactory state than those on the other monument. They were composed apparently in the year 735. In that year the Bilga Khan was assassinated (or poisoned) by a chief of the Meilu (梅錄) horde, and he was succeeded by his son, who became Têng-li (登利) Khan.

The two Turkish inscriptions here translated by M. Thomsen give us many interesting notices of the exploits of Bilga Khan and his illustrious brother Kul Teghin. They are valuable also for the references which they contain to the former and the existing state of the Turks under Bilga's rule. Professor Thomsen has been able to compare his renderings with those given by M. Radloff in "*Die Alt-türkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*." His criticisms of the readings and renderings of M. Radloff are not the least interesting part of this valuable treatise.

A few words must now be devoted to the Imperial Chinese epitaph on Monument I and its translations. Of these there are at least four, viz.: two in German by Professors Wassiljew and G. von der Gabelentz, one in French by Professor Schlegel, and one in English by Mr. Parker. It must be admitted, however, that there is still need for a new and correct translation. M. Schlegel, in his "*La Stèle Funéraire du Teghin Giogh*," gives the Chinese text of the epitaph with his proposed restorations of some of the lost characters. In the first column he gives us the reading *Pi-chün-chang-chê-pên*[-*yin-yang-chi*]-*i-ye* (彼君長者本[陰陽之]裔也). The words *Yin-yang-chi* are the Professor's conjecture, the original characters being lost. He, accordingly, translates—"La souveraineté est donc en principe la descendance du (Yin et du Yang)." Mr. Parker accepts the conjectural restoration as though it were a certainty, and translates—"These prince-elders are, in fact, the hereditary consequences of the [above-mentioned] two elements." But M. Schlegel's conjecture seems to make the Chinese emperor write what is neither Chinese nor sense. Professor

Wassiljew's suggestion seems to point to the correct restoration, viz. Hsia Houshi (夏后氏). According to the Chinese, the T'u-küe were the descendants of the Hiung-nu, and the descent of the latter was traced to the great Yü, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, and hence called Hsia Hou. "Your chiefs," says the Emperor, "were originally the descendants of Hsia Hou." This name actually occurs in the second Chinese inscription given in Radloff's "Alt-türkischen Inschriften," the first character being now missing. One of the names of the Emperor Yü was Wên-ming, and it is not impossible perhaps that this in Turkish pronunciation became "Bumiu," the name of the Khan whom Bilga seems to regard as his first forefather.

The epitaph continues—*Shou-tzū-Chung-kuo-hsiung-fei* (首自中國雄飛); and M. Schlegel translates these words by—"D'abord, elle [la souveraineté] s'est étendue victorieusement de l'Empire du Milieu." Mr. Parker's rendering of the words is a little better—" [Now] dating back from the time when China made her robust flight." But the two words *hsiung-fei* convey an allusion to a poem of the Kuo Feng in the Shiching which begins 雄雉干飛, "the cock-pheasants (?) as they fly." The wife whose husband is detained far away in the wars compares him to the brave and handsome pheasant which can fly home at will. Thus the words of the text mean—"Beginning with the frontier wars of China," that is, in the reigns of Wu Ti and other emperors of the Han dynasty. These wars led to the pacification of the Hiung-nu and other border tribes, and to the introduction of good government among them for a time.

Several other passages in these translations require to be revised, but further observations must be reserved for another possible opportunity.

T. W.

1. THE IMITATION OF ŚANKARA. By MANILĀL N. DVIVEDI. 8vo, pp. 229. (Bombay, 1895.)
2. THE MĀNDŪKYA UPANISHAD. By the same. (Bombay Theosophical Society, 1894.)
3. THE THEOSOPHY OF THE UPANISHADS. Part I, 1894. 8vo, pp. 203. (London Theosophical Society, 1896.)
4. THE UPANISHADS. By G. R. S. MEAD and T. C. CHATTOPADHYAYA. Vol. I. 12mo, pp. 137. (London Theosophical Society, 1896.)

These works, published from the point of view, not of the scholar, but of the propagandist, deserve notice, not only as an interesting sign of the times, but also as being incidentally useful to the student of Indian thought. The "Imitation of Śankara" is avowedly fashioned after Mr. Bowden's "Imitation of Buddha," which is merely a birthday book with an edifying passage selected for each day of the year from Buddhist writings. So does Mr. Dvivedi select 658 sentences, not taken, indeed, from Śankara, but from recognized authorities on the view of life propounded by Śankara, and arranges them, not one for each day, but according to the subject—Guru, Karma, Jñāna, Yoga, and so on. Each sentence or verse is given both in English and Sanskrit; and there are four capital indices—of authors quoted, of the first words (in Sanskrit) of each sentence, of details of the Vedāntist view referred to in the sentences (act, being, belief, ecstasy, evil, etc.), and of Sanskrit technical terms used in the English sentences: all these are so well drawn up that the whole forms a most useful book of reference on the Advaita system.

So also the second book on the list, though it has a long introduction in which the claims of the Advaita Vedāntism to be the highest outcome of human thought are urged in an extravagant way, goes on to give a very reliable and valuable version of the Upanishad itself, and of Gaṇḍapādas Kārikā and Śankara's Bhaṣya—again a very useful work.

The "Theosophy of the Upanishads" is of quite a different class. Here an anonymous author gives his own view of

the Advaita teaching in language supposed to be intelligible to modern Western readers. He quotes authorities without chapter and verse, and has practically put together a book of Vedānta and water which is of no value to the historical or philosophical student.

In the last work on our list the student will find, for the price of sixpence (!), a translation, in several respects very interesting, of six of the early Upanishads—the *Isā*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Praṣṇa*, *Muṇḍaka*, and *Māṇḍūkya*. It is a dainty volume, got up to imitate the smaller modern Sanskrit MSS. on paper; and the peculiarity of the versions is the attempt to convey in English the ruggedness and ambiguity of the original Sanskrit. There are short introductions, and a few very short notes, but no indices of any kind. Perhaps these are reserved for the next volume, which is to give six more of the early Upanishads. The translations are distinctly interesting and scholarly, though it is a pity that they follow so exclusively the Advaita interpretation of documents so much older than the completed Advaita scheme.

On the whole, these four manuals of devotion—for they do not pretend to be anything more—give a more favourable impression than most scholars would expect of theosophical activity.

LES LAPIDAIRES INDIENS. By LOUIS FINOT. 8vo, pp. lvi and 277. (Paris, 1896.)

This essay, published as No. 111 of the Library of the École des Hautes Études in Paris, has gained for its author the title of *élève diplômé* of the historical and philological section of the school. We have here eight different Sanskrit textbooks of the art of the Indian lapidary, edited from MSS., two of them translated with notes, and the whole provided with elaborate indices and a very careful and interesting introduction.

The principal is the *Ratnaparīkṣā*, by Buddhahṭa (spelt Buddhahṭa in the colophon), which purports to be an

abstract of the Ratnaśāstra. There are striking analogies between this poem of 252 stanzas and Varāha Mihira's (505-587 A.D.) similar abstract of an older work; and our author draws the probably correct conclusion that both are giving the substance of that older book, the Ratnaśāstra, which seems also to be referred to in the Kāmasūtra, p. 32. This Ratnaparīkṣā has been incorporated bodily into the Garuḍa Purāṇa, only the initial verse having been so altered as to conceal the fact of its author being a Buddhist.

The next in importance is the Agastimata, of 344 verses, no doubt composed in the Dekkan, not only because of the choice of the name, but also because it uses weights unknown to Buddhaghata but used in the south and in Ceylon. The date and author are entirely unknown.

These are the two texts translated. The other, shorter and evidently later and supplementary, texts are given only in the Sanskrit.

The precious stones are described in these treatises with special reference to—(1) the myths as to their origin—*utpatti*; (2) the places where they are found—*ākara*; (3) their colour or nuance of shade—*varṇa*, *chāyā*; (4) the class to which they belong, true or counterfeit, variety, etc.—*jālo*; (5) their value or the reverse as ornaments or bringers of luck—*doṣa*, *guṇa*, *phala*; (6) their value, weight, and volume—*mālya*. The introduction sums up the results arrived at under these heads with regard to all the principal precious stones.

This study merits attention for the light it throws on Hindu beliefs of the Middle Ages, for its usefulness as an aid to Sanskrit lexicography, and for the comparison which it renders possible with similar works of the European lapidaries of the Middle Ages, who shared many of the beliefs, erroneous and otherwise, appearing in these treatises. The work has been distinctly well done, and reflects credit, not only on the industry, but on the judgment and the training of the author, who has had to deal with MSS. in a very confused state.

DESCRIPTION D'UN ATLAS SINO-CORÉEN, MANUSCRIT DU
BRITISH MUSEUM. Par HENRI CORDIER, Vice-President
de la Commission Centrale de la Société de Géographie,
Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales vivantes.
(Paris, 1896.)

M. Cordier's description of the Korean Atlas in the British Museum is one of the publications of the *Recueil de voyages et de documents* edited by MM. Schefer and Cordier. The Atlas itself is a rare and curious book, and M. Cordier has prepared his description of it in his usual thorough and careful manner. The book is also well printed on good paper, and the photographs are excellently reproduced. Of the fourteen maps of the British Museum MS., only six, however, were allowed to be photographed.

The complete Atlas is composed of fourteen maps, viz. —(1) a map of Japan with the Liu-Chiu Islands on the same sheet, (2) Korea, (3 to 10) maps of the eight Provinces of Korea, (11) Söul, the capital of Korea, (12) the environs of the capital, (13) the world as known to the maker of the Atlas, and (14) a map of China.

Of these maps the *Ssü-hai-tsung-t'u*, or General Map of the Four Seas, that is, of the world, is very curious and interesting, though not very instructive or correct. It places many known countries in new positions relative to others, and it introduces a number of unknown or imaginary countries. The maps of the Provinces of Korea, of which, unfortunately, only two are in M. Cordier's book, are the most useful and interesting parts of the Atlas. These maps give the names of the towns, rivers, hills, the boundaries of the Provinces, and also valuable itineraries.

The transliteration which M. Cordier uses for Korean names of places seems a peculiar one, and some of the places will not be easily recognized in the forms he has given. Thus he writes "Tjyen-ra-to" for the Province which is called Challa do, or in Satow's transcription "Chö-h-la do." So also we have "Hpyeng-an-to" for the

Phyōng-an do, and "Kyeng-keui-to" for Kyōng-kwi do or King-ki-to.

There are a few slight mistakes, chiefly in copying or printing, which it may be worth while to correct. In the first line of p. 5 "Kao-lo-li" is for Kao-kou-li. In the same page the first syllable of the name of the Tuman river should be H, not H. In the last line of this page the words "Myo-ho," or temple designation, should apparently come after the words "Kong-yang Ouang." The personal name of this king was Yao, and he is known in history as "Kong-yang" Wang.

M. Cordier tells us quite correctly that the Imperial Chinese envoys to the King of Corea were received officially at I-chow (Wei-ju). But the king's reception of the envoys took place at a spot on the North Road, not far north-west from Sōul. The spot is indicated by a "triumphal arch" bearing the inscription *Ying-ên-mên*, the Bounty-meeting Gate.

T. W.

A. MERX. DOCUMENTS DE PALÉOGRAPHIE HÉBRAÏQUE ET ARABE, PUBLIÉS AVEC SEPT PLANCHES PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHIQUES. 4to, pp. 57 and 7 plates. (Leyde: E. T. Brill.)

Hebrew palæography is undergoing a great change: old-dated Hebrew MSS. have up to a very recent time been exceedingly scarce. Finds in the "Genizoth" (*i.e.* the hidden place in the synagogue where fragments of Hebrew MSS. were stowed away, until the time when they were to be buried), especially those of Egypt, have brought to light many very old documents, with dates. A number of these have found their way into the Library of Oxford, and into private libraries. Mr. E. N. Adler has recently brought with him from Egypt a goodly number of such documents, and there are some in my possession. All these help us to reconstruct many a missing link in the tradition of Hebrew writing. Not a few of these documents

prove that the character of writing hitherto assumed to have been of French origin, of the eleventh or twelfth century, was in reality Oriental and much older.

The present work of Prof. Merx is now the first attempt to utilize some of these newly recovered documents for the study of ancient Hebrew palæography. He publishes three documents (contracts of partnership, sale, and marriage) from 1115, 1124, and 1164, which he had obtained from a Jew of Yemen, who had probably got them in Egypt. Professor Merx publishes them in Hebrew square characters, with a French translation, and adds a few notes as well as an introduction, in which he dwells mostly on certain forms of the marriage-contract. The originals are reproduced by phototype, and a few epitaphs and documents from Worms and Spiers are added, also a fragment of an ancient Arabic text.

Every contribution of this kind, however small, must be gratefully received. But I cannot join in Professor Merx's enthusiasm over these not very perfect specimens. One can account for it by the fact that Professor Merx does not know of the vast number of more ancient and more perfect documents which the old "Genizoth" have furnished. If all those with dates would be published in facsimile and transcribed, they would form one of the most important contributions to Hebrew palæography. Texts of the tenth century (and not of the twelfth as those of Professor Merx) undreamt of only fifty years ago are now a reality, and who knows what surprises the soil of Egypt has still in store for us.

The book is magnificently printed and beautifully got up.

M. G.

BUDDHISM, ITS HISTORY AND LITERATURE. By T. W. RHYE DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D. (London, 1896.)

This book contains the first series of American Lectures on the History of Religions. The opening announcement

describes the circumstances under which the course delivered by Prof. Rhys Davids was conceived and carried out. It is the aim of the promoters of the new enterprise to secure "popular courses in the History of Religions" by the best scholars of Europe and America for delivery in various cities. For this purpose it was natural to begin with Buddhism in a country where Sir Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia" has been accepted "almost as a fifth Gospel"; and no better exponent could possibly be found than the author of the volume before us. It was perhaps a disadvantage that this distinguished scholar had already presented the same theme in a similar course of lectures some time ago on the foundation of the Hibbert Trust; but the ways of error in this difficult path of study are many, the same truths need reinforcement and fresh illustration, and much additional material has become available in the last fifteen years. Prof. Rhys Davids' style has lost none of its ease and charm, and if his opposition to the soul-theory be a little more vehement and pervasive, this does not prevent him from appreciating contrasted systems, at least on Eastern, if not always on Western soil.

The lectures, though often delivered within university precincts, were designed for general audiences. It is much to be regretted that the published volume adheres so closely to the original plan; the student would often have welcomed additional information, or fuller discussion of difficult points, such as the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith was wont to include in his notes. Criticism, therefore, takes the form chiefly of a wish that this or that topic for which space could not be found in the text, might have been expounded in an excursus. Thus, in the opening lecture the relation of Buddhism to two current forms of belief is sketched—the monism afterwards formulated in the Vedānta, and the origins of the Sāṅkhya philosophy (where Prof. Rhys Davids avails himself of the researches of Prof. Garbe). But there were other modes of speculation in the immense

intellectual activity of the Ganges Valley, amid which Buddhism arose, some of which involved the total rejection of the doctrine of Karma (common to Buddhism and Brahmanism), and with it the whole possibility of the ethical culture which was the essence of Gotama's teaching. How did Buddhism defend itself against these? Each lecture, in turn, suggests similar questions. The second discourse deals with the Piṭakas; the third describes the life of Gotama; two more are devoted to the Path and the goal of Arahatsip, in which Prof. Rhys Davids finds the secret of Buddhism; and the sixth lecture offers "some notes on the history of Buddhism." Among these the fourth and fifth, as they are the most important, so they are the most firmly knit. They contain a singularly clear and forcible display of the "truths" as expounded by the Teacher. But Buddhism, as it existed in the apprehension of the disciple, was necessarily different from its aspect to the mind of the Master. The believer received it through the Order; it was invested with all the authority of revelation, it was the gift to a sinful and perishing world from the supremely Holy and Enlightened One. The missionary power of Buddhism was largely due to the possession of this ideal. How much of the Buddha-theory was already in existence when Gotama began to preach? The materials for a decided view on this subject are not yet completely at our command; but so much has been published (due chiefly to the unwearied toil of our author himself) since the Hibbert Lecture of 1881, that a reference to his former volume is, on this topic, no longer adequate. There is a good deal of uncertainty on some questions about which Prof. Rhys Davids entertains very positive views, connected more or less directly with this central theme. For instance, there are passages in which, as Oldenberg has shown, the question of the existence after death, whether of the Buddha or of the perfected saint, is left practically open. If it may not be affirmed, it may also not be denied. So much of the terminology

of the Buddhahood is borrowed from modes of thought in which it had a transcendental meaning, that it cannot be surprising if some shreds of such significance still lingered round it. It is at any rate in that direction that we must look for the explanation of what Prof. Rhys Davids can only regard as the corruptions of the truth, viz. the assimilation of Buddhism with theism. But at this point we approach a philosophy of the subject unsuited for discussion here. It must suffice to call attention to some of the fresh passages which are now translated from the texts for English readers, and to express the hope that the lecturer may be enabled to complete the work to which he has devoted a score of laborious years.

The book is well printed: "conception," p. 124, l. 11, should of course be "exception." It is not evident what is the connection of the Akkadians of Mesopotamia with Zoroastrianism (p. 7), nor can we profess the author's faith that religion is a product of the feminine mind, and that all the gods were once "goddesses" (*sic*). And is anything gained by spelling Konfucius with a *K*? Kong-fu-tse might be endurable; but if we accept the Latinized ending of the old Jesuit missionaries, why alter the first letter?

J. E. C.

S. SCHECHTER AND REV. S. SINGER. TALMUDICAL FRAGMENTS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY. Edited with Introduction (and a facsimile). 4to, pp. vi + 28. (Cambridge: University Press, 1895.)

Among the fragments which have come from Egypt, came also a portion of a Talmudic treatise (*Kerithoth*), dated 1123, of the Babylonian redaction, and another small fragment consisting of two leaves of the *Tr. Berachoth* (Palestinian recension), but without date. These two have now been published by S. Schechter and the Rev. S. Singer. But not even an attempt has been made by them to collate these fragments with the printed editions, and especially with the first editions.

The variations are of far greater importance than the editors, who have taken their task very lightly, seem to think. The philological side of these fragments has been completely neglected, and the whole edition falls short of the requirements of a modern critical edition. The way how to do it has been shown by W. H. Lowe, who published in 1879 "The Fragment of Talmud Babli P'sachim, of the ninth or tenth century," with an exhaustive introduction, copious notes, and critical remarks, and a careful collation of his text with other editions. We miss in the new publication every reference to palæography, to the system of abbreviations, and to the mode how notes and marginal glosses are indicated in the text. It is but a bare reprint of the text, without any assistance from the joint (!) editors.

The first fragment was written by a certain Joseph the scribe from Mount Nefusah, for a certain R. Nissim, son of Sa'adyah. The editors identify this Nefusah with the Nefusa mountains in Tripolis. The character of the writing points more to Arabia and Egypt. From these countries an absolutely identical fragment of the Halakoth Pesuqoth has been recently obtained.

The divisions of the text are marked by the word *Pisqa*, which the editors omit to mention, although it is of very great importance, having been retained only in Midrashic works.

Another extremely important peculiarity, common to both fragments, is that some of the words are endowed with vowel points, and here and there biblical accents are placed upon the words. The editors explain their presence in these texts by saying: "They were probably intended to assist the student in the task of recital, it being customary to employ a certain intonation in the study of the oral as of the written Law." Not a shred of evidence is vouchsafed to us to show upon what basis this assumption rests. The use of such accents in non-biblical books opens a far-reaching question, which had created bad blood as far back as the tenth century, when Sa'adyah Gaon was

assailed for using them in his own writings. They probably served in the first place as interpunction, and had not yet anything to do with the Cantilene of the recital. Other similar fragments are in existence, in which a few biblical accents can be detected on words of a non-biblical text.

M. G.

LE LIVRE DE L'IMPÔT FONCIER DE YAHYĀ IBN ĀDAM, PUBLIÉ
D'APRÈS LE MS. UNIQUE APPARTENANT À M. CHARLES
SCHEFER, PAR TH. W. JUYNBOLL. Pp. ix and 177.
(Leide : E. T. Brill, 1896.)

The main importance of the publication mentioned above consists in the circumstance that it gives one of the oldest original texts on Moslim law, and contains much new information on the questions of territorial property and ground taxes. The different ways in which Muhammed increased the area of Islamism, either by conquests or by treaties, and the different methods in which the new estates were placed at the disposal of the Moslims, formed precedents for later arrangements. Some of these territories, as *e.g.* those of the B. an-Nadhīr, had not been taken sword in hand, and the Prophet, therefore, claimed the right to hand them over to the fugitives from Medina, whilst the land of Kheibar was distributed among the warriors. These and similar incidents set the example for the conquests made in Asia and Africa after Muhammed's death. Some scholars, as Tornaauw (ZDMG., xxxvi, p. 299), hold that these territories, whilst being in earlier times allotted to the Moslim community, gradually were allowed to remain in the hands of the subdued inhabitants, or even distributed among others. This view is contended by Kremer and Van Berchem in their publications on the subject, and they receive material support by the evidence furnished in Yahyā b. Ādam's book. And it gives also valuable information on the administration of the Moslim dominion both during Muhammed's lifetime and two centuries after his death.

The book itself is a compilation from traditions collected and communicated by Ibn Ādam to a pupil. The publication lying before us is according to the copy of Al-Busrī received from the text of As-Sukkari 416 H. The edition is very carefully prepared after the unique MS. of Prof. Schefer in Paris, to whom and Prof. de Goeje in Leyden it is dedicated. Good indexes are annexed.

H. H.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. THE LIFE AND EXPLOITS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Vol. I, Ethiopic Text; II, Translation. (London, 1896.)

To the indefatigable energy and scholarship of Dr. W. Budge we owe two of the most important contributions to the history of Alexander the Great. In 1889 he published the Syriac text of the well-known version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and now, in 1896, in two volumes, the Ethiopic versions. In the first we get the Ethiopic texts, and an Introduction, in which the editor gives a description of the MSS. and a succinct history of the legend and of its various forms and recensions. Then follow the Oriental texts, to the number of seven, and three Appendices. All of these are taken from comparatively modern MSS.—the first, Pseudo-Callisthenes, from a MS. of this century, the others from MSS. of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They are—(1) Pseudo-Callisthenes; (2) The History of Alexander, by Al-Mākin; (3) *id.*, by Abū-Shāker; (4) by Joseph ben Gorion, *i.e.* the Arabic version of the work which goes in the Hebrew original under the name of Josippon, or Pseudo-Josephus; (5) an anonymous history of the Death of Alexander; (6) A Christian Romance of Alexander; and (7) The History of the Blessed Men who lived in the days of Jeremiah the Prophet. As appendices follow—(1) The Prophecy of Daniel concerning Alexander's Kingdom; (2) 1 Maccabees i, 1-6; and (3) Extract of the Chronicle of John Mudabbar.

All these texts are translated in the second volume. The

whole concludes with an excellent Index of proper names and subjects.

The legend of Alexander being the literary property of most of the civilized nations, every contribution to its history is at the same time a contribution to the elucidation of important literary problems. I will therefore dwell a little longer on this edition.

We have thus, first, what stands for that version which is known in the Greek as Pseudo-Callisthenes. To the Ethiopians it seems to have come from an Arabic version. It is curious, however, that hitherto no Arabic text of this legend has come to light. The Ethiopic version is, according to Dr. Budge, not a literal translation, but a remodelling and recasting in a Christian form of a Muhammadan text. The scribe, we are told, adds and omits according to his own fancy. I am not inclined to credit scribes or copyists with too much latitude or originality. It is remarkable, now, that the latest form which the legend has assumed in Greek, and which to a certain extent is the basis of the Slavonic versions, differs considerably from the text published by Müller, and approaches much more the Ethiopic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Many an incident, especially those of a religious character, finds its counterpart in this latest Byzantine form of the legend. Here we find also the Brahmans as "the children of Seth," son of Adam. Further, "God who dwelleth above the Cherubim and Seraphim," and ever so many minute details. It would therefore be advisable to compare these two texts. In this way the age of the direct source for the Ethiopian could be fixed with some precision, and the relation better determined in which it stands to the older Greek versions, from which it would be almost independent.

Of no little importance is it to find an Ethiopic translation of the Alexander legend of Gorion's compilation. The Hebrew text in Gorion is an abridged interpolation into the chronicle made from an independent version of the legend, which does not figure in the ed. Pr. (by Conte, *ante* 1480), and may have been added, either to the more recent

prints or to one of the MSS. utilized for these editions. The independent and more extended Hebrew version has been published by J. Levi, and an abstract of the text contained in a London MS. has been published by me in Russian, with comparative notes. The result of my investigation has been to establish the dependence of the Hebrew legend upon an Arabic, now lost, which goes back to an old Syriac (Pehlevi) version.

A third text, viz., the "Romance of Alexander," from which every trace of history has been successfully obliterated, commands our greatest attention. Nöldeke, in his study on the Oriental versions, has dwelt at some length on the Syriac "Romance." We have here an Ethiopian counterpart, and I have discovered a Hebrew version of this "Romance," of which I am preparing an English translation. In each of these "Romances" Alexander is treated with the same liberty with which French epical writers of the Middle Ages treated the "Life of Alexander." Much is still obscure in the continual growth and change of the legend, and the "Romance" has thus far escaped everyone's attention. The research into the history of this special development of the ancient legend has now been much facilitated by the publication of these numerous texts, and above all through the Ethiopian version of the "Romance."

I cannot conclude without alluding to the sumptuous edition of this version, and to the munificence of Lady Meux, through which alone this important publication has seen the light.

M. G.

HENRY BARNSTEIN, PH.D. THE TARGUM OF ONKELOS TO GENESIS. A critical inquiry into the value of the text exhibited by Yemen MSS. compared with that of the European recension, together with some specimen chapters of the Oriental text.

Since the time when Merx published his "Chrestomathia Targumica," and drew the attention of scholars to the

vocalized texts of the Targum which came from Yemen, the study of the Targum, which had lain fallow for such a long time, was again taken up with an ever-increasing interest. Although we can hardly complain of the lack of MSS. in European libraries for establishing the bare text, yet the vocalization of the Targum still remained in apparently inextricable confusion, and it appeared a hopeless task to attempt a grammar of the Targumic dialects. However, latterly, a little progress has been made in this direction. The writer of this notice has used these new sources hailing from Yemen, and has endeavoured to lay the foundation of a trustworthy Aramaic grammar; the elaboration of an Aramaic dictionary is also being taken up, and, it is hoped, will shortly be placed in the hands of those who are interested in the subject, thanks to the kind assistance given to me by Dr. Barnstein. What was still wanted was a critical comparison of the existing Targum texts with those MSS. which have since come to light, and Dr. Barnstein has attempted to carry out this comparison in the carefully-prepared essay mentioned above. After a brief survey of the origin and history of the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch, we have here principally an inquiry into the differences exhibited by the Yemen MSS. compared with those texts which have hitherto been known in Europe. The peculiar system of vocalization in use in the Yemen MSS. is described with minute details, whilst the orthographical, grammatical, and exegetical variations are fully described and explained. At the end of the work the author publishes the text of Genesis xvii, xxvi, xxxi, and xli, according to the excellent MS. Codex Hebr. Gaster, No. 2, with the variant readings from Codd. Montefiore 502 and 508, the Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2363, and the Venice edition of 1517. The aim of the author—to show how a better and more correct text of the Targum of Onkelos can be obtained by the aid of Yemen MSS.—has undoubtedly been completely fulfilled, and those readers who may differ from him in some points will agree in this. The book also contains many note-

worthy contributions to the Targumic grammar; especially instructive is the comparison between the different readings shown by the Yemen MSS. themselves. These show how far the Yemenite pronunciation and tradition were consistent and old-established, and how far differences occur. I cannot, however, subscribe to the author's important proposition that we are already now in a position to restore the original Palestinian text by means of these MSS. We shall have good cause to be thankful if we can restore the Targum of Onkelos of the Babylonian School with a certain degree of reliability, but we have not the means to reconstruct the original Palestinian Targum from these MSS. alone. We also require more proofs for the author's statement that the superlinear system of vocalization is likewise of Palestinian origin. We have not only to notice the similarities between the punctuation of the Yemen MSS. and Biblical Aramaic, but we have also to observe the differences in the two dialects. Careful and continued investigation of the sources at our disposal may probably tend to modify Dr. Barnstein's assumption, and show that he has placed a too far-reaching importance upon these MSS. These details, however, in no wise detract from the value of his researches. The Yemen MSS. remain invaluable for the study of the Targum, even if we should not assume the Palestinian origin of their text. The want of a critical edition of the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch has become very pressing, especially as we so frequently have to deplore the lack of care in the texts published by Merx, and absolute reliability is indispensable in publications of this kind. I conclude with the wish that Dr. Barnstein may soon have the opportunity of publishing such a critical edition of the Targum of Onkelos.

Leipzig.

PROF. G. DALMAN.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIV.—*Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra.* By H. A. DEANE.

As the Swat valley, and neighbourhood, which constitute the principal portion of the old province of Udyāna, have hitherto been inaccessible for archæological research, the following rough notes (made during the little time at my disposal as Chief Political Officer with the Chitral Relief Force, and lately as Political Officer for Dir and Swat) may induce others better qualified to devote some attention to this interesting neighbourhood. They are principally connected with the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Huan Tsiang, as given in Beal's "*Buddhist Records of the Western World.*"

The Pilgrim says (Beal, ii, 120) that there were 1400 old Sanghārāmas on the banks of the river Su-po-fa-sutu, the present Swat river. This was probably no exaggeration, as ruins are now found all through the country. Unfortunately, however, the majority lie in Upper Swat, which is at present closed to Europeans.

The old capital of the province in the Pilgrim's time was Mangali, or Mang Kie-li. General Sir A. Cunningham, in his "*Ancient Geography of India, Buddhist Period,*"

p. 82, thought that this place could be identified with Minglaur, a large and important village lying at the foot of one of the north-western spurs of the Dosirri mountain. Dosirri and its neighbouring peak, Ilm, belong to the Dūma range, which here divides Swat from Boner. General Sir A. Cunningham also thought Mingaur, or Mingora of Wilford's Surveyor, to be the same place.

The identity of Minglaur with Mungali is undoubted, though the main site of the old town lay (from the reports of men I have at times despatched to Minglaur) about a mile to the east-south-east of the present village. Mingaur is a separate place, lying some five miles to the west of Minglaur. The ruins about Minglaur are described as very extensive. On cliffs not far from them deeply-cut Sanskrit inscriptions exist. Three of these, impressions of which I obtained last year, have been translated by Professor Bühler, and are now being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The Pilgrim states that to the north-east of Mungali, about 250 or 260 *li*, a great mountain range is entered, and the fountain of Nāga Apalāla is reached, this being the source of the Su-po-fa-sutu river. The distance and direction given by the Pilgrim bring us exactly to Kalām, the point at which the Utrot and Laspur (Ushu in our maps) streams meet. The junction of these is the present head of the Swat river.

South, about 200 *li* from Mungali, the Pilgrim mentions the Mahāvāna Sanghārāma. This was apparently on the western, or north-western, slopes of the present Mahaban. Numerous ruins exist on the lower slopes and also on the higher portions of Mahaban. A portion of an inscription which I obtained from this hill recorded the deposit of a relic at some place on the hill, on which there must therefore have been a stūpa or sanghārāma of noted sanctity.

Going west 60 or 70 *li*, he next describes a stūpa built by Aśoka Rāja. The measurements and distance given bring us within the present borders of the Peshawar district. On

this side, hitherto, though many ruins and remains are found, no stūpa has yet been discovered. There are ruins named Chānai on low hills above the present village of Surkhāvi, and in the Naringi valley adjoining these low hills on the south, much sculpture which denoted the previous existence of a sanghārāma; and some which may have belonged to a stūpa, has at various times been found by the natives, and destroyed by them.

From either Chānai or the Naringi valley the Pilgrim's next measurement, 200 *li* north-west, leads to the Adinzai valley, entered from Swat at Chakdara. This may be identified with the Shan-ni-lo-shi valley of the Records.

About three and a half miles north of Chakdara is a site which was plainly at one time occupied by a stūpa. It has not yet, however, been excavated. Not far off, to the north of this, are the remains of a large stūpa. The greatest feature of interest in this stūpa is, that it is still known to some of the people by the name of Sūma, the name mentioned by Huan Tsiang (Beal, ii, 125). It is difficult to fix the site of the convent, but possibly it was on the spur overlooking the passage of the Swat river on which military posts are now being erected. Débris and portions of well-built walls exist on this site to a great depth¹; and though there were defensive towers on the higher points, the few relics found point to former occupation of the spot for other than military purposes. These relics comprise a portion of a head of a very large figure of Buddha, a portion of a finely-carved cover of a small oblong box (in soapstone), and old ornamented "chiragha."

Adjoining this site is a detached rock close to the river, on which there are remains of old walls. The broken top of a "chaitya" was also found here. Amid the débris on this rock were also found two oval stones, weighing about 5 lbs. each, which appear to have been artificially shaped, and which are suggestive of Alexander's military engines;

¹ Appendix D is a plan of the foundations as far as they can be traced.

also the iron head of an axe—the latter found at a depth of fifteen feet.

As regards the Sūma stūpa, I will refer to the attached plan, Appendix A, which shows measurements. The height of the remains is 35 feet. The centre of the stūpa has not yet been excavated, and I have been loth to open it, as if anything of value were found it would lead to wholesale destruction by the natives of other stūpa remains, many of which exist in the country. The outside of this stūpa was built with carefully-dressed granite, well laid and fitted; on the outside it was covered with lime-plaster, much of which still remains. The interior was carefully laid in horizontal strata. Nothing remains of the chaitya except a small portion of the interior. Possibly portions of it might be found under the large mass of rubbish lying around. To the west are the remains of a platform 90' by 190', to which apparently the steps of the stūpa led down; and on it are mounds which have not been examined, but which are possibly sites of small square vihāras, or of monks' dwelling-places. The platform is slightly raised from the ground to the level of the foundation of the stūpa. Such portion of it as has been preserved owes its existence to a curious custom on the part of the Pathan inhabitants of the country, whose tradition is that a notorious thug was once executed at this spot. It is incumbent on every good Muhammadan, as he passes the place, to support the execution by throwing a stone on to the mound, saying at the same time—"I swear by God he was a thug." The south and west faces are in the best state of preservation.

The stūpa alluded to by the Pilgrim (p. 126) to the north of the valley, by the side of a steep rock, lies slightly north-east from the Sūma stūpa, about two and a half miles distant. The mound is at present known as Badshah Dheri. It has not yet been excavated. Between this and Sūma another site, somewhat to the east, also exists, which appears to have been similarly occupied.

The abundant stream alluded to by the Pilgrim is, I think, to be found in a spring on the south slope of

the Laram to the north of Uch. There is a story current in the valley regarding this spring. After a fight with an invading Muhammadan force, the old inhabitants of the valley, being defeated, concealed the spring with a large cup-shaped stone, and covered it over with earth, completely closing it. Some years ago signs of water being found, the source of the spring was traced; its covering was found and removed, and the water now flows freely. I recovered the stone cover from a Masjid in the village of Gudia Khwar, where the Pathans had placed it. It seems to have been the cupola of a large chaitya. It has a diameter of 2' 6½" and a height of 1' 1½". There is no trace of the lake mentioned in the Records, and the stopping up of the spring for many centuries may explain its non-existence.

It is noticeable that all the fortifications in the Shan-ni-lo-shi, and in the neighbouring valley of Talash, are on the south. There is no trace of any on the Laram Hill, nor anywhere to the north, nor on the spurs of the Laram running down to the Panjkora. Near Sado, which was a post held during the Chitral Relief Expedition, there are a few ruins traceable, but these appear to be of ordinary dwellings. From the fortifications on the south, and the absence of any on the Laram range on the north, it may, perhaps, be assumed that the people of the Shan-ni-lo-shi valley were more or less connected with their neighbours to the north in the valley of the Panjkora.

Whether Adinzai, or Adinazai, is connected with Udyāna, I do not presume to say. Adinapur, near Jellalabad, I have seen held to be a corruption of Udyānapur. Old names certainly survive in this country, and in the Adinzai valley: among the most striking are Uch and Uchana, the latter appearing to be the same as Uchanga, an old name of this country generally.

The Pilgrim now starts again from Mungali, and mentions (p. 126) a stūpa 60 or 70 *h* to the south-east, on the east of the river; this river is, of course, the Swat. The measurement brings us to an extensive group of ruins—

Balogram, Odigram, and Panjigram, and a little lower down, Shankardar.

In the neighbourhood of Odigram inscriptions exist. A little further down the river, between Ghaligai and Shankardar, the natives of the country describe the remains of a stūpa as still standing; and this is undoubtedly that referred to by the Pilgrim—for the Pilgrim records next (p. 127) a large rock on the bank of the great river, shaped like an elephant. This rock is a conspicuous landmark existing near the river, about twelve miles from the village of Thana, and near Ghaligai. It is well known to the inhabitants of the valley, the name of which, Hathidarra, was derived from it. The stūpa is described by natives as still standing a few hundred yards distant from this rock; and, from what I can understand from the people, there is also a fine Deva temple near it.

The hill to the south of the present village of Shankardar, a spur of Ilm, is known as Velanai. Extensive ruins on this spur are connected by tradition with an old ruler, Viru, in whom we seem to have Rāja Vara.

Next the Pilgrim takes a measurement of 50 *li* or so west of Mungali, and brings us to a stūpa across the river. This is close to a village now called Hazara, and natives describe the stūpa as still existing. It is also said that the next one he mentions, 30 *li* north-east of Mungali, still exists. In this neighbourhood Sung Yun mentions the temple of Tolu to the north of the city, and says there were sixty full-length golden figures of Buddha in it. A few months ago a golden Buddha was dug up in this region. The people at first asked the fabulous sum of Rs. 4000 for it. It fell, however, into the hands of a jeweller, who found it to be as I suspected, a stone thinly plated with gold, which he has now stripped off it. The practice of plating sculpture with gold was not uncommon in the neighbouring province of Gandhāra.

From the stūpa north-east of Mungali, Huan Tsiang crosses the river, and, going west, arrives at Vihāra (p. 127). In regard to this locality I am unable to say anything at

present; but the point is important, as from it another line of 140 or 150 *li* north-west is given to the mountain Lan-po-lu, on which the Pilgrim (p. 128) describes the Dragon lake.

This measurement brings us exactly to the head of the Aushiri valley, which drains into the Panjkora near Darora. How the Pilgrim got his distance over several valleys and intervening high spurs, it is difficult to conjecture. But on the hill to which it brings us there is found a large lake, more than a mile in length. It is apparently fed by snow. Unfortunately, pressure of work in connection with the retirement of the Chitral Relief Force prevented a survey of the lake from being made.

The lake itself is now known as Saidgai, and the same name is applied to the hill; another point of the hill, not far off, being known as Lālkōh. There are several stories current as to the wonderful sights to be seen at this lake, the most persistent being that of "Jins," who live in and near it. These Jins, with half human forms, are said to be constantly seen on the banks of the lake; and one old gentleman of the country assures me that he lately saw three sitting together, who vanished as he approached them. At other times food and rice are said to be found on the bank of the lake, placed there in some mysterious way. This story of the Jins adds strongly to the probability of the identification of this lake with that mentioned by the Pilgrim as haunted by Nāgas.

Some of the former tribes that inhabited Udyāna and neighbouring countries can be traced in the present day.

Kafiristan undoubtedly is populated by the descendants of those who were driven back from other tracts, mostly from the Afghanistan side: their many Hindu customs, the many Sanskritic words in their language, and their traditions, point clearly to their origin. It is to be hoped that some one with opportunities will deal with that important point, the language of the Kafirs. From the few investigations I have made, I have found many Sanskrit words in use among them.

In Kafiristan the custom of the women wearing horns as head ornaments, mentioned by Sung Yun as prevalent amongst the Ye-tha, still exists. One kind worn is a veritable pair of horns, made of hair and shaped like the short horns of cattle. Another kind is made of manāl feathers, with a tuft at the top arranged and bound round a stick about nine inches in length.

If I remember rightly (I have not Sir G. Robertson's book on the Kafirs to refer to), Sir G. Robertson mentions a custom amongst the Kafirs of banishing a man who has committed murder to the hills; and Sung Yun describes the same custom as belonging to Udyāna, whence it is reasonable to assume the custom was carried to the present Kafiristan.

Another, and distinct, remnant of the old races will undoubtedly be found in the large clan of Gujars, extending from Kunar on the west to Kashmir on the east. A very interesting point is noticeable regarding these Gujars. In the Peshawar district, and on the hills bordering on the Peshawar district, the Gujars all speak Pashtu, and in some ways are more Pathan than the Pathans themselves. In the hills across the Swat valley the Gujars understand and use at times Hindi, though they speak Pashtu. At Dir and on the high ranges beyond, the same clan of Gujars use Hindi entirely in their houses and amongst themselves. The Greek historians describe the cowherds as one of the classes inhabiting this country, and there can be little doubt the clan of Gujars represents the men they wrote about. Those about Dir and the neighbourhood were only converted to Islām between 250 or 300 years ago, some of them even later. Conversion in Bashghar of the Kohistanis, Gurialis, and others, who are undoubtedly a remnant of the former inhabitants of Udyāna, was brought about at this period, according to local history, through Mussamat Ram, daughter of one Barah, who fell in love with an Akhundzada named Salak Baba. Through her and her family, these people are said to have been brought over to Islām.

Lastly may be mentioned the Ghori, a small clan subservient to the Pathans, on the right bank of the Panjkora river.

The extensive manner in which the Udyāna is fortified on the south speaks of anything but the supposed peaceable nature of the people, or their cordial relations with their neighbours in Gandhāra, the present Peshawar district. Appendix B is a plan of the old fortifications on the Malakand Pass.

Beyond the Swat, Adinzai, and Talash valleys, remains of former habitation become more indistinct. Up the valley of the Panjkora there are considerable traces of ruins as far as the Aushiri. At Barikot, near Patrak, distinct ruins are said to be found, and a stūpa is said to have existed there which was overthrown by one Ilias Akhund, about two generations ago.

Throughout the Panjkora valley there are remains of old terraced cultivation, entirely deserted in the present day, and declared by the Muhammadan population not to belong to the Muhammadan period. This points to a different previous condition in the valley: this condition was probably that the land along the banks of the river was during Buddhist occupation swamp, and incapable of cultivation to the same extent as now. The process of the bed of the river deepening, and swampy land being gradually reclaimed and brought under cultivation, goes on now. The people of the valley also talk of a much heavier rainfall in former days, which has doubtless been much reduced by the wholesale destruction of forests.

To the west of the Panjkora, the Jandol valley, occupied during the expedition by our troops, is too thickly populated for many traces of former occupation to remain undisturbed. An old road leads over the Binshi Pass into Asmar from the Jandol valley. The only good site noted was of a city on the hills to the west of Kanbat. Near this I obtained an inscription. I also obtained two inscriptions near Badin, between Munda and Kanbat, in the Jandol valley—one from Tarawar in the Maidan Banda valley, near the

Panjkora; and a Persian one, broken into three pieces, near Sapri Kalan, in the same valley. These have all been sent to the Lahore Museum.

A former Khan of Dir almost ruined an old Deva temple at Gumbat, in the Talash valley, the stone being carried off to Dir. Portions of it, however, in excellent preservation, still remain. Ruins and inscriptions exist on the ranges from the Binshi Pass to the south-west, and near Nawagai are remains of a large city. Unfortunately these are inaccessible for examination.

Such sculptures as have been found have been obtained chiefly from the Swat valley and from Dargai, where also a Buddhist relic in a small gold casket was found. This has been made over to the Imperial Museum, Calcutta.

Considerable damage has been done in places by irresponsible digging, and especially at a place on the north slope of the Morah Pass, called Kafirkot, which must have been a place of much importance. Here there are extensive remains of a large monastery, within which stood a stūpa, the base of which is still *in situ*. The diameter of the inner circle is 24 feet, to which may be added a projecting plinth of 10 inches. The diameter of the outer circle base is $24 + 13 \cdot 10 = 37$ ft. 10 in. Some sculpture obtained from this place has been sent to the Imperial Museum. Near this place I noticed two other stūpas, and in the plain below, a mound, from which Pathans not long ago obtained some gold sword-hilts and other pieces of valuable property which cannot now be traced. These stūpas are all worth proper examination. The sculpture from Dargai is of the Gandhāra type, and that from the Swat valley is of the same type, but in some respects superior, and principally in that the figures are better proportioned.

The country to the south of the Malakand ridge is rich in ruins, and has not been properly worked. There is much to be done in this quarter.

Hitherto not many inscriptions have been found in Swat, and those found are mostly in Sanskrit. Many others undoubtedly exist which we are unable to obtain at present.

I have lately procured one or two small ones in the same unknown character which has been found on small stones in old houses on the slopes of Mahaban. M. Emile Senart lately published several in the *Journal Asiatique*.

In this note on Udyāna I have recorded only what I have been able to ascertain from cursory inquiry and research. There is a large field for anyone who can systematically prosecute research. I offer the opinion that Udyāna was on the north bounded by the high range of hills above Dir and Swat, which would seem to be the Tsungling mountains mentioned by the Pilgrim (p. 119 and elsewhere). These hills now divide Swat and Dir from Gilgit and Chitral territory. On the west I do not think Udyāna extended further than the line of the Panjkora; the Pilgrim's descriptions take us nowhere into Bajaur. On the south, the watershed of the hills bordering the present Peshawar district would appear from the extensive fortifications to have been the boundary. On the side of Boner the watershed would also appear to have been the boundary, as the cave temple on that border on the western watershed is described as being in Gandhāra. Further south on this line we are brought within the present limits of our British border at Surkhāvi and Nariñji, and thence, down to the Indus, the lower spur bordering British Yusufzai would appear to have been within Udyāna limits. My opinion on this point is based on small indications being found amongst ruins on these spurs which are not found in Gandhāra.

The Pilgrim, after leaving Udyāna, went up the line of the Sinta or Indus river. But it is said that he went first north-west from Mungali, which would take him on to the line of the Indus *via* Gilgit. At Mungali he was within fairly easy range of the Indus on the east and north-east; and by going north-west, over a range of hills and through a valley, it would seem probable that he took the route *via* Kalam and the Laspur Pass to Drasan, from which point he would reach the Indus by the easiest line. It seems not unlikely that Sung Yun also entered Udyāna by this route.

I add here a few notes I have made from time to time regarding the adjoining province of Gandhāra, the British district of Peshawar.

Huan Tsiang, in his Records (Beal, ii, 97), first describes Po-lu-sha-pa-lo, which has been identified as the present Peshawar. One of the first points he notices (p. 99) is the large pipal-tree, which is mentioned later by Baber. Peshawar having a considerable Hindu population, it is natural to look for the site of this tree amongst places still, or until lately, held by them in reverence.

A mistake we are apt to be led into in such research is to disregard the fact that the site of the city itself may have been changed. On this point there is ample evidence that within quite recent times a portion of the city, which occupied the site of the present commissariat lines, near the present cantonments, was demolished, and the city perforce extended in the opposite direction. At the corner of what is now known as the Pipal Mandi, is an old pipal-tree. According to Hindu tradition, this tree is at least 500 years old. Until recent years, during which a market has grown up around it, it was the great meeting-place and resting-place for Yogis. There are other places in or near Peshawar which at the present day are regarded as less important than this—notably, a tank and temple known as Panj-tirath, surrounded by large pipal-trees, to the north-east of the city—but those places are all of comparatively recent date. After inquiry, which I have made during the last three years, I have come to the conclusion that the pipal-tree now standing in the Pipal Mandi is on the site of the old one mentioned in history. We may be sure that such a spot would not be lost sight of by the Hindus, though circumstances now render its former use impracticable.

Of the stūpas mentioned by the Pilgrim there are few traces left. The sites of five can be traced at a place about a mile south-east of the present city. The place is known as Shahji-ki-Dheri, and is below Hazar Khani, on the old road to Lahore. I obtained from this place a small figure of

a sitting Buddha, and a very interesting flint cameo—a figure of a man mounted on a horse. These were obtained from a corner where cultivation is commencing to cut into the site, which has not been excavated.

The Peshawar city now covers such an extent of land, and every available piece of land near it is so highly cultivated, that it is hopeless to try and follow the Pilgrim further in his descriptions in detail.

Going north-east from Peshawar, the Pilgrim (Beal, ii, 109) takes us across a great river to Pushkalavati. This has been identified as the Penkelaotis of Arrian and the present Charsadda. It is probable that the main site lay a little lower down, where extensive mounds, wells, etc., mark the old site of a city very distinctly. This place would repay excavation.

If we follow Huan Tsiang's distances carefully from these old mounds, we come eventually to the eastern end of the mass of buried ruins known as Shahr-i-Narparasan, between the present villages of Rajar and Utmanzai. The stone from these has for years been abstracted for building purposes, and it is impossible to trace what existed. I found here portions of the top of a chaitya. Accepting the Pilgrim's measurements and directions to be correct, and assuming that the large stūpas mentioned by him stood at the east end of these extensive ruins, to which point the measurements bring us exactly, we get a point from which the Pilgrim (p. 110) gives a further line to a position 50 *li* north-west. Here he mentions another stūpa. The direction and measurement lead direct to a mound of ruins, hitherto, so far as I know, not excavated, and known as Dheri Kafiran. This stands not far from the village of Sher-pao, in Hashtnagar. There can be little doubt that excavation would show this "Infidel's mound" to have been a stūpa. Judging by the ruins, it must have been a large one.

Again, from this point north 50 *li* the Pilgrim (p. 111) describes another stūpa. This brings us a little north-east of the present village of Gandheri, which may be connected

with the old name Gandhāra. The name Gandheri, however, has a meaning in Pashtu, being the "oleander" which grows in the ravines here. A little north of Gandheri, and not a mile from the village, the site of a stūpa is traceable. A small vihāra, such as is generally found near stūpas, was excavated here; the base was standing, and it has since been built up with other portions excavated near it. The sculpture is very old and good, and much of it shows traces of gilding. It has been made over to the Imperial Museum. The whole site near Gandheri is worth exploration.

These last two measurements and distances being correct, I see no reason for not locating the places mentioned near Pushkalavati by accepting the Pilgrim's measurements exactly.

The point thus fixed at Gandheri is important, for it is from here that the Pilgrim takes his direction and measurement to Po-lu-sha. This has been assumed by General Sir A. Cunningham to be Palo-dheri, a village in the Sadhum valley, mainly on account of the name. North-east of the city was Mount Dantaloka, 20 *li* distant. This is the Sanawar or Paja range, north-east of Palo-dheri, as identified by General Sir A. Cunningham.

The Pilgrim (p. 113) mentions a stone chamber between the crags of this mountain. This may be a small chamber or cell, which still exists, built into the rock, below the cave temple known as Kashmir Smats. This is just above the ravine in which "the trees droop down their branches like curtains," and form a leafy roof over the ravine. Above this woody ravine, but not "by the side of it," as described by the Pilgrim, is the rocky cave known as the Kashmir Smats. The Kashmir Smats is an immense cave piercing the hill at an angle of about 25°. It runs slightly north-west. It is of a limestone formation, and the walls and roof show fringes of stalactite, masses of which have occasionally fallen from the roof or exfoliated from the sides. The entrance to the cave is about 50 feet wide, with about an equal height. At a distance of 38 feet from the entrance, it widens to

84 feet, with a height of about 60 feet. At this point a flight of steps 17 feet wide leads up for another 38 feet to an octagonal vault, the sides of which measure 11 feet, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and 6 feet. Small niches exist in the walls, in which small earthen *chiragha* were found. Portions of what appeared to be a sheeshum-wood coffin were some time ago found lying buried in the *débris* not far from the vault. The conclusion is, that this originally lay in the vault. The lid was highly ornamented, but was ruined by a native who carried it off to convert into a door. On the right of the chamber is a small square masonry room. In 1888, near this I obtained, buried in the guano which lies around, four carved sides of a box, two wooden plaques, and a wooden pilaster about 4 feet in length. I made these over to Dr. Burgess, Director of Archaeological Survey in India, who placed them in the British Museum. These are the only carvings in wood found hitherto in Yusafzai. They were in excellent preservation, though blackened with age.

The cave beyond this turns slightly to the west, and at a distance of 95 feet from the vault narrows to 47 feet in width. A flight of winding steps 20 feet wide, and extending for $68\frac{1}{2}$ feet, leads up to the centre of the second chamber. At the top of the flight of steps is a fragment of wall about 10 feet high and 24 feet long, in fair condition, which evidently belonged to some large building. The cave is here 94 feet wide, with a height of over 100 feet. At a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet beyond the above wall the cave narrows to $51\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At this point another flight of steps is reached. To the left of the foot of these steps is a water-tank, with steps at the lower end leading into it. The tank is lined with cement half an inch thick, and is in excellent preservation.

The flight of steps leading onward into the cave is well made, and in good condition. About 50 feet further a natural gallery, about 30 feet high, leads on to the left. At the entrance to this, on the right-hand side, is a small square masonry vault, in which a year or two ago treasure

is said to have been found by some of the many Gujars, who frequently live in the cave. After 20 feet it takes a sharp turn up a flight of steps, in good order, and enters a narrower gallery, along which for a short way a man can only crawl on hands and knees. At the top of the steps, on the wall of the cave, are a few letters in Pāli; but these have been almost obliterated, and cannot be read.

The main cave from the entrance to the gallery winds through a long vestibule and up a winding flight of steps, protected by a balustrade, the direction being north, to the third chamber. The steps lead up to a square masonry tower, a part of which, to a height of about 10 feet, is in good repair. The measurement of the walls is 7 feet 6 inches, while the thickness of them is over 2 feet. The roof of the cave rounds away upwards to a height of about 100 feet, or may be more, and on the north-west side is a rift from 6 to 10 feet in diameter, which lets in light and air. The guano lying in this chamber is about 7 or 8 feet deep. The whole cave would probably repay careful excavation, but it would be a troublesome undertaking.

Appendix E is a rough plan of the interior, but the bearings are only approximate.

Looking down from the entrance to the cave, is a very fine view of what appears to have been a monastery, and of the gorge leading up to it.

There is another cave in the cliff not far from the Kashmir Smats, and perhaps more likely to be the place that an old Rishi would be credited with having as his abode. It is inaccessible to any but the best of cragmen.

Sung Yun's account of apparently the same cave, and its position, gives us no corroboration of the identification, except in the details that the rock-cave was south-east of the crest of the hill, and that it had two chambers, the second cave leading off from the main one possibly being the second chamber.

Sung Yun calls the hill Shen-shi, and places it 500 *li* to the south-west of the royal city of Udyāna, a direction

and distance that would take us (accepting Mungali as the royal city) into the Khattak hills on the line of the Indus, some distance below Hodi Raja. Sung Yun mentions a great square stone in front of the cave, on which a memorial tower was erected. There is no sign of any such tower. Sung Yun mentions traces of a lion's hair and claws on a stone three *li* to the west of the cave. About half a mile west of the cave is curious ornamentation on the rock by the side of the road. He also writes of wild asses frequenting the neighbourhood, but it seems more likely he meant monkeys, which still frequent it.

In regard to the memorial tower, it seems possible that the tower in the inner chamber of the main cave, and not far from the entrance of the smaller offshoot, may be that alluded to; but this is mere conjecture. A tower would hardly be built at this point for other than memorial purposes.

It is noticeable that Sung Yun places the rock-cave in Udyāna, while Huan Tsiang describes it as being in Gandhāra.

Taking the stone chamber first mentioned as the point from which to measure, and taking the Pilgrim's measurement and direction, we cross a small range and come to the range bounding Swat on the south. It brings us to the foot of the Shahkot Pass. After working this out on the map, I visited the Shahkot Pass, and a little to the west of the foot of it found the conspicuous remains of a memorial stūpa. These have not yet been examined.

The Sanghūrāma has not yet been found, though proper examination will probably reveal it. The whole site is much overgrown with jungle. This stūpa is close to a curious old road running straight up a spur leading to a point above the Shahkot Pass, where there are remains of old forts. The road is continued down into the Swat valley. The Pathans have a tradition that the road was made especially for bringing elephants up, and they call it the Hathi-lar, but they apply this name to most of the old roads. On the opposite spur on the east is an old road

with a far better alignment. It appears to be older than the Hathi-lar, and leads straight over the pass and down a well-aligned road on the north side, the making of which through solid rock for considerable stretches must have entailed enormous labour. How this road, and that over the Malakand, were cut through rock too hard to break with picks, is difficult to conjecture: it may have been effected by lighting fires on the rock and pouring water in the heated rock, as I am informed is still done in some parts in Southern India. At one spot only, and that on the Shahkot Pass, have I noticed any old sign of fire. In this case, about four feet up the hill-side, the rock through which the road had been cut was calcined, and partially converted into lime.

On the top of the Shahkot Pass is a large stone having foot impressions, shown as Buddha's footmarks. They are two impressions rather of shoes at right angles to each other, with nail-marks in the heel, under the instep, and in the middle of the foot. One impression is eleven inches long and the other about ten inches. They bear no resemblance, so far as I know, to any marks which are really known as Buddha's footmarks. The origin of these marks is not known; they are said to be old, and I heard of them a long time before we came to the country.

To return to the Pilgrim's record, after search extending over a long time no trace of the figure of Bhima Devi (Beal, ii, 113) has been found. I cannot trace any rock-cut figure on the Sanawar range, though possibly such exists. Rock-cut figures exist on Ilm, and there is one on a rock to the south of the Morah; but in the former case the distance is too great when compared with the Pilgrim's measurement, and in the latter case the direction does not coincide, nor does the description of the figure.

From the temple of Bhima, Huan Tsiang (p. 114) mentions distance and direction to U-to-kia-han-cha. This was considered by the late General Sir A. Cunningham as the present Hund. The difficulty is, that we are not certain of the site of Po-lu-sha, and cannot therefore ascertain

where the Bhima temple was. The question where U-to-kia-han-cha was is accordingly open to a certain amount of doubt. The only stūpa so far found near the south-east foot of the Sanawar range, which General Sir A. Cunningham fixes as Mount Danto-loka, is the small one found at Sikri and excavated six years ago, which is now in the Lahore Museum.

The description given of Mount Danto-loka, and the measurement and distance given to the stūpa existing at the foot of the Shahkot Pass, go to support General Sir A. Cunningham's identification of Mount Danto-loka, and consequently that of Palo-dheri with Po-lu-sha, though there can as yet be no certainty as to the exact site of the latter. The above notes, however, tend to prove the general accuracy of the Pilgrim's distances, and one is loth, in the face of general accuracy, to assume that in one particular measurement or direction he has been incorrect.

The correct position of U-to-kia-han-cha depends much on the correct identification of Po-lu-sha. U-to-kia-han-cha was also known as Udakbanda; and if the possible remnant of an old name in a present one be taken as a guide, it might be argued that Khunda, the name (bearing no meaning in Pashtu) of a village about six miles north-west from Hund, is connected with the subject.

The line of the Indus through the Peshawar district has never been thoroughly examined. Beginning at Asgram, there are extensive ruins a little way above where the Indus leaves the hills; there are more on a low hill on the bank of the Indus near Gullai, known as Imran; many more buried near Jalbai; and, again, others near Jehangira and Alladher. None of these have ever been systematically explored.

The following brief note has reference to Aornos, which was situated either in Udyāna or Gandhara.

On Mahaban, at the point known as Shahkot, are the very distinct remains of a large fort, the foundations of which, 360 yards by 180 yards, with twelve bastions on the north and south faces, five bastions on the east face

(outside which was a ditch some 30 feet wide), and four bastions on the west face, can still be traced. The road to the fort winds up the southern face of the hill, and below it on the south is a plateau about a mile long by 600 yards wide. On the north face is a second gate, with a steep path leading to springs a little way below. Below the south-west corner is a large tank protected by three towers. Inside are remains of two temples and a tank about 60 paces in circumference. The fort is situated on a vast rock, and is reported as exceedingly difficult of access.

Close to Panjtar, at the foot of Mahaban, is a group of several old towns, from which I have obtained many inscriptions. Further down, towards where the Indus debouches into the plain, are extensive ruins, to which my attention was first directed by obtaining an inscription from them. These ruins are known as Asgram, already mentioned. The Pathans give this as the name of the ruins, stating that tradition holds them to be of the same period as Bēgram and Naugram (Ranigat). Taking Ptolemy's map and McCrindle as a guide, we find a hitherto unidentified place, Asigramma, close to the bank of the river, bearing the same relative position to Aornos and Pentigramma, as shown on the map, as Asgram bears to Mahaban and Panjtar. Aornos was above Asigramma; and if the identification of Asgram with Asigramma be accepted, the claims of both Hodi Raja and Ranigat are disposed of, and there does not remain much, if any, doubt as to Aornos having been on Mahaban as described above. Another very strong position on Mahaban is a spur running to the Indus known as Mount Banj. A fort also exists here, and is very difficult of access. Built into the foot of the wall, near the entrance to this fort, was a short inscription, which I obtained and sent to the Lahore Museum. It has not yet been published.

The line taken by Alexander's troops from the Kabul to the Indus has as yet by no means been satisfactorily followed out. But anything further connected with that must be the subject of a separate note. I have mentioned

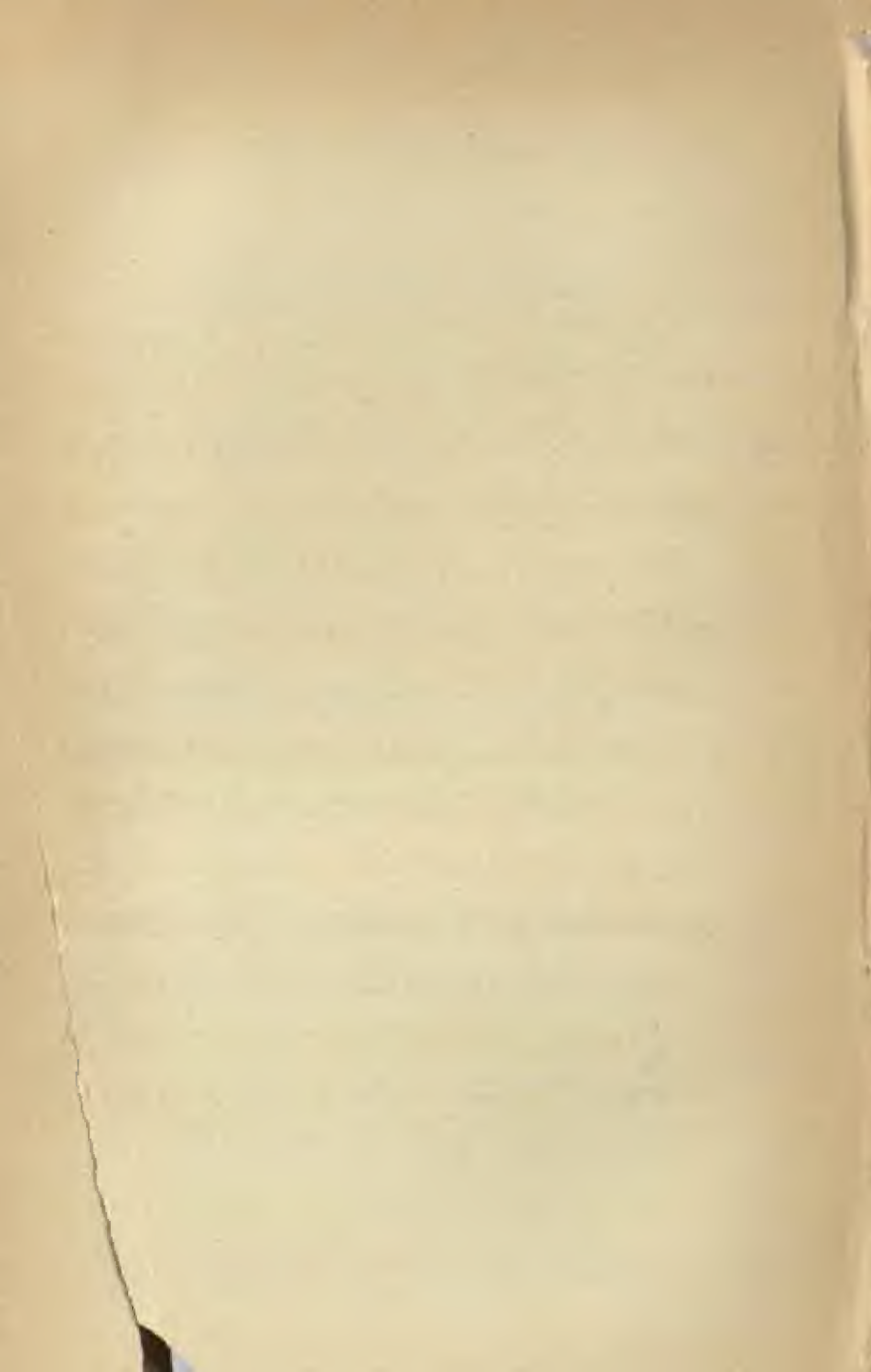
the above point as regards Aornos as being of particular interest.

For further research in Udyāna, an accurate map of the country is required. When one is published, it will be easy to mark on it all the ruins which can be traced. This will show what a field for research still exists, even in the portion only of the country to which we have free access.

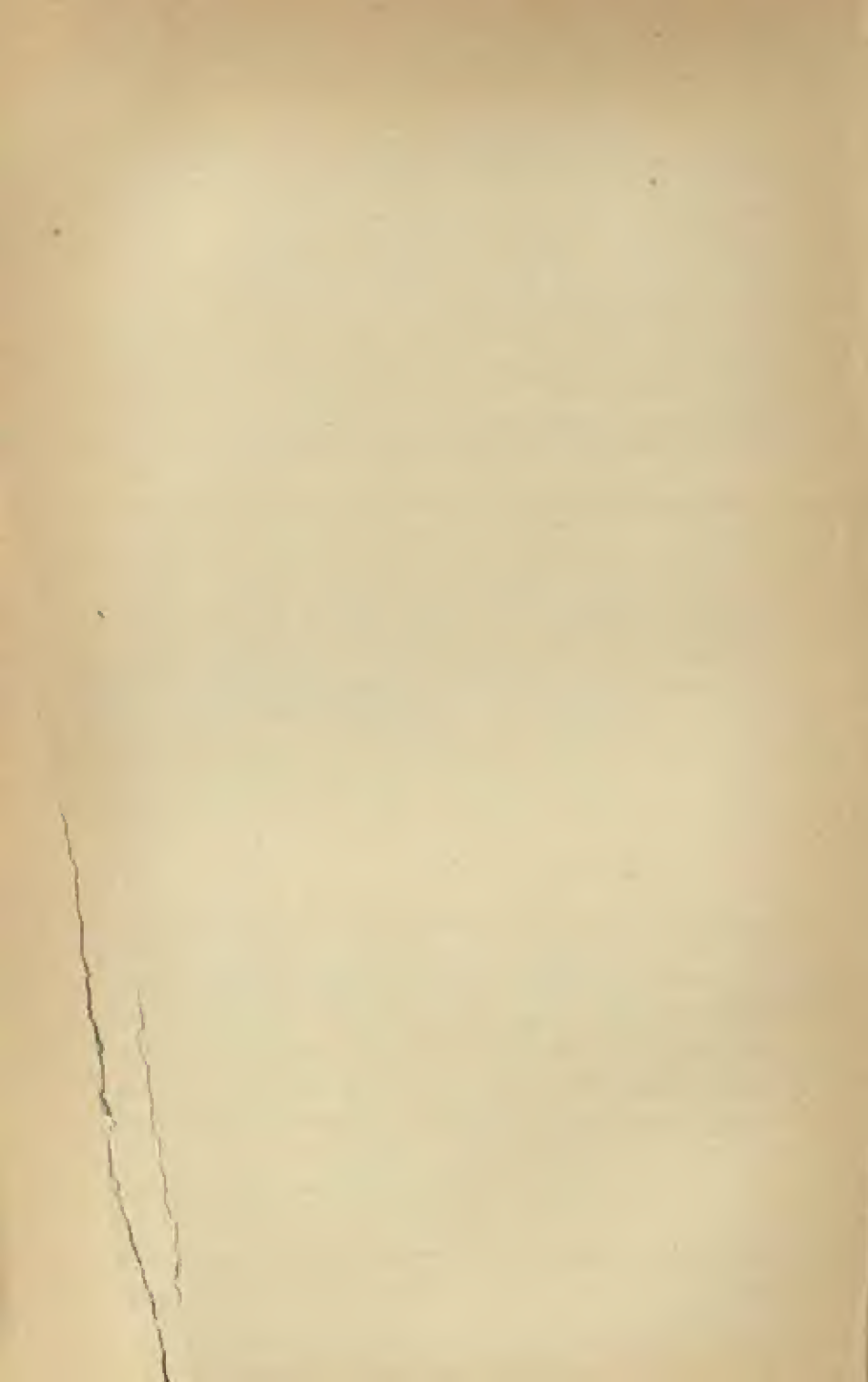
Careful inquiry amongst the Gujars will elicit much information as to old names still known to them, but not now in general use. If this be first done, and then photographs and plans made, a useful record will be obtained, and excavation, if properly conducted, will produce much of great interest.

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ART. XV.—*The Liturgy of the Nile.* By the Rev. G.
MARGOLIOUTH, M.R.A.S.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. Description of the MS.
2. Analysis of the Service, followed by Remarks on (a) the Dates of its Celebration, (b) its Malkite Origin, (c) the Biblical portions contained in it.
3. Analogies from (a) the Ritual of the Ancient Egyptians, (b) the Graeco-Roman Period, (c) the Religious Observances of the Coptic Church, (d) Muhammedan times.

II. THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC TEXT.

III. AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION, WITH NOTES.

IV. A VOCABULARY OF UNUSUAL WORDS AND FORMS.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. *Description of the MS.*

THE MS. from which the text of the Nile Service is taken is numbered Or. 4951, and is a recent acquisition of the British Museum. It consists of 69 paper leaves, measuring about 6½ ins. by 5 ins., with mostly 15 lines to a page. The quires, 7 in number, are of 10 leaves each (the last leaf being blank). The Syriac letters by which the quires are numbered are written in the middle of the lower margin, both on the last and the first page of each quire. Thus, on fol. 10*b*, the letter } denotes the end of the first quire, and the same letter also stands on fol. 11*a*; the letters ܘ, ܝ, etc., are similarly written on foll. 20*b* and 21*a*,

fol. 30*b* and 31*a*, etc. The only exception is the absence of the letter *o* on fol. 61*a*. The style of writing,¹ though smaller, approaches very nearly to that of pl. xx (representing fol. 34*a* of Add. 14,664) in vol. iii of Wright's "Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum," which has been assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century. The letter "rish" is, with very few exceptions, written *ṣ*² (with two dots instead of one), and the "daleth" is, as a rule, not distinguished by a dot below. There are no diacritic points below the letters, and points over the text (see the first facsimile, representing fol. 38*b* of the MS. chosen to exemplify some of the characteristics mentioned here) are mainly employed in the following cases: (1) one dot over the letter *l* to mark the aspirate;³ (2) a dot often placed over the *σ* of both the 3rd person suffix masc. and fem. sing.; (3) the occasional distinction of the plural form by the two dots known as "sēyāmē" (e.g. *ܐܢܝܢ* in the fourth line of the first facsimile); (4) two dots over the inverted *pē* (*ܦܝܢ*), and sometimes also over the letter *ܦ*.

¹ The earlier stages of Palestinian Syriac writing are exemplified in plates xviii and xix published in Wright's Catalogue; see also the facsimiles given in Land's "Anecdota Syriaca," vol. iv, and in "Anecdota Oxoniensia," Semitic series, vol. i, parts v and ix.

² It is well known that there was a double pronunciation of the "rish" in Palestine (see J. Derenbourg, "Manual du Lecteur," *Journal Asiatique*, 1876, p. 446), but one can hardly refer the occasional use of *ṣ* in this MS. to a difference of pronunciation.

³ Differences from the Edessene Syriac are shown in such words as *ܨܝܕܐ* (Jew. Aram. *ܨܝܕܐ*), *ܨܝܕܐ*, etc. The dot is, however, not used with perfect regularity.

There are no vowel-signs¹ for the Syriac in the MS., and the system of interpunction consists mainly of two, three, or four dots, differently grouped.

It contains the following Services of the Malkite Church, in the Palestinian Syriac dialect, the rubrical directions and several of the headings being in Karshuni, and also embodying prayers and liturgical "formulae" in Greek transcribed into the Syriac character:—

I. Two services for the Consecration of a Church.

(a) The consecration to include the Holy Table.
Fol. 2a.

Heading: ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ
ܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ
ܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ

(b) The consecration to apply to the Chancel only.
Fol. 12b.

Heading: ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ

¹ On the vowel-signs which are used in connection with the Syriac transcription of Greek words, see further on.

² For ܡܫܚܐ in the sense of "consecration" see Dozy, *Supplément aux Dict. Arab.*, vol. ii, p. 455.

³ i.e. ܡܫܚܐ.

II. A series of Ordination Services for Celibate Clergy.

(a) The Ordination of Readers. Fol. 16a.

Heading: ⲉⲙⲉⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ
ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ
ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ

At the end of this Service: ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ
ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ

This prohibition to marry is not repeated at the end of the other Services belonging to this series, as the obligation of celibacy being taken at the ordination to the lower degree covers the ordinations that follow.

(b) The Ordination of Deacons. Fol. 18a.

Heading: ⲉⲙⲉⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ

(c) The Ordination of Priests. Fol. 22a.

Heading: ⲉⲙⲉⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ

At the end of this Service is the following colophon:

ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ (for ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ)
ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ
ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ
ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ

¹ Note the use of ⲛⲓⲁⲓ in this place to express the Greek *παρρησιάζω*. The usual Pal. Syr. rendering is ⲛⲓⲁⲓ, whilst ⲛⲓⲁⲓ is the regular translation of the Syro Hexaplar.

² i.e. *χειροτονίας* (for *χειροτονίας*). The separation into two words, as written above, appears to show that the etymological sense of the word was unknown to the copyist.

³ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ is here used for ⲛⲓⲁⲓ; in the "Liturgy of the Nile," ⲛⲓⲁⲓ occurs for ⲛⲓⲁⲓ (see p. 696, l. 6).

Greek¹ transcribed into the Palestinian Syriac character is more common in the second series of Ordination Services than in the rest of the MS. As a photographic illustration fol. 61a is chosen, containing in ll. 5-13 the central formula for the ordination of priests. The barbarous nature of the Syriac transcription will be manifest by a comparison with the Greek² which it represents. The use of the Greek vowel-letters *o* and *ω* is very conspicuous in other parts of the MS., and there are also slanting strokes and other signs both over and under the lines, the exact force of which will no doubt be elucidated by means of further study. Besides *o* and *ω*, the vowel-letter *α* is found in other places. Occasionally the Syriac letters ܝ (see line 2 of the second facsimile) and ܐ are written over the line to indicate the pronunciation; and there are some other marks, both over and under the line, which an editor of those parts of the MS. will have to consider. In the present publication only the peculiarities occurring in the "Liturgy of the Nile" have been treated on as fully as possible.

On the last page of the MS. the invocation ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܝܫܘܥ is written twice in yellowish ink in a very similar—if not the same—hand as the rest of the MS., the Arabic translation (of the same date) being in both cases written underneath the Syriac.

Then follow two Arabic sentences in the same hand as the invocation:—

سئل بعض الابا متى يكون العيد | واجاب وقال يوم تكون
خطاياك منك بعيد.

i.e. "One of the fathers was asked, when the feast shall be?"

He answered and said, when thy sins will be far from thee." (Note the rhyme: بعيد .. العيد.)

¹ The few Greek words which occur in the Nile Service will be found re-transcribed into the Greek character in the notes on the translation.

² ἡ θεία χάρις ἡ τὰ ἁγίων ὑπακούουσα καὶ τὰ λαλοῦσα ἀναστροφῶν κ.τ.λ. Comp. the formula now used in the Greek Church as given in the Euchologion.

سعيد الرجل الذي لم يحسب له الرب خطيه
(Ps. xxxii, 2a).

Diacritic points are almost entirely absent in these sentences in the original.

2. *Analysis of the Service.*

The Service begins with a procession to the ford over the Nile, which is assigned to the Malkite community. One of the priests carries a cross, and the other objects taken are a copy of the New Testament, incense, and wax candles. They group themselves close to a basin into which water out of the Nile had been poured. After the singing of a "troparion," or short hymn, one of the priests addresses the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Metropolitan, and all the priests and deacons present, declaring the object of the Service with the words—"We have come to prepare a good season and an acceptable year; risen is the well-spring of God, the Nile, and by the command of God has it mounted upwards." In connection with this address, which is repeated twice, the following verses¹ from the Psalms are recited as antiphons: xxix, 3; lxxv, 10a; lxxv, 11; lxxv, 12-14. Then comes another "troparion," after which three lessons are read from the Old Testament, viz.: Gen. ii, 4-19 (containing an account of the rivers of Paradise, with one of which, namely Gibon, the Nile is identified); 2 Kings ii, 19-22 (in which the healing of the water by Elisha is related); Amos ix, 5-14a (where the Nile is expressly mentioned). Ps. xxvii, 1 is then said, followed by the reading of Acts xvi, 16-34 (ending with the baptism of the Philippian jailer). After this lesson vv. 10a and 11 of Ps. lxxv

¹ Note that all references to Old Testament passages relate to the printed text of the Hebrew Bible.

are once more recited, and subsequent to this St. Matt. xiv, 22-34 (containing the account of Jesus walking on the waters of the Lake of Gennesareth) is read. The chief priest then pronounces a blessing over the water that is in the basin, using the words of St. Luke ii, 14 ("Praise be to God in the heights," etc.), Ps. li, 17, and lxxi, 8. The two longest prayers of the Service come next. In the first of these the water which had been put into the basin is spoken of as "an offering" to God "of the firstlings of its rising," and as "a type and a figure" of the waters of the Nile.

The latter part of the Service contains the more specially characteristic ceremony connected with it. After the renewed recital of the verses from the Psalms which were sung before, the cross is dipped three times into the water of the basin, the priest saying the words—"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen." All the people present then drink of the holy water, and after the repetition of a few versicles and responses by the archdeacon, the officiating priest, and the deacon, the Service is concluded with a special form of the doxology.

(a) *Times of the Service.*

The dates between which the present Service was held do not quite agree with the period of the gradual rise of the Nile in Lower Egypt. The "Lailat an-Nuḡṭab," or the night during which a miraculous¹ drop was believed to fall into the Nile and thus cause its increase, is that of the 17th of June, and the greatest height is reached on the 26th or 27th of September. The actual period of the gradual rise is between the summer solstice and the

¹ On this popular belief, as on the various dates connected with the rise of the Nile, see Lane's "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," ii, pp. 224-236; Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 20-24; also Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," ii, p. 428.

autumnal equinox; but, according to the heading of the Service in the MS., the season of its celebration fell between the Sunday of the 318 Nicene fathers and the feast of St. Mark as anciently celebrated at Alexandria, that is (taking the dates of this year, 1896) between May 17 and Sept. 23. It may be argued that the very early beginning of the celebration is due to the fact that in the upper parts of the Nile the rising naturally begins much earlier. Khartûm¹ is actually reached by the swelling tide of the Blue Nile in the middle of May, and at the cataracts² the rise is perceived about the end of May or the beginning of June. It is very doubtful, however, whether these facts would be taken account of by the Malkite community of Alexandria, and it certainly appears more likely that the dates of the present Service were suggested by those of the Christian festivals which occurred on those days. Their object was evidently to dissociate their worship and thanksgiving as much as possible from the customs that prevailed around them. They probably had some special reason for selecting the Sunday of the 318 Nicene fathers as the starting-point. The feast of Pentecost, which falls on the Sunday following, would be particularly suitable for the celebration connected with the blessings which are secured by the increase of the Nile; and for the conclusion of the cycle the day following the feast of St. Mark, which was held on Sept. 23, would be selected as occurring very near the actual greatest height of the Nile waters.

(b) *The Malkite Origin of the Service.*

Not much need be said to prove the Malkite³ origin of the Service. The structure of it is distinctly that of the

¹ See Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

² See Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, *loc. cit.*

³ The term *Malkite* answers to the Syriac word *Malkāyā*, i.e. royal. The Eastern adherents of the decrees issued by the Council of Chalcedon were so named "propterea quod . . . menti imperatoris Marciani se submiscent." See Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, col. 2144.

Greek liturgies from the beginning to the end. The "troparia," the antiphons, and a term like *σοφία*,¹ are quite enough to stamp it as a service belonging to the Syriac-speaking branch of the Greek Church. The presence of a considerable amount of Greek in Syriac transcriptions is another mark of the same origin. The Ordination "formulae" are also distinctly those of the Greek Church, though containing many interesting variations from those in common use; and it should also be noted that the lesson from St. Matthew² as indicated in the Nile Service is referred to the well-known Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels, which is acknowledged to be Malkite. In fact, all the Palestinian Syriac MSS. hitherto discovered appear to be Malkite throughout, and there can, in any case, be no question at all as to the Greek³ character of the Service before us.

(c) *The Biblical portions of the Service.*

Of the four Biblical⁴ lessons contained in the Service, it is enough to say in this place that the three lessons from the Old Testament are unmistakably based on the LXX, and that the lesson from the Acts of the Apostles⁵ is clearly an adaptation of the Peshitta. The fact that these four lessons are given in full, whilst the one from the Gospel of St. Matthew is referred to the Lectionary, does not necessarily show that there was no recognized Lectionary in Palestinian Syriac of the Old Testament and of the rest of

¹ The exhortation addressed to the people by the deacon: see p. 726, note 6.

² See p. 720.

³ See also the note on *ܡܫܚܐ*, p. 714.

⁴ The Biblical portions contained in the Service will be published separately, in complete photographic facsimiles contained in eleven plates, and will be accompanied by full textual and philological notes.

⁵ A proof of the dependence of the Pal. Syr. translation of St. Luke ii, 14 on the Philox. version will be found on p. 720.

the New Testament; for it may be that the four passages, with their exact number of verses, did not constitute Lectionary divisions on any other occasion besides the Service of the Nile.

3. *Analogies from other Rituals.*

The Malkite or Syro-Greek Liturgy of the Nile, as it is now before us, is peculiarly free from any superstitious element that one may have been led to expect finding in it. If the pouring¹ of some water out of the basin into the Nile formed part of the ceremony, one must, indeed, see in it a reference to the superstitious observance of the "Night of the drop," when, as was believed, the increase of the Nile is caused by a drop falling into the Nile from Heaven; but the rest of the ceremonial is exactly what one should expect to find in a service of the Greek Church. The baptizing, or dipping,² of the cross into the water of the basin is evidently a means of consecrating the water from which the worshippers were afterwards to drink. It is, in fact, tantamount to the preparation of holy water with which various Christian communities are fully acquainted. The Biblical character of the Liturgy is, as will have been noticed, fully maintained, and the prayers are also remarkably free from any unorthodox or superstitious element.

It is, however, natural to think that the Christian Nile Service must have some historical connection with the ritual of the ancient Egyptians, and that some analogies will be found for it both in the religious ceremonies of the Coptic

¹ See p. 722, note 10.

² For the possible connection of this ceremony with an older ritual see p. 693.

Church and the ritual observances of the Muhammedans. It is, then, in this spirit of historical comparison that we must proceed to offer¹ some observations on the other known forms of the Nile Liturgy.

(a) *The Ritual of the Ancient Egyptians.*

The extent of the Nile ritual among the ancient Egyptians, by whom, as may be expected, the god (Hāpi by name) was mystically identified with the fertilizing Nile course, may be gathered from the following lines, forming the thirteenth stanza of a Nile hymn² which was composed in the reign of Merenptah, son of Rameses II., nineteenth dynasty:—

- ³ "O inundation of Nile, offerings are made to thee;
 Oxen are slain to thee;
 Great festivals are kept for thee;
 Fowls are sacrificed to thee;
 Beasts of the field are caught for thee;
 Pure flames are offered to thee;
 Offerings are made to every god,
 As they are made unto Nile.
 Incense ascends unto heaven,
 Oxen, bulls, fowls are burnt.
 Nile makes for himself chasms in the Thebaid.
 Unknown is his name in heaven;
 He does not manifest his forms,
 Vain are all representations."

¹ An exhaustive investigation on this subject could, of course, only be undertaken by a specialist in Egyptology.

² See "Hymne au Nil," Maspero, Paris, 1868; "Records of the Past," old series, vol. iv, pp. 105-114; Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 40-42. Comp. Renouf, "Origin and Growth of Religion," etc., pp. 223-4. The text is preserved in two papyri in the British Museum.

³ The lines are here quoted from F. C. Cook's translation in "Records of the Past," *loc. cit.*; Maspero's French translation in "Hymne au Nil" is practically the same as far as this stanza is concerned. In "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 40-42, the first twelve stanzas only are translated.

Even if one allows a certain amount of poetic exaggeration to have had a share in the composition of this hymn, enough—and more than enough—remains to show the great extent, as well as the popularity, of the festivals in question; and the opinion¹ that there must have existed a considerable number of similar hymns specially adapted to the annual Nile celebrations appears to be borne out by almost every indication one meets with in connection with this subject. More definite chronological data of actual Nile festivities are afforded to us by three official² “stelae” engraved for the purpose of recording the personal³ participation of Rameses II, Merenptah, and Rameses III in the religious ceremonies which were observed in connection with the rising of the Nile. Two festivals are there expressly spoken of—the first⁴ “on the 15th of Epiphi, when the river was thought to come forth from his two chasms”; and the second⁴ “on the 15th of Thoth, when the inundation arrived at ‘Khennut,’ or Gebel Silsileh.” The first of these dates⁵ fell, however, about a month after the summer solstice, and the second⁶ is evidently the celebration held in connection with the completion of the Nile increase.

The manner of celebrating the Nile festivals need not be dwelt upon in this place, nor will an opinion be hazarded here as to whether there is any truth in the statement that the ancient Egyptians were in the habit⁷ of throwing a virgin into the Nile as a sacrifice to the river-god in

¹ See Brugsch, “Religion und Mythologie der Alten Aegypter,” ii, p. 640.

² See Maspero, “Dawn of Civilization,” p. 39 (note 2); “Records of the Past,” old series, vol. x, pp. 37-44 (Ludwig Stern). For further references see Maspero, *loc. cit.*

³ L. Stern, in “Records of the Past,” *loc. cit.*, does not appear to agree with Maspero as to the special reason for the engraving of these stelae (see p. 38).

⁴ L. Stern, *loc. cit.*, p. 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷ See Maspero, “Dawn of Civilization,” p. 24.

order to secure a plentiful inundation; but the importance which was attached to the Nile celebrations appears to be perfectly certain. "According to a tradition transmitted from age to age," says Maspero,¹ "the prosperity or adversity of the year was dependent upon the splendour and fervour with which they were celebrated"; and judging from the plentiful indications that are to be found on the subject, one is led to expect that some day Egyptologists will discover more actual texts and data than have hitherto come to light.

(b) *The Graeco-Roman Period.*

A glimpse into the Nile ceremonials of the Graeco-Roman period is obtained from the description given in Heliodorus' romance "Aethiopica," and as it is believed that Heliodorus drew his facts on this point² "from the lost works of some Ptolemaic author," one may assume that one is here dealing with data which have a real historical foundation. In the ninth book of his romance (we quote from the English edition of 1622) is the following reference to a Nile festival celebrated at Syene about the time of the summer solstice³:—"For then it happened that *Nyloa*, the highest feast that the Egyptians have, fell, which is kept holy about Midsummer, at what time the flood increaseth, and it is honoured more than all other for this cause: The Egyptians faine *Nylus* to bee a god, and the greatest of all gods, equal to heaven, because he watereth their countrey without clouds, or raine that commeth out of the ayre: and thus doth he everywhere without faile, as well as if it should raine."

¹ Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," p. 39.

² *Ibid.* (note 3).

³ "Aethiopica," p. 286.

With regard to the manner of keeping the festival, the same author says:—"When the feast of *Nylus* was come, the inhabitants fell to killing of beasts, and to doe sacrifice; and for all that their bodies were busied with their present perils, yet their mindes, as much as they might, were godly disposed." The question as to whether the *Nilota* spoken of here corresponds to the Epiphi-day¹ mentioned on the stele of Rameses II, need not be discussed now, but the historical continuance of the Nile celebrations into the Graeco-Roman period appears to be established without a doubt, and this is the only point which has a distinct bearing on the present investigation.

(c) *The Coptic Church.*

The observance of Nile festivals among the Copts is sufficiently attested both by their almanac and by historical tradition. The legend of the "*Lailat an-Nuḡṭah*"² appears to be very closely connected with the 11th of the month Payni, which falls a few days before the summer solstice, and this more modern form of it seems to have been substituted for an older belief connected with the "*Martyr's Festival*,"³ which was observed down to the year 754, or 755, of the Hijrah. Other more or less certain historical data appear to show that in later times the principal Nile festivity among the Copts was connected with the official measuring of the Nile by means of the Nilometer. According to one account,⁴ this function was performed by a priest at about three o'clock in the afternoon, after

¹ L. Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

² See Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 224; L. Stern, *loc. cit.*, pp. 39, 40.

³ See L. Stern, *loc. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴ Silvestre de Sacy, "*Relation de l'Égypte*," par Abd-Allatif, p. 403.

the celebration of the Mass; and it is further stated that the Muhammedans, in taking over the function from the Copts, conformed, *mutatis mutandis*, to the religious usages which had been practised before. According to Makrizi,¹ the privilege of measuring the Nile was taken away from the Copts in the year of Hijrah 247 (A.D. 861), by the Khalif al-Mutawakkil, who had also ordered the construction of a grand new Nilometer. It is just possible that the ceremony of baptizing the cross, as observed in the Malkite Liturgy before us, has some connection with the anointing of the Nilometer reported to have been practised by the Muhammedans, and presumably also by the Copts before them.

(d) *Muhammedan Observances.*

The close relationship of the Muhammedan Nile festivities with those of the Copts, from whom they, in the main, borrowed them, is clear from what has just been said. The religious almanac of the Copts is, indeed, as Lane² has pointed out, the foundations of many customs and beliefs which became prevalent among their Moslem conquerors. A link with some more or less authentic traditions of ancient Egypt is probably to be found in the idea³ that the irruption of the river into the bosom of the land was the presentation of an actual marriage. The reported drawing up⁴ of a contract by a *cadi*, and the confirming of its consummation by witnesses, is considered by Maspero to be connected with the story of the "Bride of the Nile," by

¹ See Silv. de Saey, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

³ See Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," p. 24.

⁴ See the reference for this report in Maspero, *loc. cit.*

which the above-mentioned legend of the sacrifice¹ of a virgin appears to have been understood. The modern popular and semi-religious observances of the Mubammedans are so fully described in Lane's well-known work on the "Modern Egyptians,"² that very little need be said about them in this place. It need only be pointed out that the Crier of the Nile (Munādee-an-Neel) performs his ritual in the streets of Cairo from about the 3rd of July to the 26th or 27th of September, according to our reckoning, and that the "cries" consist of versicles uttered by the "Munādee," and responses made by a boy who accompanies him.

¹ Compare the term "aroosah" (or bride) as applied at the present day to the "round pillar of earth, diminishing towards the top," which is raised at a distance of about sixty feet from the dam. See Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

² pp. 226-236.

II. THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC TEXT.

[illegible]

¹ For Kwajaleto.

² MS. Ku. 10.1.

³ For ~~also~~.

Fol. 28^a

ܝܐܬܐ ܕܝܥܝܐܠ ܕܡܬܐ ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ܕܐܐ :¹ ܡܬܐ ܕܐܡܬܐ
 ܐܡܬܝ ܕܐܠ ܕܐܬܐܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ[†] ܕܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ
 : ܕܐܝܬܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܐܐ : ܕܡܬܐ
 ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܕܐܐ ܕܐܐ
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 ܕܡܬܐܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܐܐ : ܕܐܬܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ
 ܡܬܐܐ ܕܡܬܐܐܬܐ : ܕܐܬܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ
 : ܐܠ ܐܬܐܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܡܬܐܐܐܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܡܬܐ
 : ܕܐܬܐܬܐ ܐܡܬܐ ܐܡܬܐ ܐܠ ܡܬܐܐܐ : ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܐ
 ܕܡܬܐ ܐܡܬܐ :³ ܐܡܬܐ : ܕܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܐܐ
 ܕܐܬܐܬܐܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ : ܕܡܐ ܐܐ ܕܐܬܐܬܐ[†] : ܕܐܬܐ
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Fol. 28^b

¹ The words enclosed thus [†] are corrupt; see the translation.

² For ܐ, see Introduction, p. 680, note 3.

³ The four antiphons are marked by the first four Syriac letters in the margin, and partly also in the body of the page.

⁴ So the MS., but omit ܡܐܐ which seems to be only a wrong dittography for ܡܐܐ that follows. It is also possible that the correct reading is ܡܐܐܐܐܐܐ.

⁵ One would expect ܡܐܐܐܐܐ (sing.).

[illegible]

¹ For *ḥuḥiṣā*? see p. 713.

² The letters κ , ς , and λ are written in the margin of the MS. to indicate the number of times $\kappa\omega\kappa$ is used at each response.

³ For K_{101} .

⁴ The letter **u** is omitted in the MS., but **u u** is written in red in the margin.

Fol. 30^a

וְהָיָה הַיָּם וְהַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 וְהַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ

Genesis II. 4-19.

Fol. 30^b

: הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ
 : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ : הַיָּבֵשׁ וְהַיָּבֵשׁ

¹ Corrected, apparently, into *וְהַיָּבֵשׁ*.

[illegible]

¹ I.e. $E_{\text{total}} = \eta \gamma \tau$.

2 Kings II. 19-22.

כמ : אַל־לֵךְ אֲחֵינוּ אֶל־כִּי־נִסְּתָם
 : כִּי־נִסְּתָם אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 : אַל־לֵךְ אֲחֵינוּ : אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 : אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ : אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 1 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ : אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ : אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ : אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ : אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ : אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ : אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ : אֲחֵינוּ
 : אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 : אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ

Fol. 32^a

Amos IX. 5-14a.

אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ
 אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ אֲחֵינוּ

¹ For אֲחֵינוּ.

² אֲחֵינוּ after אֲחֵינוּ cannot be correct.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

¹ Read *अग्नि*.

² So the MS.; for $\kappa\theta\kappa\alpha\omega\iota$ (?), see p. 722, note 1.

³ See p. 722, note 2. ⁴ See note 5 on p. 722. ⁵ Read **لم يزل**.

[illegible]

¹ Read **δι' αὐτῶν**. On the possible meaning of this passage (evidently corrupt) see p. 724.

²¹ In the original passage (Amos ix. 6): **לֹא יִסְבּוּ וְלֹא יִכָּשְׁלוּ**.

³ The mark before **لله** may possibly be a sign of interpunction.

⁴ The passage enclosed in () is hopelessly corrupt in every clause; see p. 725.

𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁 : 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁
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 𐤀𐤁𐤁 : 𐤀𐤁𐤁³ 𐤁𐤁 : 𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁⁴ Fol. 41^a
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 : 𐤀𐤁𐤁 : 𐤀𐤁𐤁 : 𐤀𐤁𐤁
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 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁
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 : 𐤀𐤁𐤁

¹ Note the form, 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁.

² Note the form 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁.

⁴ For 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁.

³ For 𐤀𐤁𐤁.

⁵ See note 3 on p. 727.

ia irao ale

la irao la ri kolal kubax

kalr duxr kduw riasawr m rduhkr

kduw duxr mzdha kkwzwha

III. TRANSLATION.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever, do we write the Order of the feast of the blessed Nile [which is observed] on the Sunday¹ of the three hundred and eighteen fathers, [and also] from the Sunday¹ of Pentecost [and onwards], and after the conclusion of the feast¹ of St. Mark the Evangelist. And the priests go to the ford of the congregation, one priest carrying the venerated cross, and taking with them the holy Gospel, and incense, and wax candles; [and approaching] a basin, into which water had been put, they shall say this troparion² in the sixth³ tone to the tune of "Bear that which time does bring"—

The Lord has gone up to heaven, in order that He may send the comforting⁴ Spirit to the world. Heaven has been prepared for Him as a throne, and the clouds are His chariot. The angels were astonished when they saw the Son of Man rise above them. The Father beholds Him crowned⁵ who had never been separated from His bosom. The Holy Spirit commands all His angels: Lift up your gates, O ye chiefs. All the nations clapped their hands, because Christ has gone up⁶ to where He was before.

¹ Of the three dates mentioned, the "Sunday of the 318 Nicene fathers" is the one which precedes the Sunday of Pentecost (Whitsunday), the latter coinciding this year (1896) with the Latin date of the festival (May 12 Gr. cal. = May 24 Lat. cal.), as Easter Day fell on the identical date (March 24 = April 5). The feast of St. Mark spoken of here is not April 25, which is the day now assigned to the evangelist in the Byzantine calendar, but Sept. 23, the day dedicated to St. Mark at Alexandria in ancient times (see Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography, vol. ii, p. 1089). For further remarks on the dates of the Service see the Introduction.

² On the troparion see Neale's "History of the Holy Eastern Church," General Introduction, pp. 832, 918. The word is "the generic term for all the short hymns of which the services of the Greek Church almost entirely consist."

³ The sixth of the eight tones of the Greek services is called *ᾠὴς*: see Neale, *op. cit.*, Gen. Introd., p. 830.

⁴ Literally "the Spirit of the Comforter." In the Edessene Syriac the word would mean "the resuscitator" instead of "the comforter": see F. Schwalli, "Idioticon des Christlich Palästinaischen Aramäisch," p. 54.

⁵ See the note on *مجدنى*, p. 712.

⁶ The rendering "to where He was before" is free, the text being evidently corrupt.

And after they had finished this troparion shall one of the priests address this call for prayer to the chief of the priests:— O holy one of God, who is perfected in excellency, N.N., pope¹ and patriarch of the great city of Alexandria,² chief of the chiefs of the priests; and [thou], N.N., the upright³ metropolitan; and all [ye] assemblies of priests, and orders of deacons, through many years enduring⁴: we have come to prepare a good season and an acceptable year; risen is the well-spring⁵ of God, the Nile, and by the command of God has it mounted upwards; [saluted be thou,⁶] O Nile! and all the priests respond to him,⁷ and say, O holy one of God⁸ (antiphon).⁹ All the priests say: ¹⁰ "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters: the Lord of glory thundereth:"¹¹

¹ The word "pope" is here merely used to represent in an exact literal manner the Syriac word **ܩܢܥܐ**.

² The text reads "Alexandrios."

³ **ܥܕܢ** is equivalent to the Hebrew **עֲדָן**; **ܥܕܢ** occurs in Pal. of 1 Kings ix. 4 (see "Anecdota Oxoniensia," vol. i, part 9).

⁴ It seems best to translate **ܡܠܚܕܢܝܐ** in this place by "enduring" (see P.S. Thes., cols. 1856, 1860), though the word **ܡܠܚܕܢܝܐ** in the preceding troparion was best rendered by "crowned," in accordance with the special meaning of the root in Palestinian Syriac and the allied dialects (see Schwally's "Idioticon d. Chr. Pal. Aram.>"). Note also the instances of the same signification in Biblical Hebrew, as e.g. the Af'el **יִבְהִידוּ** in Prov. xiv. 18.

⁵ With **ܒܢܝܢ**, literally "the son of the well," comp. the Talmudic **בֵּן כִּרְחַא** (Hullin, fol. 106a).

⁶ **ܐܡܢ** appears to be the same as **ܐܡܢ**, O! The rendering given above probably represents the full meaning which the interjection is intended to convey in this place.

⁷ i.e. to the priest who opened the Service.

⁸ The words "O holy one of God" are probably only the beginning of the response.

⁹ On the exact meaning of the term "antiphon," see Neale, *op. cit.*, General Introduction, pp. 364, 365. Here it relates to the verse or verses from the Psalms, followed each time by "O holy one of God," etc.

¹⁰ Psalm xxix. 3.

¹¹ **ܐܢܝܐ** = Hebr. **הָרָעַם**, LXX **ῥαυγῆς**, Peshitta **ܐܢܝܐ**. So also in Pal. St. John xii. 29: **ܐܢܝܐ** where the Peshitta has **ܐܢܝܐ**.

the Lord is upon many waters." *And all the priests and the people*¹ *respond*² *to him and say, O holy one of God; and furthermore he shall say the second Psalm*³: "The river of God is filled with water; Thou hast prepared the food,⁴ for thus is Thine ordinance." *And the priests and the people respond together: O holy one of God. And furthermore this antiphon*: "Its ridges hast Thou watered, and increased the fruit thereof; through the raindrops⁷ is it rejoiced and quickened." *And all the priests respond: O holy one of God. And he shall say the fourth antiphon*: "Thou blessest the crown of the year of Thy goodness, and Thy plains shall be filled with fatness of fatnesses. May the land of Egypt prosper in it, and let the hills gird themselves with joy. The rams of the flocks⁸ shall become clothed, and the valleys shall be overgrown with wheat; they shall rejoice, yea, and they also shall sing." *And all the priests and the people respond thus: O holy one of God. And they shall say: Glory.*¹⁰ *And all the priests and the people*

¹ Note the plural form **ܡܫܠܝܢ**, as if the singular did not already represent the same idea.

² The former response was by the priests only, whereas the second is by the priests and the people combined.

³ For **ܡܫܠܝܢ** in the sense of Psalm, see Schwally's "Idioticon"; the numeral "second" only indicates the fact of its being recited next to the preceding verse from the Psalter.

⁴ Psalm lxx, 10a. That the translation was made from the LXX, can be seen at a glance.

⁵ **ܡܫܠܝܢ** (Syr. Hex. and Pesh. **ܡܫܠܝܢ**) = **τῆς τροφῆς** (Hebr. **רִנָּה** "their corn"); **ܡܫܠܝܢ** (Syr. Hex. **ܡܫܠܝܢ**) = **ἡ τρομακτικὴ** (see Swete's edition of the Septuagint).

⁶ Psalm lxx, 11; the Palæst. Syriac represents a somewhat free rendering of the LXX. Comp. the Syro Hexaplar, and see also the Hebrew text.

⁷ With **ܡܫܠܝܢ** "raindrops" compare **ܡܫܠܝܢ** "through the rain was I walking", quoted in Levy's "Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch," vol. ii, p. 176. See also P.S. Thes., p. 1446.

⁸ Psalm lxx, 12-14. The translation is based on the LXX; but notice, e.g., "fatness of fatnesses" to represent the one word **πλεονεξίας**, and especially the reference to the land of Egypt suggested by the nature of the Service.

⁹ Taking **ܡܫܠܝܢ** to be so written instead of **ܡܫܠܝܢ**.

¹⁰ i.e. the doxology.

respond: O holy one of God. And they shall say: From eternity to the eternity of eternities. And all the priests and the people respond: O holy one of God. Once more they shall recite¹ the whole call² [for prayer] from the beginning to the end. One of the priests shall say: O Nile. And all the priests and the people respond once: O Nile. And the priest shall say twice³: O Nile. And all the priests and people shall respond twice: O Nile. And the priest shall say three times: O Nile. And all the priests and people shall respond three times: O Nile. And they furthermore recite⁴ this troparion in the second⁵ tone:

Thou wast born in accordance with all that Thou hast desired, and Thou hast appeared⁶ in accordance with all that Thou hast planned. Thou hast suffered in the flesh, O our God. And from the dead hast Thou risen, and hast trodden upon death. Thou hast risen in the glory which filleth all, and hast sent us Thy Holy Spirit, in order that we may sing and offer praises to Thy Godhead.

And one reads the first⁷ lesson,⁸ from Genesis:—

GEN. II, 4-19.⁹

c. 4. This is the book of the creation of heaven and earth, when the day was on which the Lord God made heaven and earth.

¹ "Be ye reciting" appears to be the literal rendering of the phrase.

² ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ is the fuller term used before.

³ Only the interjection "O" is repeated two or three times, as the case requires, in the original.

⁴ Literally "pray."

⁵ The second of the eight tones in the Byzantine Services is called *ᾠδὴν α'*: see Neale, *op. cit.*, Gen. Introd., p. 830.

⁶ Or "hast been seen," or "hast been made manifest."

⁷ Note the masculine form ܐܠܗܐ with the feminine subst. ܐܠܗܐ.

⁸ The word ܐܠܗܐ (comp. Arabic *إله*) represents *ἀδυναμία* in its liturgical use as applying properly to the lessons from the Old Testament. This may be taken as one of the many indications showing that the Service is Malkite. The vowel letter ܐ after the ܐ is merely the "mater lectionis."

⁹ These translations represent, as far as possible, the literal meaning of the Palestinian Syriac. For full textual notes, see "More Fragments of the Palestinian Syriac Version of the Holy Scriptures," by the same author.

v. 5. And no green thing of the field was yet upon the earth, and no herb of the earth had yet sprung up; for the Lord God had not caused rain to rain upon the face of the earth, and there was no man that he may till the earth.

v. 6. But a well was rising up from the earth, and was watering the whole face of the earth.

v. 7. And the Lord God formed the man Adam of the dust of the earth, and He blew into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man Adam became a living soul.

v. 8. And the Lord God planted a paradise in Eden in front on the east side, and He placed there the man Adam whom He had formed.

v. 9. And the Lord God caused again to grow every tree that is pleasing for sight and good for eating; and the tree of life in the middle of paradise, and the tree of understanding the knowledge of good and evil.

v. 10. And a river was issuing from Eden that it may water the paradise, and from thence it divided [itself], and became into four heads.

v. 11. The name of one is Pison: this is it which encircles the whole land of *Ölöt*, where there is gold.

v. 12. And the gold of that land is good, and there is the carbuncle and the emerald.

v. 13. And the name of the second river is Gihon: this is it which encircles the whole land of Cush.

v. 14. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: this is it which goes in the direction of the Syrians. And the fourth river is the Euphrates.

v. 15. And the Lord God took the man Adam whom He had formed, and He placed him into the paradise of Eden that he should dress it and keep it.

v. 16. And the Lord God commanded Adam and said unto him. Of all the trees that are in the paradise eating mayest thou eat.

v. 17. But of the tree of understanding the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for on the day on which thou eatest thereof dying shalt thou die.

v. 18. And the Lord God said, that, behold it is not good that the man Adam should be alone, but let us make him a helper like unto him.

v. 19. And the Lord formed again from the earth every beast of the field, and every fowl of heaven, and he brought them to Adam that he might see what he would call them; and everything that Adam called them a living soul that was its name.¹

The lesson that is read from the fourth book of Kings² :—

2 KINGS II, 19-22.

v. 19. And the men of the city said to Elisha, Behold the habitation of the city is good, as our lord seeth, but the water is bad, and the land is barren.

v. 20. And Elisha said, Bring me one new pot, and throw salt into it; and they brought [it] to him.

v. 21. And Elisha went out unto the springs of the water, and he threw salt therein, and said, Thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters, and there shall no more be thence that which is dead or is bereft.³

v. 22. And these waters were healed unto this day, according to the word of Elisha which he spake.

The third lesson is read from the prophet Amos :—

AMOS IX, 5-14a.

v. 5. Thus saith the Lord God, the all-apprehending One, He who toucheth the whole earth, and shaketh it,⁴ and all those that inhabit it, shall mourn; and it shall rise up like the river of Egypt which⁵ buildeth its rising in heaven.

¹ The above is the verbatim rendering of the latter part of the verse: the meaning no doubt is—"and whatsoever Adam called every living creature that was its name."

² Literally "of Kingdoms" (LXX βασιλειῶν).

³ Or "barren."

⁴ Or "and it shaketh."

⁵ Or "He who buildeth."

v. 6. And establisheth its¹ promises on the earth; He who calleth the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth, the Lord God, the all-apprehending One, is His name.

v. 7. Are ye not like children of the Ethiopians, O ye children of Israel? saith the Lord. Israel have I brought up from the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Cappadocia,² and the Syrians from the depth.

v. 8. Behold, the eyes of the Lord God are against the kingdom of the sinners, and I will remove it from the face of the earth; only so as not to destroy completely will I remove the house of Jacob, saith the Lord.

v. 9. For behold, I command, and I shall winnow among all nations the house of Israel, as one winnoweth straw with a winnowing-fork; there shall not [anything] fall upon the earth in the pounding thereof.

v. 10. By the sword, then, shall die the sinners [of my people] who say,³ These evils will not approach us, nor come upon us.

v. 11. And on that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David which had fallen down,⁴ and I will build up its ruin, and raise up its destruction, and I will build it up as in the days of old.

v. 12. In order that the rest of men, and all the nations upon whom my name is called, may seek [it],⁵ saith the Lord, who doeth⁶ these things.

v. 13. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, and the threshing shall overtake the vintage, and the vintage the seed[-time], and the grapes shall mix with the seed, and the mountains shall drop sweetness, and all the hills shall be planted.

¹ Or "His."

² It may also be rendered "from the Cappadocians," but "from Cappadocia" is required by the Hebrew, LXX, and Peshitta.

³ Or "those who say."

⁴ Or "that which had fallen down."

⁵ i.e. the tabernacle spoken of in v. 11; or "the Lord" with the Alexandrine text of the LXX?

⁶ Or "He who doeth."

v. 14a. And I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel.

Finished is the lesson from the Prophets.¹ Then shall be said a Psalm in the third² tone: ³"The Lord is my light and my redeemer; whom shall I fear?" Its response: "The Lord protects my life; of whom shall I be afraid?" Then is recited that which is read from the Acts of the Apostles:—

ACTS XVI, 16-34.

v. 16. In those same days, as the apostles were going to the house of prayer, there met them a certain young woman who had a spirit of divination,⁴ and she was bringing her masters much gain by the divination which she was divining.

v. 17. And she was following Paul and us, and she was thus crying and saying, These men are the servants of the Most High God, and they announce to you the way of life.


v. 18. And thus was she doing many days; and Paul became angry, and said to that spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ that thou go out of her; and in that same hour did the spirit depart.

v. 19. And when her masters saw that the hope of their gain had gone out from her, they seized Paul and Silas, and they dragged them and brought them to the market-place.

v. 20. And they brought them to the magistrates and to the chief men of the city, and they said, that these men trouble our city, because they are Jews.

¹ Ἰλδοσις = προφητεία.

² The name of the third of the eight tones is β: see Neale, *op. cit.*, Gen. Introd., p. 830.

³ Ps. xxvii, 1; the rendering "redeemer" points to the LXX σωτηρ, but  is not a literal translation of *σωμασπιστης*.

⁴ Literally "of a diviner."

c. 21. And they teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive, or to observe, because we are Romans.

c. 22. And a great assembly was assembled against them; then did the magistrates tear their clothes, and commanded that they should scourge them.

c. 23. And when they had scourged them much, they cast them into prison, and commanded the prison-keeper that he should keep them carefully.

c. 24. He, therefore, having received such a command, brought [them in, and] bound them in the inner prison-house,¹ and made their feet fast in the stocks.

c. 25. And in the middle of the night, Paul and Silas were praying and praising God, and the prisoners heard them.

c. 26. And suddenly there was a great earthquake, and the foundations of the prison were shaken, and all the doors were suddenly opened, and the bands of all of them were loosed.

c. 27. And when the prison-keeper awoke, and saw that the doors of the prison were open, he took a sword, and wanted to kill himself, because he thought that the prisoners had fled.

c. 28. And Paul called unto him with a loud voice, and said unto him, Do thyself no harm, because we are all here.

c. 29. And he lighted himself a lamp, and sprang and came in trembling, and fell at the feet of Paul and Silas.

c. 30. And he brought them out, and said to them, Sirs, what befits me that I should do, so as to be saved.

c. 31. And they said to him, Believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy whole house.

c. 32. And they spake to² him the word of the Lord, and to³ all his household.

c. 33. And in the same hour, in the same night, he led [them] and washed their stripes⁴; and in the same hour was he baptized, and all his household.

¹ Literally "in the inner house of the prison-house."

² Literally "with."

³ Literally "washed them of their stripes, or stripes?" (i.e. beating).

e. 34. And he led [them] and brought them to his house, and placed meat¹ before them; and he rejoiced, he and his household, in the faith of God.

And for² the Alleluiah: ³"The river of God is filled with water." Another: "Its ridges hast Thou watered, and increased the fruit thereof." And a lesson shall be read from the Gospel of Matthew. Look for the ninth Sunday after Pentecost⁴ (from Matthew). And when the Gospel lesson is finished, shall the deacon say a prayer. And the chief priest shall say this prayer over the basin⁵ of water: O cistern⁶ of water! (his face being turned to the east). ⁷"Praise be to God in

¹ Literally "a table."

² For **ⲙⲁ** in the sense of *pro* see P.S. Thea., col. 2887.

³ See above, p. 713.

⁴ See Miniscalchi Erizzo, "Evangelium Hierosolymitanum," p. 143. The lesson comprises St. Matt. xiv, 22-34, containing the account of Jesus walking on the Sea of Galilee, and thus being as appropriate to the occasion as the three lessons from the Old Testament and the one from the Acts of the Apostles. One may, perhaps, conclude that the Gospel Lectionary was the only one which was widely in use. It may, however, be held that the reason for the other lessons being given in full is to be sought in the fact (?) that the exact number of verses were not used at any other Service.

⁵ See p. 711.

⁶ **ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁ** = Lat. *piscina*, Gr. *πύλην*.

⁷ St. Luke, ii, 14. The final **ⲟ** of **ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ** stands for **ⲓ**, as is often the case in the MS. The reading **ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁ** at the end of the verse is remarkable. The Palest. Gospel Lectionary has **ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁ**. The translation given above assumes the same use of **ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁ** as in the Lord's Prayer (Pesh. also **ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁ** in the Lord's Prayer, but **ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁ** in St. Luke ii, 14). The explanation of this remarkable reading must be sought in the rendering of *ἐξόχα* by **ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁ** **ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ** in the Philoxenian version (ed. White). The Palest. Lectionary then omitted **ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ**, and in the present text **ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁ** was further altered into **ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁ**. This appears to show the dependence of the Palest. Syr. upon the Philoxenian version.

the heights, and upon earth peace, amongst men [be] Thy will [done]"—¹"O Lord, my lips hast Thou opened, and my mouth is telling forth Thy praise"—²"My mouth has been filled with praise, so that I may sing Thy praise, the whole day the greatness of Thy beauty."—*And the priest shall say this prayer:* O Lord of all goodness, O Lord, the all-apprehending One, God of all consolation, who hast established the heavens with wisdom, and hast crowned them with their orders of stars, and hast founded the earth upon water, and hast beautified³ it with flowers, and hast planted the paradise in Eden, and hast created in it the tree of life; Thou who hast made the expanse of the sea, and hast hemmed it in with sand, and hast commanded that out of one spring there should issue four rivers, and hast caused⁴ their names to be known in the inhabited world, and hast caused⁵ each one of them to flow,⁵ and [hast appointed] the path which befits it: the first among them, Pison, which encircles the land of Lot,⁶ which is towards the north,⁷ and Hiddekel,⁸ and the Euphrates. And Thou hast commanded them that they should become separated in the middle of the earth. And this Nile hast Thou commanded that it should rush, and pour itself out, and flow

¹ Ps. li, 17. The perfect $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$ appears to be free.

² Ps. lxxi, 8. Translated from the LXX, the clause " $\delta\sigma\omega\iota\ \delta\mu\eta\sigma\omega\ \tau\eta\eta\ \delta\sigma\chi\alpha\iota\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ " not being represented in the Mas. text.

³ If 𐤀𐤃𐤁 be here a mistake for 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀 , the literal rendering would be "and hast painted it."

⁴ $\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀} \dots \text{𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀}$ is by no means a Semitic construction. One should, perhaps, emend the latter word into 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 , and the translation would then be "and hast assigned [to them] their names which are known in the inhabited world."

⁵ For 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀 in the sense of $\delta\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$, see Land, "Anecd. Syr.," vol. iv, 105, line 6. The present passage can hardly be translated differently.

⁶ i.e. $\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀} = \text{Εὐελαστ} = \text{𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀}$.

⁷ Taking 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀 to stand for 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀 .

⁸ The final 𐤀 in 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀𐤀 stands for 𐤀 . See p. 720, note 7.

river Nile, so that the earth may bring forth her fruit. For¹ we who are standing by these waters that are put in as a type and a figure have made it a sign of the waters of the rivers of the Nile. And we now beg of Thee, and ask, and beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou mayest send Thy blessing upon the waters of the river Nile; and as the water which one drinks² provides life and strength to the bones, thus may it provide to the inner parts of the earth supernal strength which by Thee is made full and perfect, so that this seed which has sprung out of the earth may grow. And on this account do we beg of Thee, O Lord, who art very merciful and lovest man, that Thou mayest lift up the waters of the river Nile to the perfect height of the border of [its] waters, so that the river of God, the waters of the Nile, may be filled, O God. Renew³ from it food for Thy congregation according to [Thine] ordinance.⁴ Visit the earth with the water of the river Nile, and satiate it. Multiply without number its waters and its wells. Satisfy all the valleys, and plains, and fields, and its harbours.⁵ Multiply its fruit, so that the earth may rejoice, overgrown with good fruit, and rejoicing with beautiful and shining grapes and pure flowers, by means of⁶ the waters of the Nile. ⁷Thou blessest the crown of the year of Thy goodness, and Thy plains shall be filled with fatness; and may the land of Egypt prosper in it by means of the waters of the river Nile, and may the hills gird themselves with joy, and may the valleys be overgrown with wheat; may they rejoice, yea, may they also sing, on account of the needs of Thy congregation.

¹ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ must be taken to stand for بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ.

² Note the form يَشْرَبُ.

³ Note the form يَجْدِدُ, which is evidently the imperative of an *Afel* of جَدَدَ.

⁴ Apparently an allusion to Ps. lxx, 10 (last word): see p. 713.

⁵ يَزْدَكِي apparently = يَزْدَكِي (from the Greek *λαμψή*).

⁶ Note this signification of بِ.

⁷ Compare Ps. lxx, 12-14, as given on p. 713.

And bless us furthermore, our Lord and our God, that we may bring, and give,¹ and produce good spiritual fruit, sweet, and pleasant, and acceptable² to Thee, one a hundred-fold, and one sixtyfold, and one thirtyfold. And forgive us our sin, and blot out our transgressions, on account of Thy blessed name, and Thy lauded kingdom, and Thy glorified majesty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now [and] for ever and ever. Amen. *Another prayer*: Thou, O God, who, in the fulness of the times, hast opened the womb of her that was barren, and hast given [her son]³ a name that he may tell for all generations [the praises of her]⁴ from whom Thy Godhead put on the form of humanity: hear the voice of the prayer and supplication of Thy congregation. On the same day on which we call upon Thee send Thy promise⁵ upon the earth, and may the river Nile rise up, and be poured out, and water the whole land of Egypt, [the Nile] which buildeth its rising in heaven, [and] which stands in need of blessings.⁶ May the face of the earth be covered, and may be lifted up the river Nile, which is the joy⁶ of the whole earth, and may herb grow for all those who dwell in it; and mayest Thou give fruit for seed and bread for eating, so that the people may eat and be satisfied, and confess to the name of Thy Godhead that there is no other God beside Thee.

¹ **ⲁⲩⲁⲛⲟ** means literally "and that we may be given." One should expect **ⲙⲁⲛⲟ**.

² Note the uncertainty in the usage of gender and number. To **ⲥⲁⲛⲉ** as substantive belong the adjectival form **ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ**, **ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ**, **ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ**, and **ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ**. Such irregularities are not rare in the MS.

³ This translation is conjectural, the text in its present form being very enigmatical. In the translation it is assumed that the mother of John the Baptist is spoken of first, and that John was destined to tell the praises of the Virgin Mary. This rendering is, however, not without its difficulties.

⁴ With **ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ** comp. **ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ** in Amos ix, 6.

⁵ **ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ**, literally "those that bestow blessings."

⁶ This appears to be the sense intended by **ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ**. One should expect a copula or **ⲁⲩⲁⲛⲟ** (Palest. for **ⲁⲩⲁⲛⲟⲩ**) to accompany the relative **ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ**.

¹[The heavens were sealed, and the earth did not yield her fruit, and the inhabitants of the land were distressed in the former generations, on account of the transgression which was rising up from them.] But Thou, according to the multitude of Thy mercies, hast effected a reconciliation between the earth and the heavens, and hast made peace between the two, at the time² when the assembly of Thy holy angels stand in the morning at the rising of the sun, [and] sing to Thee with them,³ saying: ⁴"Praise be to God in the heights, and upon earth peace, and amongst men [be] Thy will [done]." That peace give to us and to all the people that stand before Thee⁵ and open the treasures of Thy good blessings [that are] in the river Nile, and pour them out upon the face of the earth, and cause herb and fruit to grow for all that dwell in it. May the trees rejoice, and may fruit multiply, and may the people eat and be satisfied, and make acknowledgment to Thy name, for Thou art their Father who is in the heavens, and we are standing before Thee, and beg for Thy mercies. Make us worthy that with simple minds worthy of Thy Godhead, we may approach and kiss⁶ one another with a holy kiss, as has been delivered⁷ to us by Thy holy [and] blessed apostles, who have pleased Thee, and done Thy will: by the intercession⁸ of the holy and pure blessed one, the mother of God, the pure⁹ virgin, our Lady Mary,

¹ The passage is manifestly corrupt, and the translation here proposed is entirely conjectural.

² On ܕܝܢ in the sense of *quo tempore*, *quum*, see P.S. Thea., col. 1984.

³ *i.e.* with the heavens and the earth?

⁴ St. Luke ii, 14: see note on p. 720. Instead of ܕܝܢ the simple preposition ܕ is used on p. 704, l. 7.

⁵ Two words of which the translation would be "in it the holy one" are here in the original.

⁶ See Schwally, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁷ See Rom. xvi, 16.

⁸ Note the form ܐܠܡܢܐ = Edes. Syr. ܐܠܡܢܐ.

⁹ ܕܝܢ for *undepd*.

and the prayer of St. John, the forerunner and baptist, and of our lords, the holy apostles, and our righteous fathers, and the chiefs of the blessed priests, and the glorified martyrs. Stretch out Thy right hand, and bless Thy servants with every spiritual¹ blessing in heaven and earth. And to Thee do we cause to rise up glory, and honour, and worship, and confession, even to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever and ever. Amen. *And after this shall the priest take the cross, and they shall repeat all [the portions of] Psalms which were [said] at the beginning of the prayer.* ²*(Then shall the chiefs [of the priests] repeat the Psalms which are at the beginning of the prayer, and the people respond as it is [there] written; and "Glory"³ and "from eternity,"⁴ and the people say thus.)* *And after this does the priest immerse the venerated cross three times, saying: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen." And the people shall say: Amen. And all the people drink of the holy water. And the archdeacon shall say: "Have mercy upon us, O God, according to the multitude," etc. And the priest adds⁵: "Because God is merciful." The people say: Amen. The deacon says: Sofia.⁶ The people say: ⁷"Bless, O ye saints." The priest says: "The blessed One."⁸ The people say:*

¹ The construction *وہو* *ہو* is very strange.

² The part enclosed thus () is partly a repetition of the preceding directions.

³ Both these expressions refer to the doxology.

⁴ It is not stated what they shall say.

⁵ *ہو* appears to mean here "he recites aloud": see Cardahi, "Al-Lubab," vol. ii, p. 619; comp. the Arabic *ہو*.

⁶ The fuller form of this exhortation addressed to the people by the deacon is *Σοφία ὁρθοί* "wisdom, erect," or *Σοφία, προσέχετε* "wisdom, let us attend." See Katharine Lady Lechmere's "Synopsis," Introduction (by T. Gennadius), pp. xiii, xiv.

⁷ *ہو* *ہو* = *ἐδλογίζετε ἄγιοι*.

⁸ Greek: *ὁς ἐδλογιστόν*.

"Amen; confirm it, O God."¹ *The priest concludes:*
 "Because by Thee² and with Thee do we take refuge, and
 by Thee are we sanctified, and to Thee do we offer confession
 and praise, even to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy
 Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen."

Finis. Finished is the Order of the blessed Nile, by the
 help of the living and mighty God. Amen. Amen. Amen.

¹ Apparently *σπερσεῖς ὁ θεός*, "confirm Thou, O God," as a kind of translation
 of "Amen."

² For the usual meaning of *بِصَلَاتِكَ* see Schwally, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³ *بِصَلَاتِكَ* is very strange in this place, as *بِصَلَاتِكَ* can only mean
 "from Thee [we] flee." There is probably some corruption in this passage.

IV. VOCABULARY OF UNUSUAL WORDS AND FORMS.¹

ܐܠܗܐ (= *Evelát*, ܐܠܗܐ), p. 699, l. 4.

ܐܠܐ, p. 696, l. 11, *passim*.

ܐܠܐ, p. 699, l. 8.

ܐܠܐ, p. 704, l. 2 from bottom.

ܐܠܐ (= ܐܠܐ), p. 699, l. 4 fr. bottom.

ܐܠܐ, p. 700, l. 5; ܐܠܐ, p. 702, l. 13.

ܐܠܐ (for ܐܠܐ), p. 708, l. 8.

ܐܠܐ for ܐܠܐ (besides similar instances), p. 708, l. 5.

ܐܠܐ (= ܐܠܐ) in ܐܠܐ, p. 705, l. 4.

ܐܠܐ, p. 704, l. 10 fr. bottom.

ܐܠܐ, *ἐναγγέλιον*, p. 695, l. 7; p. 704, l. 2.

ܐܠܐ, p. 702, l. 7.

ܐܠܐ, p. 695, l. 6.

ܐܠܐ, p. 696, l. 9.

ܐܠܐ "carbuncle," p. 699, l. 5.

ܐܠܐ "censer" (incense), p. 695, l. 8. See Schwally,

"Idiot," p. 19, and *Vienna Oriental Journal*, x, 2,

pp. 134, 135.

ܐܠܐ, p. 705, l. 2.

ܐܠܐ, see ܐܠܐ.

¹ Only the more important words and forms are collected in this list. It will be seen that, besides some entirely new additions to the Palestinian Syriac vocabulary, the Nile Service also exhibits fresh examples of words, forms, and shades of meaning, of which only a scant number of instances were known before. The Arabic words occurring in the text are not noted here.

- ܠܡܝ in ܠܡܝܐ, p. 706, l. 7.
 ܡܝܢ in ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 705, l. 8; p. 706, l. 5.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ, *áγrós*, p. 698, l. 13 fr. bottom; p. 699, l. 5 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ "raindrops," p. 697, l. 1.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ (applied to a physical process), p. 705, l. 5.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 696, l. 6; p. 708, l. 7 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ "emerald," p. 699, l. 5.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ in ܡܝܢܝܐ "crowned," p. 695, l. 3 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ (= ܡܝܢܝܐ, *λμῆν*), p. 706, l. 11.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 695, last line; p. 701, l. 12.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ in ܡܝܢܝܐ, in the sense of "because," p. 709, l. 5 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 698, l. 6.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ (for ܡܝܢܝܐ) in ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 700, l. 5.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ in ܡܝܢܝܐ "the comforter," p. 695, l. 7 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ in ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 698, last line; p. 699, l. 13.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 698, l. 7 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ (for ܡܝܢܝܐ) in ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 703, l. 4 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ "baptist," p. 708, l. 8 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 704, l. 5; p. 695, l. 8.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 709, l. 2 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ in ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 702, l. 2 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ in ܡܝܢܝܐ, p. 701, l. 10.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ in ܡܝܢܝܐ "astonished," p. 695, l. 5 fr. bottom.
 See Schwally, "Idiot," pp. 74, 75.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ (= Edes. Syr. ܡܝܢܝܐ), p. 708, l. 10 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ (for ܡܝܢܝܐ), p. 705, l. 13.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ (for ܡܝܢܝܐ), p. 704, l. 2 fr. bottom.
 ܡܝܢܝܐ, *παροικῶν*, p. 700, l. 9 fr. bottom; p. 704, l. 12.

ܡܨܥܐ (for ܡܨܥܐ), p. 695, last line.

ܡܨܡ in ܡܨܡܢܐ "forerunner," p. 708, l. 8.

ܡܨܦ (with a feminine noun), p. 698, l. 6.

ܡܨܦܐ "feast," p. 695, ll. 2, 5.

ܡܨܠܐ (= ܡܨܠܐ), p. 701, l. 5 fr. bottom, *passim*.

ܡܨܡܢܐ (= ܡܨܡܢܐ), p. 702, ll. 3, 4, 5.

ܡܨܠܐ, p. 707, l. 7.

ܡܨܠܐ, p. 700, l. 6 fr. bottom.

ܡܨܠܐ (for ܡܨܠܐ) in ܡܨܠܐ, p. 697, l. 7.

ܡܨܡܐ, p. 698, l. 7 fr. bottom.

ܡܨܡܐ, p. 705, l. 8.

ܡܨܐ in ܡܨܐ (= ܡܨܐ), p. 696, l. 6 fr. bottom.

ܡܨܐ in ܡܨܐ "hast caused to flow," p. 704, l. 4 fr. bottom.

ܡܨܐ, p. 701, l. 12.

ܡܨܐ "present," p. 705, l. 11.

ܡܨܐ, p. 696, l. 4 fr. bottom; p. 709, l. 1.

ܡܨܐ (evidently an active participle, analogous to the Samaritan form), p. 700, l. 5 fr. bottom.

ܡܨܐ, p. 707, l. 3.

ܡܨܐ in ܡܨܐ, p. 705, last line.

ܡܨܐ, p. 709, l. 7.

ܡܨܐܐ, p. 705, l. 10 fr. bottom.

ܡܨܐ, p. 700, l. 3.

ܡܨܐ, *ibid.*, l. 8.

ܡܨܐ in ܡܨܐ, p. 695, l. 2; p. 696, l. 7; p. 704, l. 14.

GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES.

ܡܨܐܐ, ψαλμός (note the use of the nom. for the acc.),
p. 701, l. 4 from bottom.

ܡܨܐܐ, ἀντίφωνος, p. 696, ll. 12 and last; p. 697, l. 3.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, στρατηγοί, p. 702, ll. 4 and 9 fr. bottom.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, εὐλογεῖτε ἅγιοι, p. 709, ll. 11, 12.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ, πάππος "para," p. 696, l. 4.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, πεντηκοστή, p. 695, l. 4.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, προφητεία, p. 701, l. 4 fr. bottom.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν, p. 705, l. 11.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, τὸν εὐλογητόν, p. 709, l. 12.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, τρσπάριον, p. 696, l. 1; p. 697, last line.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, p. 695, l. 9.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ for καθαρά, p. 708, l. 9 fr. bottom.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, στερεοῦ ὁ θεός, p. 709, l. 7 fr. bottom.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, πρᾶξις, p. 701, last line.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ, σοφία, p. 709, l. 9 from bottom.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ, καὶ γάρ, p. 697, l. 8; p. 706, l. 7 fr. bottom.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ, τό (for ὁ), p. 696, l. 6.



ART. XVI. — *Al-Abrîk, Tephrikê, the Capital of the Paulicians: a correction corrected.* By GUY LE STRANGE.

It is, I hope, never too late to acknowledge a mistake and correct a blunder. Since the appearance of my note on the Castle of Abrik (see J.R.A.S. for October, 1895, p. 739), Professor De Goeje has called my attention to a passage in the "Tanbih" of Mas'ûdi, which negatives the identification of Abrik with the modern Arabkir, and proves incontrovertibly that Tephrikê, of which there can be little doubt that Divrigi (or Divrik) is the present representative, must be the place which various Arab geographers describe under the name aforesaid of Abrik or Abrûk.

In the "Decline and Fall," chapter liv, Gibbon gives an interesting account of the Paulicians (so called after one Paul, their founder), a curious sect of Eastern Christians, whose Manichaean beliefs caused them to be ruthlessly persecuted by the orthodox emperors of Constantinople. In the latter part of the ninth century A.D., Carbeas, whose father had been impaled as a heretic by the Catholic inquisitors, led the revolt of the Paulicians. He founded and fortified the city of Tephrikê, and, aided by the armies of the Caliph, utterly routed the Emperor Michael under the walls of Samosata. His successor, Chrysocheir, over-ran and plundered the whole of Asia Minor, but was finally defeated and slain by the troops sent against him by the Emperor Basil. "With Chrysocheir, the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered; on the second expedition of the Emperor, the impregnable Tephrikê was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy and escaped to the borders." This is the account given by Gibbon on the authority of the Byzantine Chroniclers, and, as will be seen,

it agrees perfectly with the following passages from nearly contemporary Arab authorities—Mas'ūdi, who wrote in 943 A.D., and Kudāma, *circa* 880 A.D.

I should begin by stating that the name of the Paulicians occurs in the Arabic under the form of *Baylaḳāni*, which is the nearest available rendering of the Greek word *Παυλικιάνοι* (the Arabs having no P), and that the plural of *Baylaḳāni* is *Baylaḳa*, a form which less clearly recalls the Greek original.

The heresy of Paul of Samosata is mentioned by Shahrastāni in his "History of Sects and Philosophical Schools" (see vol. i, pp. 262 and 266 of the translation by T. Haarbrücker); but there appears to be some confusion here between the reputed founder of the Paulicians and his namesake, the Patriarch of Antioch, a celebrated Monarchian heresiarch, who troubled the Church in more ways than one during the third century of the Christian era. This confusion, however, is unimportant to the matter now under discussion, which deals solely with the events of the ninth century after Christ, when, as a matter of historical geography, it becomes important to establish the identity between the Arab "Abrik" and the Greek "Tephrikē": and this identification is proved by the following.

Mas'ūdi, in his "Tanbih" (p. 151), while enumerating the various Christian sects, mentions that of the Baylaḳāni, which "is the sect instituted by Paulus of Shimsbāt [read Sumaysāt, or Samosata], who originally had been Patriarch of Antioch." Mas'ūdi, later on in the same work (p. 183), when speaking of the various fortresses which, after having once been in Moslem hands, had now come to be reconquered by the Greeks, makes mention of Malaṭiyya, Shimsbāt, Hian-Manṣūr, "and the Castle of Abrik, which was the capital of the Baylaḳāni, where lived many of their Patriarchs [or Patricians], such as Ḳarbiyās [Carbeas], the Client of the family of Tāhir-ibn-al-Ḥusayn, also Kharsakhārīs [Chrysocheir], and besides these two some others."

The same author, in his "Golden Meadows" (viii, 74), further relates that a certain Greek, who had by conversion become a good Moslem, gave him (Mas'ūdi) a full account of Constantinople, adding that there was in that city a church where were kept ten statues representing persons celebrated among the Christians for their valour and wisdom: "of these is Ḳarbiyās the Baylaḳāni, Lord of the City of Abrik, which at the present day belongs to the Greeks, and he was Patrician [or Patriarch] of these Baylaḳāni, his death having taken place in the year 249 [A.D. 863]. There is also here the statue of Kharsakhāris, who was the sister [the MSS. here are corrupt; we should perhaps read "successor"] of Ḳarbiyās. . . . Now mention has been made elsewhere of the sect of the Baylaḳāni and of their beliefs, and they are a sect part Christian, part Magian, but at this present time [A.H. 332, A.D. 943] they have migrated, and now live among the nation of the Greeks."

Another contemporary author who mentions the Paulicians is Ḳudāma, who, naming the Greek provinces ("Book on the Revenues," p. 254) which lie over against the territory of Malaṭiyya (Melitene), mentions the districts of Kharshana and Khāldaya, that is the Charsianian and the Chaldian Themes. It may be noted in passing that there seems to be much confusion as to the identification of the site of Kharshana. Ibn Khurdadbih, in his "Road Book" (p. 108), writes: "The Kharsiyūn District is near the Darb [pass or high-road] of Malaṭiyya. In this district lies the fortress of Kharshana, together with four others"; and conformably with this, in my paper on Ibn Serapion (p. 747), I have, on the authority of Mr. Hogarth, identified Kharshana with the present village of Alaja Khan lying on the upper waters of the Kuru Tchay, the older Jarjariya. It appears, however, from Professor Ramsay's "Historical Geography" (p. 249 and elsewhere) that Charsianon Castron, the original of the Arab Kharshana, is to be sought, not at the village of Alaja Khan, but at Alaja, an important road-centre to the west

of the upper Halys, and this Alaja was the ancient Karissa or Garsi. From Alaja Khan to Alaja there is a distance, as the crow flies, of over 150 miles, and they must not therefore be confounded.

To return, however, to the Paulicians, Ḳudāma (already quoted) states in his "Book on the Revenues" (p. 254) that between Malatiyya, Kharshana, Khāldaya, and the Armenian country is "the land which was settled by a people called the Baylaḳāni, who are of the Greeks, except for certain differences that exist between the two in matters of faith. These people used to give aid to the Moslems during their raids [into the Greek country], and their aid was greatly valued by the Moslems. All at once, however, they migrated away from this land, in consequence of the evil conduct of the governors of the [Moslem] frontier who had dealings with them, and of the little honour that they received at the hands of those appointed to look after their affairs [by the Caliph]. Hence the Paulicians have come to be dispersed abroad throughout the [Greek] lands, while in their place, now, the Armenians have settled."

In his French translation of this passage ("Bibl. Geog. Arab.," vi, p. 176), Professor De Goeje tentatively proposed the reading "Naylaḳāni" or "Nayḳalāni," that is *Nicholœans*, for Baylaḳāni, *Paulicians*, the MSS. being here corrupt, and the letters *n* and *b* in Arabic only differing by the position of a diacritical point. I have Professor De Goeje's authority, however, for stating that Baylaḳāni is without doubt the true reading.

From the above it follows that Abriḳ, capital of the Paulicians, as described by Arab geographers, is undoubtedly the place which the Byzantine authors call Tephrikē; and as this last is represented by the modern Divrigi, or Divrik, on the Tchalta Irmak, the Arab Castle of Abriḳ and the river of the same name must be respectively Divrik and the Tchalta river, and *not* the fortress of Arabkir, which stands on the Saritchitchek Su, many miles to the south.

It of course follows that the tributary of the Abriḳ

called the river Zamra (or Zimara, as our MS. of Ibn Serapion also spells the name) cannot be either the Miram Tchay or the Kistek Tchay, which joins the Saritchitchek Su (see J.R.A.S. 1895, pp. 65 and 744). Zamra must have been the name of one of the tributaries of the Tchalta Irmak (Abriḳ river), which joined that stream below Divrigi, for Ibn Serapion writes that "it falls into the river Abriḳ a little below the Castle of Abriḳ" (*loc. cit.*, p. 63). This identification is certainly favoured by the fact that at the present day a village called Zimarra¹ still exists near here. Mr. Vincent W. Yorke, who has recently returned from a journey through this country of the upper waters of the Euphrates, informs me that the present Zimarra Su is a tributary of the Euphrates, and joins the great river a short way above the mouth of the Tchalta Irmak. The Zimarra Su does not, therefore, fit the case of the Zamra river, as described by Ibn Serapion; which last must have been one of the streams marked (but not named) in Kiepert's Map, which are left-bank tributaries of the Tchalta Irmak, flowing in from the country near Zimarra village.

Coming to the river Lūḳīya, which in note 4 to p. 57 of my paper on Ibn Serapion was wrongly identified with the Tchalta Irmak (the Tchalta being undoubtedly the Abriḳ river), this Lūḳīya most probably is one of the two important streams which join the right bank of the Euphrates a little above the junction of the Tchalta. These streams are not named in Kiepert's Map, but Mr. Yorke writes that they are both of considerable volume, being called respectively the Armidan Tchay and the Kara Budak. One of them must be the Lūḳīya aforesaid, and on it lay the "single fortress" mentioned on p. 54 of my paper.

The next right-bank tributary of the Euphrates, the Nahr Anjā, I now believe to be identical with the river called the Saritchitchek Su,² wrongly identified (*loc. cit.*, p. 58)

¹ Also Zimara is the name of a station mentioned in the Peutinger Tables, the Antonine Itinerary, etc.

² Still called Anḡu Tchay near its mouth, according to Mr. Yorke.

with the Abriḳ river. In the former list of identifications, the river Anjā could only come in as either the short stream on which stands the village of Tchermuk (*loc. cit.*, p. 58) or its neighbour, the Soyut Tehay (*idem*, p. 744). Neither of these, however, correspond with the description given by Ibn Serapion of the course of the Anjā, which "rises in the mountain of Abriḳ, a little way above the crossing the high-road from Malatiyya" (*loc. cit.*, p. 54). The "high-road" here mentioned must mean the Great Road going from Melitene westwards into the Greek Country (the ancient High-road to Constantinople); and the important stream of the Anjā—described as flowing down "between mountains," exactly corresponds with the course of the river now known as the Saritchitchek Su, which rises far to the westward, and on whose banks stands the modern capital of the district, Arabkir. It may be noted in passing that Arabkir is apparently mentioned by none of the mediaeval Arab geographers. It is called Nareen in the old Turkish fiscal Archives, as is recorded by Taylor (see J. R. Geogr. Society, xxxviii, page 311).

The only point against the identification of the Anjā with the Saritchitchek Su, is the statement made in Ibn Serapion that the Anjā joined the Euphrates "at a distance five leagues *below the mouth of the river Arsanās*" (p. 54). But the Arabic MS. is here defective; "Arsanās" is written "Asnās," and I now believe this may be a clerical error for "Abriḳ," a word with which it might easily be confounded in the Arabic writing. In the loose way in which Ibn Serapion counts distances, the Anjā (Saritchitchek Su) might well be described as flowing into the Euphrates "five leagues below the Nahr Abriḳ," that is to say, a little way *above* the junction of the Murād Tehay or Arsanās river. If "Abriḳ" for "Arsanās" be deemed too bold an emendation, the facts of the case will be equally suited by changing the adverb "below" into "above" (and read *faḩḩ* in the Arabic text of Ibn Serapion, p. 11, line 5 from below, in place of *asfal*), but the distance of "five leagues *above* the mouth of the Nahr Arsanās" for the incoming of the Anjā

river is only approximately correct for describing the mouth of the Saritchitchek Su.

In a tabular form the identifications now proposed for the right-bank (western) tributaries of the Upper Euphrates are as follows, beginning above and working down stream :—

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| (I) Lûkiya (river) | is either the Kara Budak or the Armi-dan Tchay, | not the Tchalta Irmak (p. 57, note 2). |
| (II) Abriḳ (river and town) | is the Tchalta Irmak and the town of Dîvrîk (Tephrikê), | not the Saritchitchek Su (p. 58, note 3), and not Arabkir (p. 740). |
| (IIa) Zamra (river) | is an affluent of the Tchalta Irmak, | not the Miram Tchay (p. 65, note 2), nor the Kiztek Tchay (p. 744). |
| (III) Anjâ (river) | is the Saritchitchek Su, | not the stream of the Tchermuk village (p. 58, note 3), nor the Soyut Tchay (p. 744). |

As showing that Tephrikê also among the Byzantines bore a name very like Abriḳ, it is to be noticed that the Greek MSS. of two of their Chronicles give, as a variant for Tephrikê, the name Aphrikê (*Τεφρική*, variant *Ἀφρική*). My attention was first called to this passage by Mr. Yorke, who has also pointed out to me that the name of the Zarnûḳ river, a tributary of the Kûbāḳib, which flows into the Euphrates near Malaṭiyya (Melitene), is mentioned in the Byzantine Chronicles under the forms *Ζαρνούχ* and *Ἀτζαρνούκ*, which, seeing that *n* and *b* are unlikely to be substituted for one another in the Greek letters, disposes of the alternative form, given in the MS. of Ibn Serapion, of "Zarbûḳ" (*loc. cit.*, p. 743).

What, however, may be gleaned on this and kindred subjects from the Byzantine Chronicles has recently been ably discussed in the pages of the *Classical Review* (for April, 1896), in a most interesting article entitled "The

Campaign of Basil I against the Paulicians in 872 A.D.," by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, of the University of Aberdeen, to whom (and Professor Ramsay) I am indebted for much valuable information. In the course of his discussion of the various Byzantine accounts of the campaign of Basil I against the Paulicians, Mr. Anderson shows that the river *Ḳarāḳis*, described by Ibn Serapion, is also almost certainly mentioned by the Byzantines. Readers of this Journal who take an interest in the mediaeval geography of Asia Minor, and the question of the frontier fortresses lying between the Greeks and the Saracens, may be referred to this paper, where a solution is offered of the thorny question as to the true sites of *Zibāṭra* and *Ḥadath*.

There can be no doubt that *Zibāṭra* of the Moslems is identical with the fortress called either *Zapetra* or *Sozopetra* by the Byzantine Chroniclers, for the story of its capture by the Emperor Theophilus, and its recapture by the Caliph Mu'taṣim during his celebrated expedition against Amorium, is narrated alike by both the Greek and the Arab annalists (compare Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vi, 413, with Weil, "Geschichte der Chalifen," ii, 309). The question remains as to the situation of *Zibāṭra*, which neither the Greeks nor the Arabs very accurately describe. What the latter have recorded will be found in my notes to Ibn Serapion (p. 66), while the Greek authorities have now been examined by Mr. Anderson, and the results will be found in his paper above referred to.

It may be mentioned, however, as supporting the view that *Zibāṭra* must be sought at the present *Virān-Shahr* on the Sultan Su (and this was my first identification, which Mr. Anderson confirms by what is stated in the Byzantine Chronicles) and *not* at *Derendeh* (as is one of the suggestions offered by Mr. Hogarth: see Ibn Serapion, p. 745), that *Derendeh* is itself mentioned, under the form *Ṭarandah*, by the contemporary Arab authorities. *Balādhuri* (p. 185, and he is copied by *Ibn-al-Athīr* and *Yāḳūt*) states that *Ṭarandah*, which lay three marches distance from *Malatīyya*, deep in the Greek

country, was garrisoned by the Moslems after A.H. 83 (702), but was subsequently abandoned by orders of the Caliph Omar II in A.H. 100 (719). Zibātra, therefore, cannot have been identical with Tarandah, which is another place. Mr. Anderson, also, gives us references to the Byzantine Chronicles proving that *Taranta* was a Paulician stronghold, and there is no reason to doubt the identification of Byzantine "Taranta," Arab "Taranda," and the modern Derendeh, which lies high up on the Tokhma Sū.

Further, in confirmation of the view adopted by Mr. Anderson and Professor Ramsay that the site of Hadath must be sought at or near the modern Inekli, on the Ak-Su, may be mentioned the statement found in the Geographical Dictionary of Bakri (p. 657). In the article on 'Arbasūs (Arabissos, Al-Bustan) the author describes this as a city of the Greeks lying "over against" or "opposite" Hadath, thus leading us to infer that Hadath (a place doubtless well known to him) was on the nearer and Moslem side of Arabissos, and to the south of that city.

In conclusion, I venture to point out that the historical geography of Asia Minor is likely to gain a yet firmer basis, if the accounts of the Byzantine annalists be systematically compared with, and a corrective applied from, the works of the contemporary Arab geographers.

ART. XVII.—*Notes on Akbar's Súbahs, with reference to the Ain-i Akbari.* By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (ret.).

No. II.

ORISSA.

THE ancient kingdom of Orissa (Odra-deśa, whence Oṛeśá), strictly speaking, extended from the Kánsbáns river in the north to the Rasákuliá river near Ganjáma in the south; and from the Bay of Bengal on the east far into the tangled mass of low hills in the west, in which latter direction its limits seem never to have been clearly defined. But the kings of Orissa were not satisfied with these boundaries. It is a common boast both in literature and on monuments that their kingdom stretched from the great to the little Ganges; that is to say, from the Bhágirathí (called by Europeans the Hugli or "Hooghly") to the Godávarí. At various times different kings made good this boast by victorious campaigns, followed by temporary occupation of territory both to the north and south.

The latest of these towards the north, starting from the Subarnarekhá, which had at that time been for a long while the northern boundary, was led by the last independent monarch, Mukund Dev, called the Telinga, who, about A.D. 1550, really touched the Bhágirathí, and built at the sacred tirtha of Tribení, near Sátgáon, a stately bathing-place, the ruins of which still remain. He was attacked and defeated by the terrible Kálá Pahár, general of Sulaimán Kararánî, really king, though nominally only viceroy, of Bengal. After holding out for some time at the strong fortress of Raíbanián on the Subarnarekhá, Mukund retreated, fighting as he went, to Jájpúr, where he was

either killed or driven into exile—for his fate is shrouded in obscurity—and Orissa became a province of Bengal in A.D. 1568.¹

It is so treated in the *Áin*. The arrangement, however, proved unworkable, and Orissa was eventually made into a separate *Súbah* by the Emperor Sháh Jahán. The suppression of the Bengal military revolt of 1572 led to the flight of Dáúd Khán, the rebel king of Bengal, into Orissa. Rájá Todar Mal accompanied the force under Mun'im Khán, which pursued Dáúd and defeated him at the battle of Tukaroi, near Jellasore, in 1574. Todar Mal advanced as far as Cuttack, and it must have been at this time that he obtained the materials for the financial arrangements which are preserved to us in the *Áin*. But as after the campaign Dáúd was left in possession of Orissa in little more than nominal submission to the Emperor, Todar Mal's arrangements did not take effect, and his lists must be regarded as little more than a sketch or project, and the local tradition which ascribes to him the settlement of the cultivated and civilized central tract known as the Moghulbandi rests on no historical foundation. The first actual Moghul settlement was made by Rájá Mán Singh in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590), and even this did not come fully into operation till the final suppression of the Afghans in the reign of Jahángír, probably, judging from Grant's "*Analysis*," not before 1627.

Todar Mal's lists, as will be seen from the following remarks, are very imperfect, and cannot be taken as covering the whole territory of Orissa. A very large number of undoubtedly ancient and important estates are omitted, and the revenue assigned to others bears no proportion to their known extent. Stirling, indeed, who was intimately acquainted with the province in the early days of British rule, asserts that a measurement of the lands was made, and that the accounts still preserved in the offices of the *Sadr Kánúngos*, or Keepers of the Revenue Accounts, are founded

¹ For this date see the evidence in my article on "*The History of Orissa*," *J.A.S.B.*, vol. iii, p. 233, note †.

on that measurement, but he could find no evidence or information as to the means by which the determination of the rents and revenue was arrived at, and it is highly probable that the measurement dragged on over many years, and the assessment of revenue was not finally made till long after Todar Mal's time.

It will be noticed that in the *Áin* the word *كلاہ* *kila'ah* 'a fort' occurs very frequently. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the whole of Orissa bristled with strong castles or fortresses. The *kila'ah* was generally a much humbler affair. It was for the most part merely the house of a zamindár with the adjacent village surrounded by an earthen rampart or breastwork, and occasionally a rude moat, the whole girdled by a thick belt of bamboo and rattan jungle, forming an impenetrable barrier to the cavalry of which the Moghul armies chiefly consisted. Several of these so-called forts are still in existence, as, for instance, at *Ál*; but the number of stone forts is not large, and most of those which existed in the sixteenth century have since disappeared. They can, however, often be traced by the word *Gar* (fort) prefixed to the names of villages which still stand on their ancient sites though no longer fortified.

The materials for reconstructing this *Súbah* are Grant's "Analysis," the lists of parganahs in the appendices in vol. ii of Hunter's "Orissa," Stirling's account of Orissa in the *Asiatic Researches*, and the two L.O. MSS. mentioned in my article on Bengal. The notes which I supplied to the late Professor Blochmann in 1870 were unfortunately lost with his other collections after his death, but I have some notes in MS. still, and having been officially connected with Orissa for nine years (1869-1878) and with Midnapore for five (1880-1885), I have been able to supply some suggestions from personal acquaintance with the localities.

In the following notes the names of the parganahs will be given in the form adopted by Colonel Jarrett; the correct names, with the necessary remarks and explanations, being given opposite each. The same abbreviations are used as

in my article on Bengal. The Persian words are transliterated on the usual Jonesian system, with the exception of such places as are well known under English corruptions, e.g. Jellasore (Jalesar), Cuttack (Kaṭak), Midnapore (Mednīpūr), Balasore (Bálesar).

SARKÁR JALESAR (JELLASORE).

This very large Sarkár includes the whole of the Midnapore district, with the exception of a few scattered areas on the eastern border attached to Sarkár Madáran in Súbah Bangálah. It also includes all northern Balasore as far as the Kánsbáns river, together with an indefinite extent of hill and jungle to the west.

Bánsanda, commonly Haftchór. Should be "Bánmundí, *alias* the Seven Chaur." The MSS., which have all evidently copied from the same original, blindly repeat the mistake of writing *s* for *m*. Bánmundí is still a large village on the right bank of the Subarnarekhá, opposite Jellasore. The word *chaur*, meaning a cleared space in a forest, is added to the names of many parganahs in this part of the country. There are fifteen of them at the present day, several of which, however, are of modern origin. The original seven are probably Bhelorá, Nápú, Kamardah, Daṛará, Dántan, Kaurdah, and Kánkará, Chaur. They will all be found in A. of I., sheets 114 and 115, lying in a circle round Jellasore. Bánmundí, wrongly spelt Bandmundi in A. of I., sheet 115, is in Bhelorá Chaur.

The entry 'castes' means the caste of the Zamindárs. For *J.'s Bhej* read *Bhanj*, a very common caste title in Orissa.

Biblí, read Piplí. Celebrated as the earliest English factory in Bengal, established in 1640, at the mouth of the Subarnarekhá. It has now been completely washed away, and the river flows over its site. Sháh Jahán

named it the "Royal Port," Sháh Bandar, and the parganah now bears that name.¹ The zamindár showed me, in 1872, the original farmán of Sháh Jahán conferring on his ancestors the port dues and fees, on condition of their supplying provisions to the ships. In it the port is called Piplí Sháhbandar.

Bálisháhi. Now pronounced Bálsáhi. The latter part of the word is the Oriya *sáhi* 'a village,' mistaken by the Imperial scribes for the more familiar *sháhi* 'royal.' The word means 'village in the sand,' an appropriate name, as it lies among the sand-hills on the sea-shore.

Báلكohsi. The name is written with many variants. Blochmann gives *kohi* and *khosi*. I.O. 6 has *kothi*, and I.O. 1114 *málkoi*! I have no doubt that the word meant is *Bárah kosi* 'the twelve kos.' This was the name given to the much dreaded tract, twelve kos, or twenty-four miles long, between the Subarnarekhá and Búrhábalang. The old pilgrim road to the shrine of Jagannáth passed through this country along the foot of densely wooded hills, and was infested by robbers and wild beasts. Pilgrims used to stop at Jellasore till a large crowd had assembled; then they subscribed and hired guides to take them through the dangerous part. In later times the name was extended as far south as the Kánsbáns, and it is in this wider sense that it is used in the *Aín*. Of the three forts, two can be identified—Sokrah as the place now known as Sohroh, a town and police-station half-way between Balasore and Bhadrakh; and Bánhastáli as Bhainsbátí, on the Kánsbáns, six miles south-east of Sohroh. Dadhpár I cannot identify.

¹ He visited the place in 1621, when, as Prince Khurram, he rebelled against his father, the Emperor Jahángir (see my article on the "History of Northern Orissa," J.A.S.B., vol. iii, p. 237). His grant to the zamindárs was probably made in recognition of their support on that occasion.

Parbadá. This is an unlikely name for a place in Orissa.

I.O. 6 has Barpadá, which is an extremely common name of villages in that province. None of the numerous Barpadás, however, possess the features here noted. Seeing how commonly the *markaz*, or sloping stroke of ك, is omitted in MSS. of the *Áin*, I have no hesitation in concluding that the place meant is Garpadá. It is exactly as described—a strong fort, partly on a hill, partly in jungle; though the fortifications have now almost ceased to be traceable. In the Middle Ages this place, half-way between Jellasore and Balasore, commanding the pilgrim road, the only high road into Orissa, and the residence of influential zamindárs, was a position of great importance. Here a battle was fought by Kálá Pahár, and one of his captains who fell in it lies buried close by, and is worshipped as a martyr. (See my article on the "History of Northern Orissa," J.A.S.B., vol. lii, p. 231; also my facsimile and translation of a copper-plate grant in the possession of the Bhuyáns of Garpadá in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 355, where I have erroneously spelt the word Garḥ- instead of Gar-.)

Bhográi. A parganah at the mouth of the Subarnarekhá, on the north side, partly in Balasore, partly in Midnapore. I have not been able to find any traces of the "fortress of great strength." Possibly the river has washed it away.

Bugdi, now pronounced Bogri. It is a parganah in North Midnapore, lying on both sides of the Selái river. The town of Garbetá is in it.

Bázár. Now Dhenkiá bázár, on the Kasái river, a little below Midnapore town.

Bábbanbhúm, a parganah in North Midnapore, now more correctly pronounced Bráhmaṇbhúm (not Brahman-púr, as stated by J.).

Taliya, with town of Jalesar. The first word is evidently incorrect; the MSS. offer every variety of reading.

I.O. 6 gives تله, with no dots to the third letter. I.O. 1114 has تلتر. Mr. Beveridge has kindly examined for me six MSS. at the British Museum, all of which have تله or تليه. He suggests that the word may be تكيه *takiya* 'the hermitage of a darwesh.' I do not, however, know of any *takiya* near Jellalore. On the other hand, Jellalore has from ancient times been divided into two parts—the commercial town and the official station. The former has always been, and is still, known as *Paṭṇa Jalesar*; *paṭṇa* being, as is well known, a very common name for mercantile towns throughout India. It seems to me highly probable, indeed almost certain, that we should read *paṭṇah bā kasbah* = 'the market town and citadel of Jalesar.' بته might easily be misread as تله if the dots over the *t* got mixed with it by running of the ink or a slip of the pen, and still more so if the cerebral were indicated by a superscribed ط, as is often done. As Blochmann notices in the preface to his Persian text, the MSS. follow one another so slavishly that a mistake in the original one would be faithfully reproduced in all the copies.

Tanbūlak. Read Tambūlak, ن before ب in Persian being always pronounced *m*. The place meant is the famous ancient emporium of Tamrālipti, now Tamlūk, still a flourishing town on the Rūpnarāyan river in North-east Midnapore.

Tarkól. Should be Tarkúá. The MSS. have apparently changed ل into ل. It is in South Midnapore, about ten miles north-east of Jellalore.

Dáwar Shorbhúm, commonly Bárah. Read Párah; it means the tract of saliferous land otherwise known as Shorpárah. This expression is applied to the extensive tract on the sea-coast of Midnapore, where salt is, or till recently used to be, made, stretching from the Subarnarekhá to the Rasúlpúr river. In Sháh Jahán's settlement it is entered as Gwálpára

(Grant, 532), and extended far inland. In Todar Mal's list, however, only the immediate neighbourhood of the coast is apparently intended, as the parganahs lying further inland are separately entered.

Ramná. An ancient and still flourishing town, the name of which is now pronounced Remná or Remuná. It lies some six or seven miles north-west of Balasore town. From the mention of the Haveli it would appear to have been the headquarters of some sort of political or fiscal division under the kings of Orissa, and under Sháh Jahán it again became the head of a Sarkár. There is some difficulty about the five forts, caused by the indistinctness of the MSS. In most MSS. of the *Áin* the details of the Súbahs are given in tabular form, the page being divided by lines ruled in red ink both vertically and horizontally, forming small squares. These are often too small for the information which has to be given. To get it all in, the words are written very small and crowded together, and the dots being sprinkled carelessly about, after the manner of Persian scribes, it is often impossible to determine whether any particular dot belongs to the word above or below it. I have to thank Mr. Beveridge for a valuable note on the result of his careful inspection of the six MSS. at the British Museum. The quotations from these MSS. in the following remarks are taken from his note.

The first fort is clear enough. It is stated to be in the Haveli, and must, therefore, have been at Remná itself, where there are still traces of mounds and ditches.

The second fort is Rámchandrapúr, still a well-known village, eight miles north-east of Remná.

The third fort is written رانكا in Blochmann, with no dots to the third letter. The B.M. MSS. have رانكا, which looks like رانكانر, *i.e.* Rámgaón, with

the last two letters omitted. I.O. 6 has راکا as in Blochmann. I.O. 1114 has رارکا. The local Kánúngo and other well-informed natives whom I consulted all insisted upon it that the place meant is Armalá, a large village four miles south-west of Remná (shown as Urmullah on the A. of I., sheet 115). This is not impossible, for the *markaz* of the *káf* is in these MSS. treated as capriciously as the dots, being often inserted where it ought not to be, and as often omitted where it ought to be. So also, ر and ل in Persian MSS. are often indistinguishable. Thus, راکا might easily be written رامکا, and by mistaking the ل for ک and supplying it with a *markaz* the word would become رامکا. As there is no Rámgaon anywhere in this neighbourhood, the local tradition is at least worthy of consideration.

The fourth fort is written دوت in Blochmann, and Dút in Jarrett. There is, however, no such place, and the reading itself is open to serious objection. One B.M. MS. has دوت, but the dots seem to belong to the word سیوم in the line above; another has دوت with no dots. But Blochmann has omitted some important words which occur in several of the B.M. as well as the I.O. MSS. Thus—

B.M. 7652 Addl. has چهارم دو سلسله از سنگ, or it may be read دو سلسله.

B.M. 6546 Addl. has the same; here also سلسله is not clear.

I.O. 6 چهارم دو سلسله از سنگ.

I.O. 1114 دوت سنم را سنگ; but the two dots over the *t* are quite at the right-hand corner of the letter, not over the centre as usual, and the *d* and *n* are joined together, so that they look like دو.

The key to this mystery is, I think, supplied by the reading of I.O. 1114. سنم is apparently a mistake

for صنم 'an image,' and the word has been still further corrupted by the other copyists. In my opinion the full text originally ran—

چهارم دیول دو صنم از سنگ

i.e. the fourth Deúl (has) two statues of stone.

The place meant is the ancient stone fort of Deúlgáon, some thirty miles north of Remná, on the Balasore and Midnapore boundary. A description of this fort will be found in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 76. In the centre of the fort are two colossal statues of men on horseback. These represent the two horsemen celebrated in Orissa legend. In A.D. 1490, as Rájá Purushottam Dev was marching to attack Kánjivaram, two beautiful youths on horseback rode at the head of the army, and, like Macaulay's Great Twin Brethren, secured victory to the Rájá. They then vanished, after revealing themselves as Krishna and Balaráma. These must, I think, be the 'two statues of stone' alluded to in the text. In their efforts to get all this long note into the small space in the tabular form, the copyists have crushed it up into an unrecognizable muddle.

The fifth fort is given by Blochmann as سالد, which J. renders Saldah. This is, however, apparently a mistake derived from the reading دوما سالد of some MSS. Most of the B.M. MSS. have پنجم جدید است 'the fifth is new.' I.O. 6 has پنجم عداست, where عد is a mistake for جدید. I.O. 1114 has پنجم جاب, with no dot to the last letter. There is a town called Sildah, but it seems too far off. It is eighty miles to the north of Remná, in the north-west corner of Midnapore. It is of course possible that all the wild jungle country of Western Midnapore and Morbhanj may have been included under Remná, but as the reading سالد is so doubtful

it is perhaps safer to take the reading جدید, although this leaves us in ignorance of the locality of the fifth fort. I presume, however, that the 'new fort' was Chandrarekhá Garh, about eight miles north-west of Deúlgáon; the parganah is called Nayágrám, which seems to be indicated by the جدید of the Ain.

Rayn. The situation of this place "on the borders of Orissa" leaves no doubt that the correct reading is Raiban راین, or more strictly رایبن. It is now called Ráibanián. The MSS. are here again incorrect. I.O. 6 has زین, and I.O. 1114 زاین. The "three forts" mentioned in the text appeared to me when I visited the place to be four. (See my article on the "Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa," in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 33, where there is a description of Ráibanián, with a map of the forts and several sketches.) It was at Ráibanián, which is seven miles from Jellasore, on the opposite or western side of the Subarnarekhá, that Mukund Dev the Telinga, the last independent sovereign of Orissa, made a determined but ineffectual stand against the Musulman invaders. The memory of this fact may have caused the entry "on the borders of Orissa," for the Subarnarekhá was practically the northern boundary, though the power of Mukund had for a time extended to the Bhágirathí.

Ráepur, a large city with a strong fortress. The only place of this name known to me is in South Bánkurah, some forty miles north-west of Midnapore. It is now a small town, but it is said to have been much larger in ancient times. I.O. 1114 has ادی پور, probably to be read Udayapúr, which is in Chutia Nágpúr, 200 miles away.

Sabang. A parganah in Central Midnapore, some twenty miles south-east of the town.

Siyári. A parganah on the Subarnarekhá, sixteen miles south-east of Jellasore.

Kásijorá. A large parganah in East Midnapore.

Kharaksúr. Should be Khargpúr. The "strong fort in the wooded hills" seems to point to some other place, as there is neither fort nor hill in Khargpúr, which is level country on the south of the Kasái river opposite Midnapore town.

Kedárkhand. A parganah in Central Midnapore.

Karái. This reading is doubtful. Many MSS. have كيرى. I.O. 6 and 1114 both have كراى. The place meant is, I think, Kasiári, on the Subarnarekhá, twenty miles south-west of Midnapore, an ancient and famous place.

Gagnápúr. Probably the parganah now called Gagneswar. I.O. 1114 has a word which may be read Gagnasápur. I.O. 6 has Kalnápúr, which is evidently incorrect. Gagneswar adjoins Kasiári in South-west Midnapore.

Karohi. Some MSS. have كرولى, which should be read Kuráli. This seems correct; parganah Kurál Chaur in South Midnapore, fifteen miles from Jellasore, is apparently the place intended.

Málchattá. Should be Máljbattá. This is the name given to the tract on the sea-coast of Midnapore from the mouth of the Rasúlpúr river to the Rúpnaráyan. It included the well-known station of Hijli (*culgo* Hidgellee): see Grant, 246, 527.

Mednípúr. The large town and capital of a very extensive district, which is better known by the European corruption of Midnapore. Of the two forts, one is still partially extant. It has been enlarged and built upon to form the old district jail. This is probably the newer of the two forts mentioned in the Áin. The older one is also, I believe, still traceable, but I have not seen it.

There is a sentence attached to this entry in some MSS. which seems to have puzzled Blochmann, and is pronounced unintelligible by Jarrett. It varies considerably in different MSS., the copyists,

according to their custom, having written carelessly whatever they did not understand.

In Blochmann's text the passage runs—

کهندیت و بکسر خویش بکند و دیوانه

In a footnote he gives the variant—

وسيله خویشتن دیوانه میکند

Neither of these readings is intelligible.

Mr. Beveridge has pointed out that the words occur in the column headed "Zamindár," which gives the caste of the landed proprietors. By omitting this distinction, both Blochmann and Jarrett have obscured the meaning of these entries throughout the lists in the *Āin*.

Of the B.M. MSS. 7652 Addl. reads—

از قوم کهندیت و تلنگه خویش میکند دیوانه

MS. 16872 Addl. reads the same, substituting *تلنگه* for *تلنگه سلسله*.

I.O. 6 has the same as the last but one, with this difference, that it inserts a و after *مکند* and omits the *markaz* of the ک in *کهندیت*. I.O. 1114 has *بلیک*, which is nonsense!

The difficulty seems to have been mainly caused by reading *مکند*, as if it were the Persian word *mi-kunad* 'he does,' and combining *دیوانه* with the following word into the Persian *دیوانه* 'insane.' As Mr. Beveridge now points out, and as I find I suggested to Prof. Blochmann years ago, what we have here is really the name of Mukund Dev, the last king of Orissa. The final word in the sentence is not *انه*, but *اند* 'they are.' The passage should therefore run—

از قوم کهندیت و تلنگه خویش میکند دیواند

i.e. "They (the Zamindárs) are of the castes of

Khandait and Telinga, kinsmen of Mukund Dev." Mukund Dev, as we know, was a Telinga, that is, he came from the Telinga, or Telugu, country, the land on the banks of the Godávarí, which gave so many kings to Orissa, and what more natural than that he should entrust the important frontier fortress of Midnapore to his own kinsmen, on whose fidelity he could rely? The Khandaits are not, strictly speaking, a caste, in the Hindu sense of that term. The word means 'swordsmen' (from *khaṇḍá*, Skr. *khadga* 'a sword'), and they were the fyrde, landwehr, or militia of the kingdom, called out when war arose, going back to their fields in time of peace. In the present day large numbers of peasants call themselves Khandaits, either because the title is respectable or because some remote ancestor served in the fyrde, and so the word has become a quasi-caste title. Mukund Dev's Telinga kinsmen appear to be called Khandaits because of the military duties they discharged in guarding the fort.

Mahákáughát, *alias* Kutbpúr, a fortress of great strength. The village is now called Mánígháti, and the parganah Kutbpúr. It lies about twenty-five miles north-west of Midnapore.

Naráyānpúr, *alias* Khandár. Two separate parganahs a few miles to the south of Midnapore. One is now known as Naráyangarh, the other as Khandár.

SARKÁR BHADRAK.

This Sarkár, much smaller than Jalesar, comprises in general the country between the Kánsbáns and Baitarni rivers and a few tracts to the south of the latter river. The tracts on the sea-coast are, however, included in Sarkár Katak (Cutlack).

Barwá. Now called Birwá (spelt Beerooa in A. of I., sheet 115). It is a parganah lying between the

Bráhmīnī and Kharsúá rivers in North Cuttack. The two strong forts are given as Bánk and Riskoi; for the latter, I.O. 6 has Riskúrí, I.O. 6 دین پوری with no dots to the fourth letter. The places meant are probably Bánkśáhi on the Bráhmīnī and Rispúr (*i.e.* Rishipúra) on the Kharsúá.

Jaukajri. The proper name is Jogjuri. It is a large and well-known village on the southern slope of the Nilgiri hills in the tributary state of that name.

Haveli Bhadrak. A town on the river Sálindi, headquarters of a subdivision. Dhámnagar is also an important place twelve miles south of Bhadrak, or Bhadrakh, as it should be written with final *kḥ*. It is said to be from (Bala)bhadrakshetra, the field or tract sacred to Balabhadra. Dhámnagar is noticeable as containing a considerable settlement of Muhammadans, rather a rare thing in Orissa, but explained by the note in the *Áin* that it was the residence of a—presumably Muhammadan—governor.

Sahansú. Now called Sohso, an extensive parganah on the west frontier of Balasore, fifteen miles west of Bhadrakh.

Káimán. Now divided into three parganahs called Káimá, Kismat Káimá, and Kila'a Káimá (in A. of I., Kymah), lying on both sides of the Baitarni below Jájpúr. The name of the last retains a remembrance of a fort, though no traces of it now remain.

Kadsu. A variant is Garśú. No place with any name at all resembling either word is known to me. The names given for this Sarkár in the *Áin* do not cover the whole area, and there are probably many omissions, as large tracts of country remain unaccounted for. I am inclined to think that part of the name has dropped out by negligence of copyists, and that the place meant is Gar Sokinah, a large tributary estate in North-west Cuttack. In Oriya, Gar is used for a fort, not Garḥ.

Independent ta'lukdárs. Entered as Mazkúrin; with three forts.

1. Pachhim Donk. I.O. 6 reads دونك. I.O. 1114 something illegible, of which the first two letters are دون; the others look like مل. I know of no Donk, but Pachhimkot, a large village in parganah Ragadi (Rugree in A. of I.) in North-west Cuttack, near the Bráhmíní, is probably the place meant.

2. Khandait. This is not the name of a place. Khanditar on the Kharsúá (not marked in A. of I.), ten miles west of Jájpúr, where the Orissa Trunk Road crosses it, is probably the place meant.

3. Majori. Manjúri, as it is now called, is a parganah on the north bank of the Baitarni, four miles above Jájpúr.

SARKÁR KATAK (CUTTACK).

The spelling Cuttack, being more familiar to Europeans than Katak, will be used in the following remarks. The Sarkár includes the whole of the Cuttack and Puri districts, with the exception of the tracts already mentioned under Bhadrakh. But here also many important places, which are known to have been in existence in Todar Mal's time, are omitted, proving that his lists must have been incomplete. Nearly all the places mentioned are easily recognizable.

Al (A. of I. Aul; the town is shown as Rajbari). A well-known town and parganah on the Kharsúá in North-east Cuttack. The ancient fort and palace is the residence of a Maharájá who is lineally descended from the kings of Orissa.

Asakah. Aská, a town in the Ganjám district on the Rasákuliá river, the extreme southern boundary of Orissa proper.

Āṭhgarh. One of the tributary estates, on the north bank of the Mahānadi, about ten miles above Cuttack.

Pārb Dikh. The latter word is evidently for Dig = 'quarter,' 'region,' which is the reading of I.O. 1114. The four forts on the eastern side of Orissa lying along the sea-coast are Kanikā, Kujang, Harishpūr, and Mirichpūr. They lie in the above order from north to south, and the territory attached to each is extensive, as will be seen from the A. of I., sheet 115.

Pachchhim Dikh. 'Western quarter.' The list of forts on the western frontier of the Cuttack district is not given, but it must be meant to include the *kila'as* of Darpan, Madhupūr (A. of I., Mudpoor!), Balrámpūr, and Chausāṭhpāra between the Bráhmīnī and Mahānadi, and probably also Dompārā and Patía, south of the latter river.

Bahár. There is no place of this name in Cuttack. B.M. 7652 Addl. has بهاز Baház, so has I.O. 6, but this also is an unknown name. Mr. Beveridge points out a passage in Grant 528 in which he includes in the province of Orissa "a mountainous, unproductive region on the western frontier, making part of the wilds of Jharkund, or jungly country, towards the *velayt* of Behar." The Muhammadans seem to have thought in their ignorance of the geography of these hitherto unconquered provinces that Orissa stretched back through the hills and jungles till it touched the southern frontier of Bihár; and Grant repeats this mistake. Probably by the entry Bahár, with its large revenue of fifty-one lakhs, Todar Mal meant to designate all the extensive tract of country now known as the Tributary Mahals, administered by a number of semi-independent Rájás who pay a small tribute to the British Government. But their country does not reach as far west as Bihár by a long way.

Basái Diwarmár. The copyists have got into great confusion over this name. Blochmann gives the variants بسائی دیورپور and بسائی پوریا. The B.M. MSS. have دیورپور and دیورماری; I.O. 6 has دیوربار; and I.O. 1114 apparently دیورنا, though the letters are so jumbled together that it is difficult to decide in which order to take them. I conjecture that these variants are an attempt to represent the name *Básudebpúr* *Árang*, i.e. the salterns of *Básudebpúr*. This place was for long, and is still, one of the chief seats of the salt-making industry. The Oriya word for a saltern, or place where salt is made, is *Árang*. In crushing up the letters to get them into the small space allowed for them in the table, some have been omitted and others transposed. *Básudebpúr* is in the Balasore district, about fourteen miles north-east of Bhadrakh, near the sea, in pargannah Aukurá.

Bárang. No place of this name is known to me. But the description of the "nine forts in hill and jungle" corresponds precisely to the celebrated fortress of *Sárang Gar*, which, with its nine (or even more) subordinate forts, guards the entrance to *Khurdhá*, the mountain fastness where the kings of Orissa sought refuge on the overthrow of their independence, and where they maintained themselves down to modern times. *Sárang Gar* lies some four miles south-west of the city of Cuttack, across the *Kátjorí* river. The Engineers of the Public Works Department—with their usual good taste and reverence for things ancient—have driven a road right through it, and pounded the stones to metal the road. The same enlightened officials sold me some exquisitely carved images of Buddha and some of Krishna as "stone ballast" at "one rupee the running foot"! *Sárang* was too important a place to be omitted from the *Áin*, but unless this is it, it nowhere occurs. It is not shown in the A. of I., but a number of

villages with the prefix Gar (A. of I., Gurr)—Gar Dárutáng, Gar Andharúá, and others—represent the nine forts of the Áin.

Bhijnagar. Should be Bhanjnagar, which is the reading both of I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114, the old name of Gumsur, the capital of a state the semi-independent Rájás of which were of the Bhanj caste. Upendro Bhanj, one of the Rájás of this place, is the most celebrated of the poets of Orissa.¹ Gumsur is in the Ganjám District, some twenty miles north of Aská.

Banjú. I.O. 1114 has بڄو. This must, I think, be meant for Banchús in Central Puri. There is no other place, as far as I know, having any name resembling this.

Parsottam. Should be Purushottam; the full name of the town of Puri, where the celebrated temple of Jagannáth is situated, is Purushottama Kshetra, 'the field or tract sacred to Vishnu, the Purushottama or Highest Being.'² The note attached to this entry, which J. renders 'detailed in each Sarkár,' means that the revenue recorded against it is made up of lands lying in all parts of the province. Even in the present day there is hardly a single parganah, perhaps not even one, in which there are not revenue-free lands belonging to the great temple of Jagannáth.

Chaubiskot, now called Chaubiskúd, a large parganah lying between the town of Puri and the Chilká lake. The four forts of great strength are now no longer traceable.

Jash, commonly called Tájpúr. The last word is a misprint for Jájpúr, which is distinctly the reading both in Blochmann's text and in all the MSS. The ancient, celebrated, and sacred city of Jájpúr on the

¹ A long list of his poems will be found in Hunter's "Orissa," vol. ii, p. 208. He lived in the sixteenth century.

² The word should therefore be written with short u and s; not Puri 'city,' as it is often erroneously written by Europeans.

Baitarni has been a noted place of pilgrimage from remote antiquity. I.O. 1114 reads Jashpúr 'urf Jáj. The form Jash should, I think, be read Jashn, and appears to be an attempt to reproduce the word Jajna, of the Sanskrit यज्ञपुर *yajñapūra* 'city of sacrifice,' the original name of this city.

Dakhan Dikh. For *dikh* we should read *dig*. The four forts of the southern region are Párikúd, Málúd, Bajrakot, and Andhári, all of which lie between the Chilká lake and the sea, and are shown in the A. of I.

Sirán. Should be Siráin, a parganah in Central Puri, on the north-east shore of the Chilká lake.

Shergarh. A large parganah in the north-west corner of the Cuttack district.

Koṭdes. A large parganah in the northern and central part of Puri. The entry against this parganah regarding the forts varies in the different MSS. I.O. 6 has *دو* inserted (erroneously, I think) before *اصل*. I.O. 1114 has *قلعه اصل قصبه*. The meaning apparently is that the original fort is a *kasbah* or town. The variant *قصبيه* *kusaibah* means a small town. The *koṭ* or fort, from which the parganah received its name of Koṭdes, or the 'country of the fort,' was, in fact, a fortified town, and not, as most of the Orissa forts were, merely a castle or fortified house.

Kaṭak Banáras. The city of Cuttack, capital of the ancient kingdom and of the modern province. The name Banáras, so persistently attached to it by Muhammadan writers, has nothing to do with the famous sacred city on the Ganges, but is a mispronunciation of Bīránísi (*Bīrá*=a kind of millet, and *nást*=a headland), the name of a village a mile from the fort on a point jutting out into the river Kátjori. The "stone fort of great strength," or so much of it as the Public Works Department has not sold at "one

rupee the running foot," still stands to the north of the city. When yet uninjured, it must have been an imposing edifice, and covers a large area, surrounded by a broad moat with strong stone walls. Nothing but a huge mound remains of the palace of Mukund Dev.

Khatra. I.O. 6 reads *کھترہ*, I.O. 1114 *کھڈہ*, but the most probable reading is that given in a note by Blochmann, *کھیرہ*. The real word is, I think, Khetra, meaning the sacred area round the city of Puri, the revenues of which were devoted to the service of the temple of Jagannáth.

Mánikpatan. Mánikpatan is at the point where the Chilka lake opens into the Bay of Bengal. There are still numerous salt-making stations round about it.

SARKĀR KALING DAṆḌPĀT.

SARKĀR RĀJMAHINDRA.

These two names cover the whole tract of country from the Rasákuliá to the Godávarí. Though occasionally for short periods subject to the kings of Orissa, this country never really formed part of their kingdom, and was never at any time subject to the rule of Akbar or his successors. No details are given concerning it, and the entries regarding revenue and contingents of troops are purely imaginary.

This concludes the notice in the Áin concerning Orissa. It is worthy of note, as showing the incompleteness of the lists compiled by Todar Mal, that although many places both on the eastern and western frontiers are mentioned, hardly a single name of any of the wide and fertile territories in the central plain of Cuttack occurs. This plain, the heart of the Mughalbandi, in the delta of the Mahánadí and Bráhmíní rivers, is the richest, most cultivated, and most populous part of the whole of Orissa.

Yet Asureswar, Kalámátíá, Páindá, Tisániá, Hariharpur, Deogáon, Sailo, Saibít, and a dozen other large and productive parganahs are omitted from the list, and there is no one of the names in the list which can be stretched so as to cover them. The same remark applies to the Puri District, where Limbai, Kotráng, Antarúd, and many other populous and well-cultivated areas, are entirely omitted. Kotdes, Chaubiskoṭ, and Siráin can hardly have been so much larger than they are at present as to include all this territory.

It is true that under the head of Púrb Dig or eastern quarter a revenue of 22,881,580 dáms (=Rs. 572,014) is recorded, which is far more than can ever have been realized from the four jungly tracts on the sea-coast—Kaniká, Kujang, and the two other kila'as. So also the territory of the Mahárájás of Al is known to have been more extensive formerly than now, and the Dakhan Dig or southern quarter is recorded as assessed at 22,065,770 dáms (=Rs. 526,644), which is much in excess of anything that can possibly have been levied from the four poor little kila'as between the Chilká and the sea. But even after making allowances for the area covered by these names extending over a far larger tract than at present, there must remain a great extent of country in the Cuttack and Puri Districts unaccounted for. The truth seems to be that Todar Mal's inquiries into the land revenue of Orissa were of a very superficial nature, and the province was not really surveyed, divided into parganahs, and assessed till the reign of Sháh Jahán.

No. III. *Súbah Bihár.*

As I have already published my reconstruction of this Súbah in J.A.S.B., vol. liv, p. 162, it will suffice to refer to that article for the identification of the parganahs, all but a very few of which are still extant under the same names as those given in the *Áin*, and are shown, more or less disguised by incorrect spelling, in the *Atlas of India*.

It is not therefore necessary to collate and compare MSS., as in those Súbahs (such as Bengal) where the old parganah names have fallen out of use and memory. The corrections necessary in Colonel Jarrett's spelling may be ascertained by reference to my article and the Atlas of India. It is not, on the whole, difficult to restore the spelling, by which that monumental work, the Atlas, is so often disfigured, to a scientific system.

With regard to the note 1 to Pandág (read Pundág) at p. 154 of J., my identification of the mysterious word چیرود as چیرود *Cheroh*, the name of the widespread and powerful aboriginal tribe of Cheros, who for centuries held all that large area of hill-country bounding Bihár on the south, is supported by Blochmann's article in J.A.S.B., vol. xl, p. 111, which seems not to have been consulted by J.

For Jai Chanpa, in the same Sarkár, should be read Chái Champá, now two separate parganahs. I.O. 6 reads جی چنپا. As both Chái and Champá are still in existence, there can be no doubt as to the spelling.

Other corrections may be made from the article referred to above, and the situation of all the parganahs will be seen from the map accompanying it.

ERRATUM.—Page 757, line 3: for the second 'I.O. 6' substitute 'I.O. 1114.'

ART. XVIII.—*An Apocryphal Inscription in Khorāsān.* By
NEV ELIAS, M.R.A.S.

WHILE travelling in Khorāsān, in 1874, Colonel (then Captain) the Honourable G. Napier reported having passed an inscription cut upon a rock near the village of Panj-Mana, seven or eight miles north of Kārdeh, on the road leading from Meshed to Kelāt-i-Nādiri. The rock was described as a block of crystalline limestone fallen from an overhanging cliff, while the writing it bore was said to be the record of a victory gained by "Muhammad Shaibāni, the Usbeg conqueror of Bokhārā, over the unbelievers." The languages in which it was cut were Arabic and Persian, and the date 916 of the Hijra, or 1510 A.D.

This was all that was known of the inscription, but pointing, as it did, to an interesting historical period, it seemed to merit further investigation. Being unable to visit the spot myself last summer, an exact copy of the writing on the stone was made, at my request, by an accomplished calligraphist named Mirza Abdulla, of Kandahār. The English translation that accompanies it was kindly made for me by Khān Bahādur Maula Bakhsh, the Indian Government Attaché at the Meshed Consulate General.

At first sight, this record of the Usbeg chief would appear to contain nothing of greater interest than a memoir of one of his many victories; for his career had been one of almost uniform success since about 1505. By the year 1509 he had conquered Transoxiana, a great part of Turkistān, Ferghāna, and Khiva, as well as some of the districts of Khorāsān. He had defeated some of the best military leaders of the times among the Timuris, the

Moghuls, and others; and if one more victory had been added to his score, no surprise would have been felt by readers of the history of his life. The curiosity, however, of this boastful inscription lies in the fact that the event it perpetuates the memory of was not a victory, but a defeat—the first of a series which, within a few months of its date, brought Shaibāni's empire and life to an end. But as a statement of this kind, which impugns the veracity of a great historical character, may appear rather a bold one to make, it is necessary to go briefly into the occurrences of the times in order to show that no misconception has taken place; and also that the inscription may just as probably have been set up with Shaibāni's sanction, and while he was present on the spot, as by any partisan or successor.

In the first place, as to the lines themselves. Although Shaibāni Khān is known to have been a writer of verses (his enemy Bāber calls them tasteless verses), the composition is perhaps unlikely to have been dictated by him. Most probably it is that of a courtier whose chief object was to flatter the vanity of his master, for its obscure and pompous style is that usually adopted by Oriental panegyrists. The only historical information that it is intended to convey is contained in the Persian sentences forming the middle section, but even these are made the vehicle for rhetorical extravagances, so that the writer has been unable to descend to such commonplace detail as always to call the towns he mentions by their right names, or to give his hero's movements in explicit language. Plainly put, he tells us that, on a certain date, Shaibāni Khān marched from Marv-i-Shāhijān,¹ and that at a place called Kindilik (Kinderlik), in the Ulugh Hills of the Dasht-i-Qipchāk, he gained a great victory over certain infidels whose tribe, or nationality, it is not thought worth while to name. Further, that the captives taken on the occasion were sent off to the capital of Islām, and there

¹ Nowadays frequently, though incorrectly, written "Marv-i-Shāh-Jahān."

converted; while Shaibāni himself on a certain subsequent date arrived at a town styled "the Memorial of the Khān," which he himself had built. For the erection of the inscription no date is given.

If a complete history of Shaibāni Khān were in existence, it might be feasible to trace his operations during the period in question, and to show what the writer of the inscription really meant to set forth. But we have no complete account of the Usbeg leader's life, though portions of it are noticed in many Oriental histories—some original, some mere abstracts of others. The only book which professes to contain the story of his reign and deeds is the Turki epic poem called the "Shaibāni Nāma," translated by Professor Vambéry into German under the title of "Scheibaniade." This is a panegyric in the usual florid style—a few grains of historical fact scattered among tons of fulsome adulation—and it carries us down only to the year 911 of the Hijra, or some four years previous to the events alluded to on the stone at Panj-Mana, closing abruptly with the account of Shaibāni's return from his conquest of Khiva.

More light is to be derived from Khwāndamīr's general history known as the "Ḥabīb-us-Siyar" (vol. iii),¹ where the period including the events in question is summed up as follows:—

"After conquering the province of Jurjān (Gurgān) and its dependencies,² Muhammad Khān Shaibāni used to pitch his summer camp at the Ulang of Rādkān, and used to pass the winter in Māvāra-un-Nahr. Sometimes he led expeditions to the Dasht-i-Qipchāk for the purpose of attacking the Kazāks; and at the end of the year 915 he was defeated by Qāsim Sultān, who was the most powerful chief in Dasht-i-Qipchāk at that time. During the battle a large number of the leaders of the Khān's troops were killed. Muhammad Khān returned in distress to Khorāsān in the spring, and led an expedition against the Hazāra

¹ Dating about 927-35 Hijra, or 1521-9.

² This was in 914 Hijra.

and Nikudār, who were in the Kohistūn of Zamindāwar. As the sun of his fortune was setting, he could accomplish nothing in that expedition either."

The only other original author I am able to consult here, who gives an account of Shaibāni's transactions about this time, is Mirza Haidar Dughlāt, the historian of the Moghuls. He was, in part, a contemporary of Shaibāni Khān, and, in his "*Tārikh-i-Rashīdī*," relates at some length several episodes of the Usbeg campaigns; thus, in regard to the expedition against the Kazāks, to which our inscription evidently refers, he writes as follows (p. 230 of translation) :—

"In the year 915, he [Shaibāni] proceeded against the Kazāks. At that time, although Baranduk was Khān, yet all the business of government was conducted by Qāsim Khān. In spite of his great power, Shāhi Beg¹ Khān had not force enough to withstand Qāsim Beg. At that period the number of his army exceeded 20,000. In winter-time everyone stayed in some place where there was fodder for the cattle.² In the middle of the winter Shāhi Beg Khān was engaged in plundering on every side, but he soon returned, his object being not to remain too far from his own country. About the time above mentioned he made his last expedition, but the strength of his horses and soldiers was quite exhausted; he himself remained in the district of Kuk Kāshāna, and having detached a force whose horses had some strength left, sent them forward. This party fell in with a few men whom they despoiled and made prisoners.

"One day they had halted for the sake of feeding their horses, when news came that Qāsim Khān was close at hand. This news alarmed them. Buyun Pīr Hasan, one of Qāsim Khān's Amīrs, having heard of the invasion of the Shaibān, advanced against them with his own followers;

¹ So Mirza Haidar, and some other writers, always style Shaibāni Khān; while others, again, write of him as "Shaibak Khān," or "Shāh-bakht."

² Meaning, probably, that they were scattered as the necessity for fodder dictated.

he spread the report that Qāsim Khān was approaching, and that he had let himself be seen in the distance. Shāhi Beg Khān's people, being fully persuaded that Qāsim Khān's men were really upon them, abandoned all they had seized—nay, even all they had brought with them—and retreated, in the utmost disorder and confusion, to Shāhi Beg Khān, bearing the news of Qāsim Khān's approach. Shāhi Beg Khān at once ordered them to sound the drum of departure, without paying attention to anything [but getting away]. Those who liked, stayed; those who wished to go, went. Broken and in disorder, they reached Samarkand at the end of winter. Shāhi Beg Khān himself went on to Khorāsān, where he spent the spring.¹

"In the beginning of autumn [*tir*²*māh*] he led an army against the Hazara"

Here, then, is the testimony of two altogether independent, and nearly contemporary, authorities that the expedition alluded to in the inscription was against the Kazāks, under their chief Qāsim Khān (or Qāsim Sultān), and that the result was not a victory, as there recorded, but a defeat—perhaps rather a rout—of the Usbeg troops.

But in order to verify, as far as possible, Shaibāni's movements, and to trace him to the spot where the inscribed rock stands, it is necessary to compare the brief and obscure indications there vouchsafed by his memorialist with the plainer accounts of the historians. The first four place-names mentioned on the stone offer no difficulty. In the Dasht-i-Qipchāk, or the locality now known as the "Kirghiz Steppe," the Kazāks flourished in the sixteenth century, as they do now, though they have acquired, among the Russians, the name of "Kirghiz." The range of hills called Ulugh Tāgh (or "great mountains") occupies a position towards the centre of the steppe, while there are two or more spots marked "Kinderlik" on our maps, to

¹ The word may also mean "summer," or "early summer," according to common usage.

² *Tir* is the Persian month nearly corresponding to June.—H. B.

the south-east of the hills, and between them and the lower course of the river Chū. There may also be others in the same region, for it is a common name in Central Asia. Thus Shaibāni would appear, from the inscription, to have fought a battle a short distance to the south-east of the Ulugh Tāgh, and thence to have sent his prisoners to Khiva, for this I take to be the place meant by *Dār-ul-Islām* or "the capital of Islām." It is possible that other cities in or about Māvāra-un-Nahr, and very likely Samarkand itself, may also have been called, occasionally, by this title, but Khiva was certainly honoured with it very generally during the later Middle Ages; and no better evidence of this is needed than the coinage of the Khāns of Khiva during the latter part of the thirteenth century.¹

After disposing of his prisoners, Shaibāni himself is said to have gone on to the suburbs of the town of *Yādgār-i-Khāni*. What town is intended to be represented by this title, rather than name, it is not easy to determine. No book accessible to me here shows that any place was so styled during Shaibāni's or, indeed, any other period; and I have met with no inhabitant of these regions, possessing local knowledge (though I have questioned many), who has been able to recognize the term. The place where the inscription stands cannot be indicated, for it can never have been a town with suburbs at any time so recent as the sixteenth century, while I know of nothing to point to any existing town in the near neighbourhood, such as Rādkān for instance,² ever having borne such a name, or of having been built or rebuilt by Shaibāni Khān.

According to the inscription, it would appear that Shaibāni's "arrival" at *Yādgār-i-Khāni* is intended to be connected with his final "return" from the expedition, mentioned in the succeeding sentence. If this be the case, and the return is meant to be to the point whence he set

¹ "Catalogue of Oriental Coins in British Museum," Additions to vols. v-viii, pp. 175-6.

² Meshed is, for many reasons, out of the question.

out, it would be in Marv that we should seek for an identification of *Yādgār-i-Khāni*. The city which has borne the name of Marv for many centuries has several times been destroyed, during the Musulman era, and each time restored on a different site, while on each occasion the new town has received a fresh name, by which it has been known to the inhabitants of the region, if not to strangers. Yet, in no account that I am acquainted with does *Yādgār-i-Khāni* occur as one of them; nor, indeed, has any name been handed down which would connect the city of any period with Shaibāni Khān. Mr. O'Donovan, it is true, mentions¹ the existence of an ancient mound called *Marma Khān Tepe*, some five miles to the north-east of the present Marv (*Konshid Khān Kala*), where the local Turkomans told him that "a town of large dimensions" had once existed, but they gave, apparently, no indication of a date. I cannot find (from Turkomans in Meshed) that these remains are in any way connected with Muhammad Shaibāni, but the name *Marma* is said to be a Turkoman corruption of *Muhammad*; so that there is just an odd chance that it is after Muhammad Shaibāni Khān that they are called. This, however, is mere conjecture; but it may be remarked that it would be considered good style, by the writer of an inscription, to indicate a town named after his hero by some pseudonym or flattering figure of speech rather than by his personal name. Thus, *Yādgār-i-Khāni*, or "Memorial of the Khān," would be regarded as more graceful than (in this instance) *Muhammadābād*, or *Qala-i-Muhammad Khān*, etc.—its obscurity notwithstanding.

Mirza Haider is distinct in telling us that Shaibāni's force returned from the place where they were routed to Samarkand, and I take the statement to mean that Shaibāni retired with them to the capital, and thence went on to Khorāsān. It is, however, just possible to read that he himself went on to Khorāsān, while his men fled to

¹ "The Merv Oasis," vol. 5, p. 237.

Samarkand. I prefer the former reading: and in that case Yādgār-i-Khāni should either be some local or temporary designation for Samarkand, or it might represent some suburb of it, or some group of buildings which Shaibāni, during his few years of power, had caused to be erected, or had become identified with.¹ From here it is quite probable that he may have gone on to the hills near Panj-Mana. As against this view, all we have is the record of the inscription that on returning from Ulugh Tāgh, its hero marched his captives to some capital which may have been Khiva, and afterwards "arrived at the suburbs of Yādgār-i-Khāni." It is most unlikely that he should have travelled first to Khiva and afterwards to Samarkand, but it is quite permissible to read that he "caused his prisoners to be marched"² to Dār-ul-Islām, while he may not have accompanied them. Still, as we know that, being in full flight before his enemy, he could have had no prisoners, and that the whole tenour of the story in the inscription is misleading, it seems scarcely necessary to give much heed to any particular statement it contains, unless perhaps the mere movements and dates. The plain story of the Moghul author is, it seems to me, far more likely to be correct.

Khwāndamīr's brief account affords no help in identifying Yādgār-i-Khāni. It points only to Shaibāni having returned, after his disastrous expedition against Qāsim Sultān, to some place in Khorāsān. But Khorāsān in those days extended much farther eastward than its present limits, and included Herat (which was the capital) and Marv, besides the hill ranges among which Rādkūn and Panj-Mana are situated. Nothing is said as to whether he returned direct to Khorāsān or not.

Neither does Mirza Haidar give any indication of the particular locality in Khorāsān to which Shaibāni betook himself after passing on from Samarkand. He is, however,

¹ If this were so, the "Shaibāni Nāma" might be supposed to contain the name, but it does not.

² The verb used is *kūchānīdan*.

somewhat more explicit in another way than the author of the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, for he records certain dates which may be usefully compared with those in the inscription. He tells us that when the Usbegs went forward to invade the Kazūk territory, Shaibāni himself remained at a spot called Kuk Kashāna, not far from which the rout of his troops would seem to have occurred, but it is a place which, unfortunately, I can find no means of identifying. The name would mean, in Turki, "Blue house" or "Blue palace," and it must, to judge from the context, have lain somewhere between the southern extremity of the Ulugh Tāgh and Samarkand. He also relates, as we have seen, that Shaibāni passed on from the latter place to Khorāsān, where he spent the spring or summer. From this last indication, and from Khwāndamīr's statement that the Usbeg chief was in the habit of passing the spring in the pastures near Rādkān, it seems probable that he retired after his defeat to the *Ulang*, or "hill grazing ground," near the spot where the inscription was cut, and that its date would then be the spring, or early summer, of 1510. The small town of Rādkān is some forty miles from the site of the inscription, but it is the nearest place of any importance, while the grazing grounds for many miles around might easily be alluded to by a general historian, like Khwāndamīr, under the name of the nearest known town.

For the rest, we may infer from the dates that the movements here ascribed to the Usbeg chief are possible ones, and it may be imagined with reason that during his leisure in his hill retreat he sought to obliterate the memory of his defeat by erecting a monument which should hand down the event to posterity in the light of a victory. The dates in the inscription are the one thing contained in it that have the appearance of accuracy, and they agree fairly with Mirza Haidar's indications of seasons. The day of departure, 2 Shawwāl 915, fell on the 12th January, 1510, and the date of return, 22 Safar 916, occurred on the 30th May, 1510; while the Mirza tells us that Shaibāni started

for the Kazāk country in the winter, that the retreat to Samarkand took place at the end of the winter, and that the chief himself then went on to Khorāsān to spend the spring (or summer) before setting out anew against the Hazāras. As movements were carried out in those days, there would have been ample time to execute those assumed between the dates mentioned; and the late spring would naturally be the season when an inhabitant of Central Asia would seek the hills—both for his own sake and for that of his cattle.

It is perhaps strange that no very definite tradition is current among the inhabitants of Panj-Mana and the neighbouring villages to account for the inscribed rock, which must have been familiar to them and their ancestors for generations past. No one round about seems to be acquainted with the purport of the inscription, and the only legend they are in the habit of attaching to it is that an unknown king, on advancing to fight the "infidels," while a certain star was facing him, sustained a defeat, and returned to this spot, where he caused the inscription to be cut as a warning to others not to start on any expedition with this particular star in front.

P.S.—Since the above was in type Mr. Ney Elias has sent a photograph of the hill-side where the inscription was found, with the following note:—

"It is taken by Dr. A. L. Duke. The stone itself is too far off and too high up from the camera to show the inscription properly, but it can be vaguely made out on the face of the stone. The block, Duke tells me, is about seven feet high, nearly as broad, and very thick; in fact, quite immovable without appliances. It is in a deep glen with sides so steep that the camera could only be set up at the bottom."

INSCRIPTION.

نَامِ تَوْفِیقاتِ یزدانی و تائیداتِ سُبْحانی حضرت صاحبِ قران
 و خاقانِ کشورستانِ المستنصر من النصیر المستعان ابو الفتح محمد
 الشیبانی خانِ العالم لزمان و خلیفه الرحمان خلد اَیامِ جلاله و ابد
 رالب [؟] مقتضی کرمه فضل الله المجاهدین باموالهم و انفسهم علی
 القاعدین دَرَجَة در تاریخ دوم شهر شوال سنه خمس عشر و تسعمائة
 عثمان شوکت مر [؟] از مرو شاهیتجان بصوب دشت قباچاق معطوف
 گردانید و در منزل کندلیک عنی ال [؟] اولوغ تاغ زمره اهل کفر
 و غلات و اعداء دین ملت را شکست داده جمعی کثیر را از
 اجتماعت اسیر کرده بدار الاسلام کوچانیده بیدایت طریق دار السلام
 مشرف گردانید و در تاریخ بیست دوم شهر صفر سنه ست عشر و
 تسعمائة در نواحی شهر یادگار خانی که معمار همت همایون
 تعمیران فرموده نزول فرمود و از بدایت ذهاب تا نهایت ایاب که
 مدت چهار ماه بیست روز است آن مقدار منازل و مراحل طی
 فرمود که طایر عقل تمیز و توسن ه [؟] روز از تصور اندیشه سیران
 عاجز و قاصر است اللهم ابد ظلال خلافت علی مغارق اهل الاسلام
 و اید لوا نصرته بحق محمد علیه الصلوة والسلام

TRANSLATION.

Persian. { By divine favour and grace, and by providential assistance, His Majesty, Lord of the happy conjunction, and the *Khāqān*, the conqueror of countries, the implorer of aid from the Helper of helpers, Abul Faṭḥ Muhammad Shaibāni Khān, the learned of the Age, and Vicegerent of the Merciful (may the days of his glory be perpetuated, and may the skirts of the exigencies of his generosity be prolonged! —God has given precedence to warriors [in the cause of religion who sacrifice] their riches and lives, over people who go not to war), on the second day of the month of Shawwāl, in the year nine hundred and fifteen (Hijra), turned [his] glorious reins from Marv-i-Shāhijān towards Dasht-i-Qipchāk, and at the station of Kindilik¹ [in the district of *Ulaghtāgh*] defeated a multitude of infidels and deviators [from] and enemies of the faith [and] religion, and having taken a large number of that community as captives, marched them to Dār-ul-Islām,² and honoured them by leading them into the road of paradise³; and on the twenty-second day of the month of Safar, in the year nine hundred and sixteen, [His Majesty] arrived in the suburbs of the town of Yādgār-i-Khāni,⁴ which has been built by the architect of his Imperial magnanimity; and from the beginning of [his] departure to the end of his return, which is a period of four months and twenty days, [His Majesty] traversed so many stages and marches, that the quick-flying bird of conception and the swift-paced steed of imagination are impotent and powerless to conceive or imagine their being passed.

¹ A word partially illegible, but probably *mazāfat*.

² Literally "House of Islām."

³ Dār-u-Salām—literally "Mansion of peace."

⁴ Literally "Memorial of the Khān."

Arabic. { May God perpetuate the shadow of his Vice-
gerency over the heads of true believers, and
strengthen the standard of his victory by the
truth of Muhammad, upon whom be blessing
and peace.

ART. XIX.—*Note on the Panjmana Inscription sent by Mr. Ney Elias.* By H. BEVERIDGE, M.R.A.S.

THE inscription is an interesting one, and well deserves publication in our Journal. It records a march by Shaibānī to the Kirghiz Steppe, and a victory which he gained over the inhabitants at Kindilik in the Ulugh Tāgh country. He began his march from Merv-Shāhijān on 2 Shawwāl, 915 (13 January, 1510), and returned after four months and twenty days on 22 Safar, 916 (1 June, 1510). Mr. Elias considers that the inscription is false and that the so-called victory was a defeat, and he quotes in support of this view the Ḥabīb-as-Siyar and the Tārīkh-i-Rashidī. But surely a contemporary inscription is better authority than two books—one by a compiler and the other by an enemy—and, moreover, the latter are not, I think, absolutely contradictory of the inscription. Shaibānī was apparently at first successful over the people of the Dasht-i-Kipchāk, though he, or at least his son, was eventually defeated by them, and I take the inscription to refer to the initial victory. That some such victory did occur, seems to be admitted by Haidar Mirza. At p. 230 (Ross's translation) we read: "In the middle of the winter, Shāhi Beg Khan was engaged in plundering on every side, but he soon returned, his object being not to remain too far from his own country." I think this must be the expedition commemorated in the inscription. That began in the middle of winter (13 January, 1510), and was characterized by wondrous rapidity of movement, as the inscription tells us. It was thus soon over, as Haidar tells us, and had the natural effect of knocking up Shaibānī's men and horses, and so leading to the

subsequent crushing defeat. It must be remembered that Haidar Mirza was an enemy of Shaibānī, who put his father to death and sent orders for the killing of Haidar, though the latter was but a boy—"had only just passed the half of my childhood" (p. 210). It is natural, therefore, that Haidar should represent all Shaibānī's acts in the worst light. Moreover, though Haidar was a contemporary, he was far away from Shaibānī and Dasht-i-Kipchāk at the time, being with his cousin Babar in Kabul. Accounts of Shaibānī may be read in Erskine's "Babar," p. 238, and Khāfi Khan, "Brit. Ind.," ed. i, 39. In his "History of India," i, 296, Erskine follows the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* and gives the passage quoted by Mr. Eliás. But the best account that I have seen of Shaibānī is in Vambéry's "History of Bokhara." He mentions the defeat described in the *Ḥabīb-as-Siyar* and *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, but he puts it later than they do, making it contemporary with Shah Ismail of Persia's advance on Meshed. At p. 268 he says: "Shaibānī was prevented from continuing his march southwards by the revolt of the Firozkuhi, a people haunting the peaks of steep rocks, and was making vain efforts to subdue them, when he received the intelligence that Shah Ismail was actually advancing on Meshed with a large army. To his great disgust and alarm news arrived at the same time from Transoxiana that his son, Muhammad Timur, had been surprised on his march against the Kirghiz on the Yaxartes by Buyunsoz Hasan, and terribly defeated. Thus the brave arm and searching eye of Shaibānī were needed in three places at once. In addition to this, his own troops were exhausted and worn out by long marches." If this be correct, the defeat of Shaibānī's troops by the Kirghiz was in October or November, 1510, and so several months after the expedition referred to in the Panjmana inscription; for Shah Ismail's march upon Merv and his defeat of Shaibānī occurred in Shabān and Ramzān, 916, or November-December, 1510. This appears from the continuation of the passage from the *Ḥabīb-as-Siyar* quoted by Mr. Ney Eliás. After saying that Shaibānī could do nothing against

the Hazāras, the *Ḥabīb*¹ goes on to say that Shaibānī went to Herat in the beginning of Shabān (about 4th November), and was recruiting himself from his fatigues in the gardens there when he heard of Shah Ismail's approach. And at p. 234 of Mr. Denison Ross's translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī* we learn that it was in the following month of Ramzān that Shaibānī marched out to encounter Shah Ismail. The exact date of his defeat and death is not given by Vambéry, but he says the day was a Friday; being in Ramzān, the month must have been December.²

It will be noticed that the *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī* does not speak of Shaibānī having been personally defeated by the Kirghizes. This agrees with Vambéry's statement that it was Shaibānī's son, and not Shaibānī himself, who was defeated, and also differentiates the affair from the expedition recorded in the Panjmana inscription. I submit, too, that Vambéry's account agrees much better with probabilities than do the two statements quoted by Mr. Elias. If Shaibānī were really defeated and routed by the Kirghizes in the spring of 915, it is not likely that he would have inclination or strength immediately to set about another expedition, viz. that against the Hazāras or Firazkuhis.

As regards the *Yādgār Khānī* mentioned in the inscription, it was perhaps some palace or pleasure-house erected by Shaibānī, rather than a town, though called a *shahr* in the inscription. It may, as Mr. Elias suggests, be a synonym for some such town as Muhammadābad, which Shaibānī may have founded. In Reclus's Map of Western Asia, "Geog.," vol. ix, we find a Muhammadābad north of Rādkān, but according to Colonel Napier (Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for 1876, p. 166) the proper name of it is Muhammadbāgh. This title agrees better with the idea of a pleasure-house, and

¹ The passage may be seen in two MSS. in the British Museum, Add. 17,925, p. 4634, and Add. 16,079, p. 3066; also in the Teheran lithograph of 1271 A.H., vol. iii, p. 318, near top, and in lithograph of *Rauzat-as-Safa*, vol. vii, p. 96.

² Erskine gives 2 December as the date.—"History," i, 306. See also *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī*, p. 226.

it is just possible that the word *shahr* may not refer to Yādgār Khānī, and that the preposition *ba* has slipped out before the latter word. We might then read that Shaibānī arrived at the environs of the city (Rādkān?) at the Yādgār Khānī, which had been constructed by the genius of his architect. It may thus be that Yādgār Khānī is a synonym for the Kuk Kāshāna of Haider Mirza. This does not appear to be a town, and Mr. Elias suggests that it may mean Blue Palace (or Heavenly Palace). One of the B.M. MSS. has Kuruk Kāshāna, and Mr. Erskine has read it *sō*, and translated it as "winter-quarters" (*vide* B.M. MS. Add. 26,612, p. 208). This, no doubt, may be one of the meanings of Kāshāna, but etymologically it means, according to Vullers, a house furnished with mirrors. That the place Shaibānī returned to from his expedition was Rādkān, or Raikān, and not Merv, seems suggested by the site of the inscription, and also by the statement in the *Habīb-as-Siyar* that Shaibānī used to make Rādkān his summer-quarters. This is corroborated by the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, which states, p. 162, that in 914 (1509) Shaibānī was at Ulung-Rādkān, *i.e.* the pasturage grounds of Rādkān. (Mr. Ross has written this name as Ulung-Zādagūn, in accordance, apparently, with B.M. MS. Or. 157, p. 114; but in 24,090, p. 100*b*, it is clearly Ulung-Rādkān, and there can be little doubt this is the correct reading.¹)

It is, however, quite possible that the place meant is Merv, as suggested by Mr. Elias, and certainly the epithet *Shahr*, or city, is more appropriate to Merv than to a small town like Rādkān, which, moreover, is forty miles from the site of the inscription. We know that there was a Muhammadābad near Merv, for it was there that Shaibānī was defeated and killed (Erskine's *History*, i, 303). Another possibility is that Yādgār Khānī may be a synonym for

¹ While on the subject of readings, I may note that the number of Shaibānī's soldiers given at p. 230 of Ross's translation as 20,000 is 260,000 in all the MSS., and has been so stated by Erskine. The expedition, then, was on a very large scale.

Herat, or be some place in its neighbourhood. There was a Yādgār Khan or Mirza, a great-grandson of Shahrukh, who killed Abu Sa'id, and used to live in great luxury at the Bāgh-i-Zāghān, or Raven's Garden at Herat, and was put to death there in August, 1470. Herat, or some place in its neighbourhood, may have been styled Yādgār Khānī in compliment to him. We know also from the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 231, and the *Ḥabīb-as-Siyar*, that it was to Herat that Shaibānī retired after the Hazāra expedition, but was obliged to leave it soon afterwards on account of the approach of Shah Ismail.

I think that we are all much indebted to Colonel Napier for the discovery of this important inscription, and to Mr. Ney Elias for his obtaining a copy of it and sending it to us, and also for his valuable and interesting note. I do not think, however, that we need take the extreme view of supposing that Shaibānī was so false as to represent a defeat as a victory. It is not likely that after his son had been defeated by the Kirghizes he would be in the mood for engraving inscriptions. My point is that there were two campaigns in 915-6 against the Kirghizes—one in the winter or spring, and another at the end of autumn. In the first Shaibānī was successful. He had a large army of 200,000 men, and he marched with great rapidity. In the second, his son was in command and was defeated. Muḥammad Haidar has, I think, to some extent mixed up these two campaigns in his narration. Even his own account shows that Shaibānī was at first victorious, and that on the second occasion, too, there was some plunder obtained and some prisoners taken. These may be the prisoners referred to in the inscription.

The following extract from Curzon's "*Persia*" will be found interesting:—"On the way we pass a mighty lump of sheer rock, perched upon the top of a thousand-feet slope, and known as the *Kuh-i-Panjmana* or *Five-man* (=about 32lb.) Mountain, from a story about a facetious monarch who invited one of his courtiers to weigh the airy trifle. A little further, on the left hand, is an Arabic and Persian

inscription upon the smoothed surface of a big limestone block, some twenty feet above the path, which records a victory of Shaibānī Mohammed Khan, the Usbeg conqueror of Bokhara, over the Persian unbelievers in the year of the Hejra 916. We then came to a little village, the name of which was pronounced to me as Hark (or (Whark), where I found an agreeable shade in an orchard sloping down to the stream." (Vol. i, 141.)

Curzon was then marching to Kārdeh, on his way back from Kelāt-i-Nadīri to Meshed. The stone is on the way from Vardeh to Kārdeh, which two places are seven farsakhs, or about twenty-six miles, apart. Curzon saw the inscription on 20th October, 1889.

ART. XX.—*An Inscription of Madanapāladeva of Kanauj.*
By C. BENDALL.

A COPPER-PLATE, closely similar to one existing at Calcutta, and successively published by Dr. F. Hall (J.A.S.B., xxvii, 220) and Prof. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 9), has recently come under my notice. It measures 1' 4" high by 1' 6" broad, and has a hole for a ring at the top and the raised rim described by Dr. Kielhorn, *l.c.* The plate is at present at Messrs. Terry and Co.'s, of 29, Glasshouse Street, London, W. It is for sale, and I understand from them that it has previously been in the hands of a family in the South of England for about a century.

The language of the grant follows closely that of the above-mentioned grant. The date is thus expressed (l. 12):

Tri-ṣaṣṭy-adhikaśataikadaśa-saṃvatsare pauṣe māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe amācāsyām somadīne sūryagrahane.

This eclipse will not work out correctly, and Prof. Kielhorn, to whom the difficulty was referred by Mr. Sewell (who had received it from me), writes—

"There can be no doubt whatever that 1163 is a mistake for 1164, and the date regularly corresponds to *Monday*, 16 Dec., A.D. 1107, with a *sol. eclipse*, visible at Kanauj; greatest phase 11 digits."

The person who performed the ceremonial bathing was the Mahārājñī Śrī Prithī-śrikā at Ādikeśava-ghaṭṭa, Benares. This is recorded in the words immediately following the date given above: *Vārāṇasyām deca-śrī-Ādikeśava-ghaṭṭe Mahārājñī-Śrī-Prithīśrikayā asmadyasammatyā Śrī-Gaṅgā-yām snātrāḥ*. The grantees are the *purohita* Śrī Devavara, and other Brahmans (Gotras specified); the village granted is Bahuvārā in the Bhūilavata-paṭṭala (these places I cannot

identify); and the writer (as in the other plate) is Sahadeva. For the curious *ā . . hūhūkāntaṃ yārac*^o of the Calcutta plate (l. 15), our inscription reads simply *ācandrārkaṃ yārac*^o. After the end of the imprecations the subscription, *likhitam karuṇika*^o, immediately follows. The grant is therefore one of Madanapāla himself (presumably after his father's death), executed through his queen.

ART. XXI. — *On a system of Letter-numerals used in South India.* By CECIL BENDALL.

I TRUST that English readers will have before them ere long a full account of the very important "Encyclopaedia of Indian Research" (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie), at present in course of publication by K. Trübner of Strassburg, under the editorship of Dr. Bühler. A copy of the editor's own extremely weighty contribution on "Indische Palaeographie" has, together with its accompanying set of excellent plates, reached me by the author's kindness. At his request I now draw attention to an omission in his chapter on the denotation of numerals (VI. Zahlenbezeichnung, pp. 73-83).

One of the systems for numeration in India is syllabic (*akṣarapallī*), as contrasted with the ordinary decimal system (*ankapallī*). The main features of these systems have been often explained (*Ind. Ant.*, vi, pp. 42, 143; Burnell, "South Indian Palaeography," ed. ii, p. 65; and an article by the late Sir E. C. Bayley in our own *Journal*, N S., vols. xiv, xv), but the origin of the syllabic notation still remains obscure, as Dr. Bühler (who has changed his views on the general subject) admits (*op. cit.*, p. 78). He traces it (p. 74) down to the sixteenth century only. This being so, it is well worth pointing out that in Malabar, a part of India already identified with curious survivals of ancient usage, the syllabic system has been used within the present century, and possibly is still known.

The silence of the writers of Malayalam grammars for Europeans, from R. Drummond (1799) to L. J. Frohn-meyer (1889), need not surprise us. They are mere practical manuals, the last-named writer (pref., p. v) expressly disclaiming any provision for the needs of

"students of Comparative Philology." What is curious is, that Burnell knew nothing of the system; for in his great work already cited, after discussing the syllabic system, he observes (p. 67) that he has not met with any examples in South India later than the fifth century A.D. In the "Grammar of the Malayalam Language," however, by H. Gundert (2nd ed., Mangalore, 1868), written for native students in Malayalam, with section-headings only in English, the following list is given (§ 148a, pp. 41-2):—

| | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|------------|
| 1 ന | <i>na</i> | 10 മ | <i>ma</i> | 100 ര | <i>śa.</i> |
| 2 ന്ന | <i>naa</i> | 20 ത | <i>tha</i> | (200, 300, | |
| 3 ന്യ | <i>nya</i> | 30 ല | <i>la</i> | etc., not in- | |
| 4 ക്ര | <i>śkra</i> | 40 പ്ല | <i>pla</i> | dicated.) | |
| 5 ജ | <i>jhra</i> | 50 ബ | <i>ba</i> | | |
| 6 ഹ (ഹ MS.) | <i>hā (ha)</i> | 60 ത്ര | <i>tra</i> | | |
| 7 ഗ | <i>gra</i> | 70 രൂ ((രൂ MS.) | <i>rū (tru)</i> | | |
| 8 പ്ര | <i>pra</i> | 80 ഷ | <i>ca</i> | | |
| 9 ദ്ര | <i>dre (?)</i> | 90 ണ | <i>ṇa.</i> | | |

The British Museum (Add. 7,134) possesses a Sanskrit MS. (of the drama *Anargharāghava*) written in Malayalam character, and bearing leaf-numbering on the above system. It is undated, but from its appearance it may well have been written shortly before the year it was presented to the Museum, 1829.

The forms for 1-3 (*na*, *naa*, *nya*) are peculiar to this system.

They are not, however, borrowed from the ordinary decimal figures.

4 is not *nka*, but *śkra*. Compare *Bhagavanlāl* in *Ind. Ant.*, vi, p. 44, col. 9, and p. 46 (*śka*). There is perhaps an *r*-sign in Bühler's *Tafel* ix, col. 9, No. 4.

For 5=*jhra*, a curious combination, it is not so easy to find a parallel, owing to the rarity of *jha* even as a simple letter. The resemblance, however, between some of the Kṣatrapa forms of 5 and the contemporary forms of *jha* (Bühler, Tafel iii, line 14) is enough to account for the confusion or misreading.

For 6=*ha* (Gundert) our MS. has simply *ha*. Both are doubtless derived from a form *pha*, the characters of these letters being very similar in Malayalam (ഹ ഫ *pha*, ഹ *ha*).

7=*gra*; agrees with the results given by Bühler, p. 75.

8=*pra*. Here (𑀧) is doubtless a misreading for *hra* (𑀧𑀭). In many of the early alphabets the resemblance between *pa* and *ha* is considerable.

9. I take this to be an old form of *o*, though at present it looks like *dre*. I am not sure that some of the Nepalese forms of 9 given in my Cambridge Catalogue ("Table of Letter-numerals") do not show an analogous corruption.

10=*ma* is somewhat difficult to explain. Bühler explains the earlier forms as =*thū*. The modern Mal. forms of *thu* *thū* (𑀧𑀭 𑀧𑀭) are not specially like *ma* 𑀭. Is it possible that the *ma* arose from an identification of the early forms 𑀭𑀭, etc., with an *m* (𑀭𑀭 𑀭𑀭, etc.) laid on its side?

20 *tha*, 30 *la*, 40 *pta* present no difficulty.

50=*ba*. I cannot suggest an explanation.

60 *tra* and 70 *tru* (MS. form) are also obscure. They may rest on a misreading of some of the earlier cursive signs (Bühler, Tafel ix, cols. 3-11). Compare also some of the Kṣatrapa symbols (Bhagavanlāl in *Ind. Ant.*, *l.c.*), in which the mutual relation of the two signs is much like that of the two before us. Gundert's 𑀧𑀭 *rū* is doubtless a secondary confusion from the form in the MS.

The signs for 80 (*ca*) and 90 (*na*) could probably be explained if we knew how the paṇḍits of Malabar write Upadhmanīya (the labial sibilant disused in literature, but often found in inscriptions). It will be interesting to note whether any reader in the "Benighted" Presidency takes enough interest in the matter to obtain for us this information. It may be noted that signs for *ca*, not only in Mal. (௮௦), but also in some of the earlier Grantha alphabets (Burnell, "South Indian Palaeography," plates xiii, xiv), bear some resemblance to the "80" of Bühler's Table, cols. 17, 18.

100=*na*. The character *ṣṇa* somewhat resembles ௯௮.

I may note in conclusion that the ordinary leaf-numbering of MSS. from Malabar is in accordance with a system also unknown to Burnell as regards that country, but described by him ("South Indian Palaeography," p. 68) for Tamil documents only. As he notes, the system is interesting as forming a middle stage between the *akṣara-pallī* and the ordinary decimal notation. Gundert (*supra cit.*) gives all three systems. J. Peet, in his grammar written in 1860, gives the two last, stating (p. 95) that the decimal system was "introduced by Europeans"; but in the "Outlines of Grammar," published by F. Spring in 1839, only the decimal system is given.

The Sinhalese, as my friend Vikramasimha reminds me, have also an *akṣara*-system. This might, no doubt, be easily worked out from the earlier Sinhalese epigraphy. I note, in passing, the forms of 4, 7, and 30, which appear to correspond to forms of *ika*, *gra*, and *la* respectively.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. "SHAH DAULAH'S RATS."

*Rugby,**July 24, 1896.*

DEAR SIR,—“Shah Daulah's Rats” are alluded to in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, v, § 311. “Shah Daulah cures barrenness. . . . When he gives children, the first is always a sort of dwarf, or mannikin, with a small head, like a rat. Such children are called Shah Daulah's Rats, and are devoted to the shrine. These rats of Shah Daulah now form a special class of beggars. Each of them is said to have on his head the marks of the five fingers of the saint who brought him into the world.” (Note by Pandit Ram Gharib Chaube.)—The editor refers to *Punjab Notes and Queries*, ii, 27; iii, 27.

This note, if correct, explains the objection of Mr. Muhammed Latif. The parents expect to get more than one child; and the first is the saint's due, as Samuel was Jehovah's.

It is not stated that they are idiots.—Yours faithfully,

W. H. D. ROUSE.

2. “ANTIQUITY OF EASTERN FALCONRY.”

SIR,—I should be much obliged to any member or correspondent who can inform me of any Oriental authority for the use of trained falcons in the East before the first century A.D. The modern falconers are apparently inclined

to claim a great antiquity for that diversion; and certainly the stage of civilization favourable to falconry is very ancient; and there is no "antecedent improbability" in the matter. But the positive evidence seems to be poor.

That most commonly quoted is a very doubtful note of the late Sir Austen Layard's, in "Nineveh and Babylon" (p. 483, note, ed. 1853). It is not repeated in the abridgment of 1882, and he does not seem to have attached much importance to it, though an amateur of falconry himself, and holding it as "probably of the highest antiquity" (*loc. cit.*). He says, "A falconer bearing a hawk on his wrist appeared to be represented in a bas-relief which I saw at Khorsabad." Bonomi ("Nineveh and its Palaces," 3rd edition, p. 202) has an equally doubtful identification of a falcon on the wing, in a hunting scene from the same place. But there seems to be no reference to falconry in that region in any ancient writer, though one would expect it, if practised, to have been mentioned by the Hebrews of the Captivity, by Herodotus, Xenophon (himself a sportsman), Aristotle, or some of the subsequent Greek and Roman writers—people whose nations knew more of Mesopotamia than our grandfathers did of the Panjāb and Sind.

Aristotle, indeed, mentions wild hawks (or what he supposed to be such) as assisting fowlers in Thrace ("History of Animals," book ix, chap. xxiv). And this story is borrowed from him in the first century A.D. by Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," x, 8), and from one or both of them by Aelian in the second ("De Nat. Animal," ii, 42), who also mentions tame sacred hawks in a temple "of Apollo in Egypt." Neither speaks on his own authority. But, after Pliny and before Aelian, Martial undoubtedly mentions the use of a hawk, which had been caught wild, in the 216th Epigram of the fourteenth book, which was written—or, at least, published—in Spain, very early in the second century A.D. He must have observed the practice in Spain, for he travelled only to Italy, where it could not have escaped Pliny and Aelian.

The next notice is said to be in the writings of Julius Firmicus (fourth century A.D.), which are not available to me.

In the sixth verse of the fifth Sura of the Kurān, "The Table," there is a passage authorizing, as it is read by Musalmans to-day, the use of prey taken by "wild creatures ('jawarih')¹ which ye have trained like dogs, teaching them as God hath taught you." A Musalman scholar whom I have consulted assures me that the inclusion of falconry in this permission is universally admitted to be based on a tradition of the Prophet himself, which brings it back, in Arabia, to the early years of the Hijra (the fifth Sura was revealed at Medina), and by implication to the end of the sixth century, as the practice must have been general and well known to require notice.²

"E. D. R.," writing in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (1879), speaks of falconry as recorded by "very ancient Egyptian carvings and paintings," as "known in China some 2,000 years B.C.," and in high favour in the days of "Wen Wang, who reigned over a province of that country in 689 B.C." This writer is known as a past master in modern falconry, but hardly as an authority on Egyptian or Chinese archaeology, and I beg for a reference from any of our members skilled in those branches of history. Search in the Assyrian rooms at the British Museum has brought nothing to light, though I was favoured by the courteous assistance of Mr. Wallis Budge. I need only add that positive evidence would be as welcome to me as negative.

¹ Bodwell translates "wild beasts"; Sale, and my friend, "animals of prey." My friend adds that *chitas* are also classed, on the same authority, under the passage quoted, and that the Shah Nama contains many references to falconry. Firdusi, however, is not an admissible witness for days much older than his own, any more than Shakspeare for fireworks in Hamlet's Denmark and Macbeth's Scotland.

² Since the above was written, one of our own members has favoured me with some references to mention of Falconry (*gyainadapāta*) by Pāṇini (vi, s. 71), and later Sanskrit authority; and a distinguished Hindu scholar with a quotation from Manu. The true date of the Dharma-shastra has been so much disputed that I do not feel entitled to rely on it in this case. But I suppose one is pretty safe in taking Pāṇini for older authority than Aristotle; if not than "Wen Wang's" historian.

I have not a thesis to prove, and there is no reason why any race of men who had learnt to train the horse and hound, and to use metals, should not have learnt falconry next (the condition of modern savages seems to show that these are earlier stages in civilization). Meanwhile, "*Amicus Falco, magis amica veritas.*"

W. F. SINCLAIR.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1896.)

I. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.
Band I, Heft 2.

Steinschneider (M.). Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen.

Fischer (A.). Die alt-arabischen Namen der sieben Wochentage.

Jacobi (H.). Ueber zwei ältere Erwähnungen des Schachspiels in der Sanskrit Litteratur.

Kaufmann (D.). Zu den marokkanischen Piutim.

Jensen (P.). Die philologische und die historische Methode in der Assyriologie.

Baunack (Th.). Ueber einige Wunderthaten der Ašvin.

Fraenkel (S.). Zu den arabischen Felseninschriften bei Tör.

Bondi (J. H.). Etymologisches.

Glaser (E.). Zur sabäischen Vertragsinschrift 'Alhāns.

Meissner (B.). Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Purimfestes.

2. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. x, No. 2.

Perles (F.). Zur althebräischen Strophik.

Schuchardt (H.). Karthwelische Sprachwissenschaft.

Müller (Fr.). Nicht-mesropische Schriftzeichen bei den Armeniern.

Lōw (J.). Bemerkungen zu Schwally's Idioticon.

Bühler (G.). The Sohgaūrā Copper-plate.

Mordtmann (J. H.). Sabäische Miscellen.

3. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série 9, Tome vii, No. 3.

Sauvage (H.). Description de Damas (suite et fin).

Lévi (S.). Notes sur diverses inscriptions de Piyadasi.

Drouin (E.). Notice sur les monnaies mongoles faisant partie du *Recueil de Documents de l'époque mongole* publié par le prince Roland Bonaparte.

Tome viii, No. 1.

Chabot (J. B.). L'Ecole de Nisibe, son histoire, ses statuts.

Devéria (G.). Notes d'épigraphie mongole-chinoise.

Lefèvre-Pontalis (P.). Notes sur quelques populations du nord de l'Indo-Chine.

Nau (F.). Notice sur quelques cartes syriaques.

II. NOTES AND NEWS.

History of Mongolia.—Dr. Huth has now published his translation of the Tibetan text of Jigs-med-nam 'mka's work, the text of which he published in 1893. We hope to review this in our next number.

The Abbé Dubois.—Mr. Henry K. Beauchamp, of Madras, will see through the Press his complete translation of the historical writings of the Abbé Dubois, whose condensed works, though bristling with faults, have enjoyed a great popularity among English students of Hinduism. Dubois was a French missionary, who laboured for upwards of thirty years in Southern India. On reaching India shortly before the close of the last century, he was attached to the Pondicherry Mission; and for the first few years he seems to have laboured in Mysore, and in what are now the southern districts of the Madras Presidency. He must have quickly made for himself a name, for on the fall of Seringapatam he was specially invited, on the recommendation, it is said, of Colonel Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, to come to the capital of Mysore to reconvert and reorganize the Christian community, who had been forcibly perverted to Mahomedanism by Tipū Sultān. So enthusiastic was he in his work that he lived in close

and familiar intercourse with persons of every caste and condition of life. What they said he noted down, and when he placed his writings in the hands of a representative of the Government of Fort St. George it was pronounced to be the most correct, comprehensive, and minute account extant in any European language of the customs and manners of the Hindus. Sixteen years later the Abbé wrote a second edition of his work, but notwithstanding its immeasurable superiority to the first it had lain among the records in Fort St. George for three-quarters of a century, until three years ago Mr. Beauchamp, when looking through the French MSS. in the Madras Government records, discovered it. According to Mr. Beauchamp, when the first MS. was revised in 1815 the Abbé put into it all the corrections and additions suggested by additional study and investigation; and when he returned the work to the Government of Madras it was, practically speaking, a different work altogether. On receipt of the revised MS., the Government of Madras decided that the only course open to them was to send it to the Court of Directors in England, as the original MS. had been. Unfortunately, however, before the revised MS. could reach England the original MS. had been translated and published; and it is this edition which has been sold ever since, and upon which the Abbé's reputation has rested. If the faulty edition has been so widely consulted and so frequently extolled, how infinitely more valuable, remarks Mr. Beauchamp, a correct edition would be. And this desideratum he set himself to supply. As a result of much patient labour, Mr. Beauchamp has it now ready for publication.

Derivation of Šabbāth.—In the April number of the Journal, p. 353, Dr. Hirschfeld said that Professor Ed. König, in the "Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache," Bd. ii, 1895, p. 180 *sq.*, derived the word שַׁבָּת from שַׁבְּתָה *šabbat-t*. But Professor Ed. König draws our attention to the fact that he, like Kimhi and Olshausen, has derived the word שַׁבָּת from *šabbat-t*.

Buddhist Theory of the Nidānas.—M. Émile Senart has devoted an article in the "*Mélanges Charles de Harlez*," pp. 281-97, to the discussion of this question, wherein he makes special reference to the article in our Journal for 1894. The discussion is characterized by the author's well-known acumen, and arrives at the conclusions that the theory of the Wheel of Life, though ancient, does not belong, in its present form, to the original Buddhism; that throughout, in Buddhism, philosophy is only secondary to ethics, and that this so-called chain of causes grew up gradually, not as the outcome of well thought-out speculation, but by the confused re-grouping of terms originally ethical; that it is borrowed in part from other classifications, now only to be traced in the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems; and that the phraseology in which we now have it has also suffered confusion from the various dialects in which the technical terms have been handed down. But it is impossible, without quoting the whole article, to do justice to the arguments by which these conclusions are reached. Members interested in Dr. Waddell's 1894 article should consult this very suggestive brochure by our distinguished Honorary Member.

Muhammadian Religion.—Under the title of "The Preaching of Islam," Mr. T. W. Arnold will publish immediately a work on the history of the spread of this religion by missionary methods. The book is intended as a contribution to this neglected department of Muhammadian religious history, and ranges over the whole field of Muhammadian history so far as the missionary activity of Islam is concerned, in all the countries into which this faith has penetrated.

Rosaries in Ceylon.—The *Ceylon Observer* of August 10 reprints Dr. Waddell's article on this subject from our last number, and adds the following note:—

"The chronicler of Spilbergen's visit to Ceylon in 1602, in describing the town of Vintane (Bintenna or Alutnawara), says:—

"There are yet other pagodes, and also a monastery,

wherein are monks clad in yellow cloths, who go along the streets with great sombareros; some have slaves with them who carry the sombareros and serve them. They are clean-shaven in the manner of the monks in this country, only that one sees no corona there. They also go with paternosters in the hand muttering or reading.'

"Baldaeus, in his work on Ceylon, has taken over Spilbergen's chronicler's description; and the English translator of Baldaeus renders paternosters by 'beads.' The veracious Captain Robert Knox, writing some eighty years later, says, in his 'Historical Relation' (p. 86), in describing the religious practices of the Sinhalese:—'They carry beads in their hands on strings, and say so many prayers as they go, which custom in all probability they borrowed of the Portuguese.'—D. F." The inference is, of course, erroneous, as shown by the statements in Dr. Waddell's letter.

Professor Deussen, of Kiel, having published two years ago the first volume of his "Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie" (containing the General Introduction and the Philosophy of the Veda to the Upanishads), will, in a month or two, issue his "Translation of the Upanishads," each chapter of which will be preceded by a short introduction and accompanied by explanatory notes. The work will contain all the Upanishads of the three older Vedas, and all those of the *Atharva* Upanishads, which appear regularly in the chief collections and lists of the Upanishads, and thus seem entitled to a certain canonical authority. The volume will contain, in all, sixty Upanishads. The introductions aim, for the first time, at giving for each Upanishad, or part of it, a short critical analysis, showing the tendency of the author, the growth of his ideas from preceding, and their influence on succeeding, texts. Many passages which hitherto seemed paradoxical, or even unintelligible, appearing now in their natural light, become quite clear, and show at once their connection with, and their place in, the general development of Vedantic thought.

On the other hand, these analyses raise a great number of problems hitherto unnoticed and needing further discussion, so that a wide field of attractive and fruitful labour will be open to those interested in the growth of the religious and philosophical ideas of India.

PHILOLOGY NOTES FOR 1896.

- A. *Asiatic Languages.*
- B. *African Languages.*
- C. *Oceanic Languages.*

A. *Asiatic.*

I. "Vedische Beiträge": Journal of Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, 1896, xiii. Prof. Albrecht Weber in his old age has made this contribution to our knowledge of the Veda, and dedicated it to his life friend, Dr. Reinhold Rost, whose loss is deplored by us all. The treatise is highly scientific, and beyond the understanding of the ordinary reader, but to those, who study the Veda, it will prove of great value.

II. On the occasion of his assuming the office of Rector of the University of Leipzig, Prof. Windisch delivered a luminous oration on "The Importance of the Study of Ancient India." He passed under review the results of the study in late years of Indian Literature and Archaeology, not only from the point of view of its own intrinsic value, but also of its influence on the culture of the Human Race. It is a contribution of unsurpassed value.

III. A very full Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic, as spoken in Egypt, from the pen of S. Spiro, has lately appeared at Cairo: it comprises official and technical expressions, idioms, and common phrases of the lower classes.

IV. At Leipzig has appeared a seventh fascicule of the valuable work of Prof. Radloff, of St. Petersburg, "Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Turki Dialecte."

V. The Rev. A. J. Maclean, who has been for several years employed in a Mission of the Anglican Church to the members of the Eastern Syrian Church at Urûmia, has published a valuable Grammar of the modern Dialects of Syriac, as spoken in Kurdestan, N.W. Persia, and in the basin of the Euphrates at Mosul.

VI. The second volume has appeared of the "*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*," to which the two leading scholars of that branch of Linguistic Science, Prof. Nöldeke and Mr. West, have contributed: the former discusses the Persian *Shahnamah*, and the latter has written an essay analyzing Pahlavi texts. Dr. Weisbach, of Leipzig, contributes a full list of old Persian Inscriptions, with notes, and an account of their decipherment and interpretation.

VII. Mr. Browne, of the Asiatic Society, has published a Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University Library. In the course of his methodical arrangement he has come on a commentary of the Koran, of about the fifth century after the Hijrah, and other papers of interest.

VIII. The Clarendon Press has issued vol. xxxviii of the "*Sacred Books of the East*," the concluding moiety of Dr. Thibaut's translation of the *Vedānta-Sūtra* and Sankara's Commentary: the usefulness of this book is increased by careful indices prepared by Dr. Winternitz.

IX. The Rev. Anton Tien has published a Grammar of the Osmani-Turki Language, commonly called Turkish. In the appendix are Dialogues, and a list of professional and technical terms.

X. The second volume of "*The Sources of Sanskrit Lexicography*" consists of the *Unādigana-sūtra* of Hemachandra, edited by Prof. Kirste, of Graz. There are nine hundred words not included in the Sanskrit Dictionary of St. Petersburg.

XI. Dr. Hultzsch has published his result of a search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Nellore District of the Madras Presidency: upwards of 700 MSS. are described. Six MSS. are in the Grantha written character; the remainder in the Telugu written character.

XII. Mr. Sturdy has published a translation of the Nārada-sutra, a short treatise on the subject of Bhakti, or Faith, with an original Commentary.

XIII. At length a third edition of the Arabic Grammar by the late Professor W. Wright, of Cambridge, has appeared. The first portion was edited by the lamented Professor Robertson Smith, and the remainder by Professor De Goeje, of Leiden, and Professor Bevan, of Cambridge. The latest results obtained from recent study have been incorporated. It is unnecessary to add a word to the high praise to which this book is entitled.

XIV. A Jesuit Father, J. B. Belot, has published a "Cours pratique de langue Arabe"; he has noticed the peculiarities of the Dialect spoken in Egypt, and has added a list of the technical terms of native Grammarians.

B. *African.*

I. Mr. Crabbtree, Missionary, has published an elementary Vocabulary of the Soga Language, and a few verses of the New Testament: hitherto we had no knowledge of this Language, which is spoken by a Bantu population in the Region North of the Victoria Nyanza in Eastern Equatorial Africa.

II. Mr. Caldwell, the Secretary of the Zambézi Industrial Mission, has published a simplified Grammar of the Nyanja Language spoken in the Region South of the Nyasa Lake, of the Bantu Family.

III. The French Missionary Jacotet has published a volume of "Contes Populaires des Ba-Suto" in the Suto Language of the Bantu Family in South Africa.

In the Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen, vol. ii, Nos. 1 and 2, we have several interesting notices:

IV. Beiträge zur Kenntniss of the Kami Language in German East Africa: by Seidel.

V. Legends of the Pokómo tribe: by Bockling.

VI. The Language of Kilimáni: by J. Torrend.

VII. Ashanti-words: by J. G. Christaller.

VIII. Grammar of the Pokómo: by F. Wurtz.

IX. Words and Phrases of the People of the Nyasa Lake: by A. Werner.

X. Collection of Tunis Songs, etc., in Arabic and Kabaili: by H. Stumme.

XI. The importance of the Suto Language for the study of the Bantu Family of Languages: by C. Meinhoff.

C. *Oceanic.*

In the *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen* we find the following:

Communications on the Languages of the Solomon Islands in Melanesia: by Sidney H. Ray.

June, 1896.

R. N. CUST, *Hon. Sec.*

OCEANIA. A COMPARISON OF THE LANGUAGES OF PONAPÉ AND HAWAII. By the late REV. E. T. DOANE, with additional notes and illustrations by SIDNEY H. RAY, Esq. Read before the Royal Society of New South Wales, September, 1894.

The deceased author was a Missionary of the American Congregational Foreign Missions in the Caroline and Marshall Islands. Ponapé is an important island in Mikronesia, one of the four sub-regions of Oceania; its word-stores are the fullest, and the grammar most developed, of the sister-languages spoken in the different Islands. Hawaii is the vernacular name of the Sandwich Islands. A comparative study is most important. Mr. Sidney Ray has added to its value by his notes.

NEW TRANSLATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN NON-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES, actually published or in the Press.

A. (6) Asia: *Japan*. The language of the Ainu, a tribe in a low state of culture, the aborigines of the Island of Yezo. Roman Character.

- China.* The language spoken at Kien Ning, near Fuh Chow. Roman Character.
- The language spoken at Tai Chow. Roman Character.
- The language spoken in the Province of Kashgar, in Chinese Tartary. Roman Character.
- India.* The language spoken by the Garhwáli, a non-Aryan tribe settled in the Dehra Dún, near the River Jamna. Roman Character.
- The language spoken by the Jaunsári, a non-Aryan tribe settled in the slopes of the Himaláya, near Dehra Dún. Roman Character.
- B. (2) *Oceania: Melanesia.* The language spoken by the Northern branch of the Essi tribe, in the New Hebrides. Roman Character.
- The language spoken by the Weasísi tribe, in the Island of Tanna. Roman Character.
- C. (6) *Africa: West.* The language spoken by the Natives in Lower Ibo, on the River Niger. Roman Character.
- South.* The language spoken by the Ronga branch of the Gwamba tribe, near Delagoa Bay. Roman Character.
- The language spoken by the Kuanyáma, a tribe in South Africa. Roman Character.
- East.* The language spoken by the Wa-Sukúma, in Speke Gulf, South of Victoria Nyanza. Roman Character.
- The language spoken by the Mochi branch of the Wa-Chagga, westward of Mombása. Roman Character.
- The language spoken in the country of U-Nyamwézi, in the region betwixt Zanzibár and Tanganjika Nyanza. Roman Character.

In all there are translations made on the spot, and tested by immediate use, in fourteen previously unknown languages, and the Roman Character is made use of, because the very

conception of a written Character was previously unknown. And this is but the average out-turn of a single year, and the difference of Grammatical structure is so great, that the idea of a common seedplot cannot be entertained; and the fact that vast tribes have flourished for centuries without any written Character, renders it necessary to inquire very carefully how it happened that some tribes acquired that art Centuries ago.

R. N. C.

III. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SOME ASSAMESE PROVERBS. Compiled and annotated by CAPTAIN P. R. GURDON, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Goalpara. (Published at Assam Secretariat Press: Shillong, 1896.)

The local Government of the Assam Province in British India has this year published a very interesting little volume with the above title, compiled by one of the district officers of the Province, and collected from the lips of a population in a low state of culture, but settled there in a corner of the world for many centuries, and speaking a Language of their own. The volume does not pretend to be exhaustive of the whole Province, but contains only a gleanings from the subdivisions of Sibságar, Nowgong, and Gaukátí. In transliterating the words from the Nágari alphabet to the Roman the compiler has been guided by Sir W. Hunter's "Practical Guide to Transliteration." "The Proverbs have been classified according to objects, not subjects, this being thought the best method after consideration."

The Government of Assam deserves our best thanks for this publication, thus encouraging the literary industry of its subordinates in out-of-the-way regions, and contributing a valuable addition to knowledge of Language, Folklore, and Religious Conceptions.

A Proverb picked up from the mouth of an old woman in an out-of-the-way corner of Great Britain is not to be despised. It is beyond the power of the clever fabricator of conundrums to make a Proverb: Solomon is credited with the honour of collecting Proverbs 1000 B.C.: it is not suggested that he invented them, for they are not the production of the learned: they existed long before the earliest period of writing, and were transmitted orally. Wit is said to be the thoughts of many, but the words of one. A Proverb may be described as a condensed parable, or wisdom boiled down into an essence, and presented to the public in the form of a lozenge, so as to be carried about in every pocket and laid on every tongue: no one can say who was the original inventor. They have floated down on the lips of men like literary waifs, clinging to rural districts and isolated corners, while trodden down in the busy town and frequented market-place. There is little doubt that the idea of an ancient Proverb is put into a new dress after its import in a distinct environment of customs: the Proverbs of "carrying coals to Newcastle" and "taking the breeks off an Highlander" are merely reinstating with a new impression of old metal. Some Proverbs are disgustingly coarse, and, as in all human affairs, there is a current of evil running parallel to a current of evil.

Captain Gurdon divides his collection into six classes, with full details of subclasses:

- (1) Relating to human failings, foibles, and vices.
- (2) Relating to worldly wisdom and maxims, expediency and cunning, warnings and advice.
- (3) Relating to peculiarities and traits characteristic of certain castes and classes.
- (4) Relating to social and moral subjects, religious customs, and popular superstitions.
- (5) Agriculture and seasons.
- (6) Cattle, animals, and insects.

There is great truth in some Proverbs taken at random, showing that they are drawn from the common fount

of human conception, and that in very deed all men are brothers. I have only space for a few :

I. Love of false display.

(a) There are many rosaries, the beads of which are not told in devotion.

(b) A turban on his head, and with nothing on the lower parts of the body.

II. Ingratitude.

When in distress a man calls on his god.

III. The mother-in-law.

If the mother-in-law gets a chance, she comes three times a day to her daughter's house.

IV. The contrary wife.

If I ask for chutney, she gives me salt: who can stand a wife who is so contrary?

and so on.

The compilation is a very creditable one, and a positive contribution to knowledge. I wish that other district officers would follow the example.

R. N. Cusr,

June 14, 1896.

Hon. Sec. to R.A.S.

THE INDIAN CALENDAR, with Tables for the conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan into A.D. dates, and *vice versa*. By R. SEWELL and Ś. B. DĪKSHIT. With Tables of eclipses visible in India, by Dr. R. SCHRAM. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, 1896.)

Although during the last ten years several excellent essays have been published on the subject,¹ the verification of Hindu dates is often still considered a task of great intricacy, to be approached only by people who possess an intimate knowledge of Indian astronomy. If those who

¹ I allude to Prof. Jacobi's "Methods and Tables for Verifying Hindu Dates," in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvii, p. 145 ff., and especially to the same scholar's "Computation of Hindu Dates in Inscriptions," etc., in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 403 ff., and vol. ii, p. 487 ff. Very good tables for the approximate conversion of Hindu dates have been published by Dr. Schram in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xviii, p. 220 ff.

hold such an opinion will devote a few hours' study to the work which we now owe to the painstaking industry of Mr. Sewell and Mr. Dikshit, they will see how greatly they are mistaken, or will, at any rate, admit that the two authors have removed whatever difficulty hitherto has seemed to surround the matter of which the work treats.

This new work naturally divides itself into two parts. The first part gives a clear account of the Hindu and Muhammadan calendars, and of the various eras and cycles which have been, or are still, used in different parts of India, interspersed with some valuable remarks on the astronomical writings of the Hindus. The second, more extensive part contains 136 pages of tables for the conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan dates into the corresponding European dates, and *vice versa*, and for the calculation of the *nakṣatras*, *yogas*, and other items, sometimes quoted in Indian dates. It also fully explains the construction of the tables, and gives examples to show the working of them. In an appendix the well-known astronomer, Dr. R. Schram, of Vienna, besides, furnishes a list of the solar eclipses likely to have been visible in India during the period to which the work refers (*i.e.* from A.D. 300 to A.D. 1900), with tables by which it is extremely easy to ascertain whether (the greatest phase of) a solar eclipse was visible at a given place in India, and at what time of the day it took place there. The additions and corrections, among other things, contain Mr. Dikshit's rules and tables for calculating Jupiter's apparent (or true) place, the necessity for which has probably been suggested by a number of South Indian dates, lately published.

That this work is the outcome of an immense amount of patient labour, is self-evident; and, judging from the tests which I have applied, it may well be trusted for the accuracy of its statements. To convey to the reader some idea of the great ease with which the object for which it is designed is really attained by it, I shall show the practical working of its rules and tables by using them for the verification of two or three dates of Indian inscriptions.

But to make my calculations generally intelligible, I must premise some trite remarks on the Hindu calendar, and say a few words about the tables of our authors.

The first month of the ordinary Hindu solar year theoretically commences at the instant of the sun's entrance into the sign Aries, *i.e.* at the Meṣa-saṁkrānti, and each succeeding saṁkrānti (or entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac) marks the theoretical beginning of a new solar month. The civil beginning of a solar month, *i.e.* whether in every-day life the month commences on the day of the saṁkrānti or on the following (or third) day, depends on the exact time of the day when the saṁkrānti takes place, and is regulated by rules which differ in different parts of India. The first month of the luni-solar year, on the other hand, commonly commences at the new moon which immediately precedes the commencement of the solar year, and each succeeding new moon forms the commencement of a new lunar month. The year ordinarily contains 12 such months, but to keep the luni-solar year in accord with the solar year another lunar month (homonymous with one of the 12 ordinary months) is added every third or, more rarely, every second year; and sometimes we have two homonymous lunar months in a year, while at the same time the name of another month is expunged. Each lunar month has two halves (*pakṣa*)—the bright half from new moon to full moon, and the dark half from full moon to new moon. Either *pakṣa*, again, contains 15 *tithis* which (since a *tithi* is the variable time occupied by the moon in increasing her distance from the sun by 12° degrees) are of variable length, and the calculation of the exact length of which is of the utmost importance, because a civil day receives the number of the *tithi* which ends in it or is wholly occupied by it. Thus, "the 1st of the bright half of Caitra" (*Caitra-sudi* 1) would ordinarily denote that civil day on which ends the first *tithi* of the bright half of Caitra (the first lunar month of the luni-solar year); and "the 11th of the dark half of Phālguna," that civil day on which ends the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (*i.e.*, counting from new moon, the 26th *tithi*).

of Phālguna. In general, 60 *tithis* (the collective number of *tithis* of two lunar months) are approximately equivalent to 59 civil days. Subject to the modification that a civil day is reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, the weekdays of the Hindus agree with our own; and the most ordinary (though not always sufficient) way of testing the correctness of the date of an Indian inscription, is to ascertain whether the *tithi* of the date did really end on the weekday which is joined with it in the original record, or whether a given solar day really fell on the given weekday.

Now our authors have furnished us with tables for both the approximate and the accurate conversion of Hindu solar and luni-solar dates. To the tables for the approximate conversion of dates—they are two “eye-tables,” constructed on methods invented by two native scholars of Madras—they themselves apparently do not attach any very great importance, and in my opinion these tables should never be used for the verification of dates.¹ The tables for the accurate conversion of Hindu dates are to a considerable extent based on, and some of them are identical or nearly identical with, the tables published by Prof. Jacobi in the *Indian Antiquary*. But the principal Table I, which comprises no less than one hundred pages, contains a great amount of independent work, inasmuch as it furnishes ready to hand, for each of the 1601 years from Kaliyuga 3402 current² to Kaliyuga 5002 current (i.e. A.D. 300 to

¹ Regarding the approximate method, the authors, on p. 65, say: “Results found by this method may be inaccurate by as much as two days, but not more. If the era and bases of calculation of the given Hindu date are clearly known, and if the given date mentions a weekday, the day found by the tables may be altered to suit it.” But “the bases of calculation” of a given date can never be known until a date has been *accurately* verified; and that one should alter the day found by the tables so as to suit a given weekday, I consider rather dangerous advice.

² Although the dates which employ the principal Hindu eras commonly give expired years—dates of the Vikrama era do so nearly always, and for every Saka date with a current year we have about four Saka dates with expired years—the authors in their tables throughout have given current years. Now, from a practical point of view, they may justify this, I do not know; but I am the more surprised at their procedure because, judging from the notes on pp. 40 and 42, they are inclined to look on the Vikrama years of the dates and on the “so-called expired Saka years” as current years (*not* the current years of their tables).

1900), a number of important data which a person engaged in the examination of Hindu dates formerly in many cases had to calculate for himself, often at no small expense of time and labour. Thus, Table I gives us for each year not merely the concurrent Jovian year according to both the northern and southern systems, but also the added lunar month (both mean¹ and true) and the suppressed month when there is one, the moment of the Meṣa-saṁkrānti according to the Ārya- and Sūrya-siddhāntas, and the European equivalent of the first civil day of the luni-solar year, with certain sets of figures from which the end of the first *tithi* (*Caitra-audi* 1) on that day may be ascertained, etc. These data in Table I form the basis of all calculations; and the conversion or verification of a date, as I shall now show, consists in the simple addition to them of the interval in time between the commencement of the year and the given date, which is found by the help of one of the minor tables.

(1) In *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xix, p. 25, No. 12, I have shown that the date "*Tuesday*, the 3rd of the bright half of Pauṣa of Vikrama 1280 expired, at the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti," correctly corresponds to *Tuesday*, the 26th December, A.D. 1223 (when, by Prof. Jacobi's tables, the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half ended approximately 14h. 6m. after mean sunrise), and that the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti did take place on that day. By the work under notice the calculation would be made thus:—

From Table I we see that Vikrama (1280 expired=) 1281 current corresponds to A.D. 1223-4, and that Bhādrapada (the 6th month of the year) was repeated in that year. Pauṣa, ordinarily the 10th month of the luni-solar year (Table III), therefore, was here the 11th month, and the number of *tithis* from (but exclusive of) the first *tithi* of the year (the equivalent of which is given in

¹ Our authors on p. 27 say that the change from the mean to the true system of intercalation took place about A.D. 1040. But my examination of dates has shown to me that in practice the change had taken place already in the beginning of the 10th century A.D.

Table I) to the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa was $30 \times 10 = 300 + 3 = 303 - 1$ (for the first *tithi* of the year) = 302, approximately equivalent, according to what has been said above, to 297 civil days. All we have to do now is to take from columns 19, 20, and 23-25 of Table I (p. lix) the figures given for the commencement of the luni-solar year Vikrama 1281 current, and to add from Table IV (p. cx) the increase for 297 civil days, thus:—

| | <i>d.</i> ¹ | <i>w.</i> | <i>a.</i> | <i>b.</i> | <i>c.</i> |
|----------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| T. I. | (63) | 0 | 9916 | 549 | 221 |
| + T. IV. | (297) | 3 | 574 | 779 | 813 |
| | (360) | 3 | 490 | 328 | 34 |

Equation for 328 by T. VI. 264

„ „ 34 by T. VII. 47

$$t = 801$$

Now, one complete *tithi* (*t*) being equal to 333, the result, $t = 801$ (which is between 667 and 1000), shows (Table VIII) that on the 360th day of A.D. 1223-4, which by Table IX was the 26th December, A.D. 1223, and which was 3 = *Tuesday*, the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half was current at mean sunrise; and the difference between 801 and 1000 (the end of the 3rd *tithi*) = 199 by Table X shows further that that 3rd *tithi* ended approximately 14h. 6m. after mean sunrise, exactly as found by Prof. Jacobi's tables.

Similarly, to find the exact moment of the Uttarāyana- (or Makara-) saṁkrānti, we only have to take from columns 13-17*a* of Table I (p. lix) the time of the Meṣa-saṁkrānti for the year of the date, and to add from columns 6-9 of Table III (p. cvii) the increase for the Makara-saṁkrānti. Proceeding thus, according to the Sūrya-siddhānta, we find—

¹ The number 63 under *d* denotes the 63rd day of A.D. 1223; the 0 under *w* denotes the weekday Saturday (Sunday being counted as 1, Monday as 2, etc., and Saturday as 7 or 0). The figures under *a*, *b*, and *c* give certain quantities from which the condition of the *tithi* at sunrise is ascertained, *a* being corrected by the equations for *b* and *c*, taken from Tables VI and VII. In adding up the numbers under *b* and *c*, thousands are omitted; in adding up those under *a*, ten-thousands.

| | | | |
|-------------------|---------|---|-------------|
| T. I. | (84) | 0 | 10 h. 37 m. |
| + T. III, col. 9. | (275) | 2 | 15 h. 17 m. |
| | (359) | 2 | 25 h. 54 m. |
| | = (360) | 3 | 1 h. 54 m. |

which means that the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place on the same day which above we have found for the *tithi* of the date, by the Sūrya-siddhānta 1 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. The original date is therefore shown to be correct in every particular.

(2) In *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxiii, p. 129, No. 99, I have stated that the date "*Thursday*, the 11th of the dark half of Phālguna of Śaka 1042 current, the year Vikārin," regularly corresponds to *Thursday*, the 26th February, A.D. 1120.

From Table I (p. lii) we see that Śaka 1042 current = A.D. 1119-20 by the southern luni-solar cycle was the year Vikārin, and that there was no added month in that year. Phālguna, therefore (by Table III), was the 12th lunar month, and the 11th *tithi* of the dark half being the 15 + 11 = 26th *tithi* of the month, we have $30 \times 11 = 330 + 26 = 356 - 1 = 355$ *tithis*, approximately = 349 civil days. Accordingly we have—

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|---|------|-----|------------------|
| T. I (p. liii). | (73) | 6 | 30 | 340 | 251 |
| + T. III (p. ex). | (349) | 6 | 8183 | 666 | 955 |
| | (422) | 5 | 8213 | 6 | 206 ¹ |
| Equation for 6 by T. VI. | 145 | | | | |
| " " 206 by T. VII. | 2 | | | | |
| | $t = 8360.$ | | | | |

$T = 8360$, being between 8333 and 8667 (Table VIII), the result is that the 11th *tithi* of the dark half was current at mean sunrise² of 5 = *Thursday*, the day 422 of

¹ These figures for a , b , and c , again, are exactly the same as those found by Prof. Jacobi's tables for the 26th February, A.D. 1120.

² The exact time of the end of the *tithi*, calculated according to the new tables, was 19 h. 66 m. after mean sunrise, but for ordinary purposes it is unnecessary to calculate this, because $t = 8360$ sufficiently shows that the 26th February, A.D. 1120, under any circumstances was the 11th of the dark half.

A.D. 1119-20, which by Table IX (p. cxvii) was the 26th February, A.D. 1120.

(3) In *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxiii, p. 132, No. 113, we have a date which gives us "*Wednesday*, the 3rd of the month of Paṅguni of Śaka 1347 expired, the year Viśvāvasu."

From Table II, Part II (p. cv), we see that Paṅguni is the solar month of Mīna, the commencement of which is marked by the Mīna-saṁkrānti. We therefore must find the time of that saṁkrānti for Śaka 1347 expired=1348 current, which by Table I (p. lxxii), according to the southern luni-solar cycle, *was* the Jovian year Viśvāvasu, and which corresponds to A.D. 1425-6. Using the figures for the Ārya-siddhānta, we find from columns 13, 14, and 17 of

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-----|-------------|
| T. I (p. lxxiii). | (85) | 2 | 15 h. 22 m. |
| + T. III (p. cvii). | (334) | 5 | 22 h. 5 m. |
| | (419) | 7=0 | 37 h. 27 m. |
| | =(420) | 1 | 13 h. 27 m. |

Accordingly, the Mīna-saṁkrānti of the given year took place 13 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of 1=Sunday of the day 420 of A.D. 1425-6, which by Table IX (p. cxvii) was the 24th February, A.D. 1426. And since the saṁkrānti took place here more than 12 hours after mean sunrise, the month of Mīna or Paṅguni commenced (p. 12) on the following day, Monday the 25th February, and the 3rd of Paṅguni was the 27th February, A.D. 1426, which *was* a *Wednesday*.

The great advantage of the addition of Dr. Schram's tables for solar eclipses I would exemplify by the date of an inscription at Saundatti (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxiii, p. 130, No. 103), which mentions a *total eclipse of the sun* on Monday, the new-moon *tithi* of Āṣāḍha of Śaka 1151 current, the year Sarvadbārin. By the tables of Mr. Sewell and Mr. Dikshit the date is found to correspond regularly to Monday, the 3rd July, A.D. 1228, and we know that on that

day there was a solar eclipse. The question is whether the eclipse was visible at Saundatti, and if so, whether for that place it was a total eclipse.

The latitude, ϕ , of Saundatti is $15^{\circ} 46' \text{ N.} = 16^{\circ}$, and its longitude, λ , is $75^{\circ} 10' \text{ E.} = 75^{\circ}$.

Dr. Schram's Table A for A.D. 1228, VII, 3, gives—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} L=508 & \mu=269^{\circ} & s'=54.85 \\ \text{Saundatti has } & \lambda=75^{\circ} & \\ \hline & \lambda+\mu=344^{\circ} & \end{array}$$

With $\phi=16^{\circ}$ and $\lambda+\mu=344^{\circ}$ —

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{Table B, } L=500 & \text{gives } s''=1.15 \\ \text{and Table B, } L=510 & \text{gives } s''=1.17 \\ \text{therefore } L=508 & & s''=1.17 \\ & & \hline & & s'+s''=56.02 \end{array}$$

Now Table C, with $s'+s''=56.00$ gives *total*, and with $s'+s''=56.04$ *eleven digits*; with $s'+s''=56.02$; therefore, the eclipse at Saundatti was one of 11.5 digits or an *almost total* eclipse.

Proceeding in the same simple manner by Table D, we further find that the moment of the greatest phase of the eclipse at Saundatti was 11.7 ghaṭikās or 4 h. 41 m. after true sunrise.

As I merely wish to indicate the way in which the new tables are used, I have given here only dates which at once work out quite satisfactorily. The cases we meet with are not always so simple, and in practice we have to consider various possibilities. A *tithi* sometimes may or must be joined with the civil day on which it *commences*. A lunar month, instead of commencing with the new moon, often commences with the full moon. A luni-solar year, instead of beginning with the month Caitra, may commence with Kārttika or other months, and a solar year, *e.g.*, with the Sīṃha- instead of the Meṣa-saṃkrānti. Besides, we rarely know beforehand whether the year of a date is current

or expired, and sometimes only regnal or Jovian years are given to us. But the manner of calculation is the same everywhere, and the work before us contains ample information as to how most of these difficulties should be dealt with.

In a note on p. 109 Mr. Sewell informs us that in a second edition he proposes to add a list of the lunar eclipses visible in India. A list of lunar eclipses is indeed necessary, but in my opinion the lists of both solar and lunar eclipses should give *all* eclipses for the period of which the work treats, because in the verification of dates we also meet with eclipses that were not visible in India. In a new edition a few paragraphs might also be added about the calculation of the *lagna*, sometimes quoted in dates, and of the *ahargana* for a given day; and lists should be given of the deities of the *tithis*, *nakṣatras*, etc., so as to explain such expressions as "the *tithi* of Madana" and "the Maitra *nakṣatra*." I would also suggest the addition of a list of the words used to express numbers, and an explanation of the so-called *kaṭapayādi* method of denoting numbers.

Our authors have acknowledged their indebtedness to Prof. Jacobi, and, for the solution of some problems, have referred us to that scholar's Special Tables, published in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 450 ff. Highly as I appreciate the new work of Mr. Sewell and Mr. Dikshit, I should be wanting in gratitude if, on my part, I did not acknowledge here the great benefit which I myself have derived from Prof. Jacobi's unpretending General Tables, *ibid.*, pp. 443-445, the design of which has always appeared to me a marvel of ingenuity.

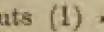
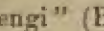
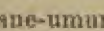
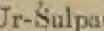
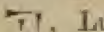
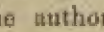
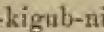
Göttingen.

F. KIELHORN.

THE BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Professor Hilprecht, of Pennsylvania, has just given to the world the second part of vol. i of the work he is

issuing under the above title, and every student of the ancient East will appreciate it as one of the most notable additions to our knowledge. The work consists of 68 pages of descriptive letterpress (including the list of contents) and 50 lithographed plates, consisting of inscriptions, mostly from Niffer, some votive tablets with incised designs (in limestone), bas-reliefs, views of the excavations at Niffer, etc.

Prof. Hilprecht brings further arguments that Šargani, or Šargani-šar-āli, is identical with Sargon of Agade—arguments almost amounting to absolute proof, and especially gratifying to the writer of the present notice. He publishes also (pl. xxii) an inscribed bas-relief of his son, Naram-sin, from Diarbekir. The date of Šargani-šar-āli, it will be remembered, is given, upon the basis of Nabonidos' statement, as being 3800 B.C.; but Mr. Haynes' excavations at Niffer prove that he was not by any means the earliest ruler¹ in Babylonia, for both Dr. J. P. Peters and Prof. Hilprecht estimate that the foundations of the city go back to 6000 or 7000 B.C. Somewhere in this gap Hilprecht puts (1) , En-šagsag-ana, "Lord of Kengi" (Babylonia); (2) , Enne-uman, king of Kêš; (3) , Ur-Šulpauddu,² also king of Kêš; (4) , Lugal-zag-gi-si, king of Erech, son of , Ukuš. Lugal-zag-gi-si was a great conqueror, but, notwithstanding this, "his very name had been forgotten by later generations." Somewhat later than the foregoing the author places (5) , Lugal-kigub-nidudu, and (6) , Lugal-si-kisal, of the first dynasty of Ur, and he has been able to give a number of historical details concerning these rulers.

¹ The existence of records of earlier rulers was to be expected from the royal lists found at Nineveh.

² Prof. Hilprecht doubtless has some good reason for transcribing the name thus. I have always regarded the second component part as being Dun-sig-ô.

Especially important are the tablets giving events of the regnal years of Ine-Sin, Bar-Sin, and Gimil-Sin, which were compiled on account of the system of dating contracts in Babylonia. The discovery of other tablets in that country may be looked forward to to place the early chronology and history of the country on a really firm basis.

T. G. P.

ASSYRISCHES HANDWÖRTERBUCH. By FR. DELITZSCH.
(Leipzig: Hinrichs. London: Luzac.)

At last we have a complete Assyrian dictionary, that is, complete as far as the material available to the author went—and even that is a great boon. It is, naturally, a great advance upon the dictionary of Norris, the last volume of which was published in 1872 (letter N), and which the learned and talented author did not live to finish. Delitzsch's work contains 730 pages, and has one disadvantage which Norris's does not possess, namely the absence of cuneiform characters, except in the cases of certain ideographs quoted. The work, nevertheless, is excellent, and, in fact, indispensable to all Assyriologists. One sometimes wonders, it is true, if certain roots are not split up too much, like **נפר**, I. "to do away with"; II. ?; III. "to cover with pitch"; but this is a defect which will doubtless be remedied in a future edition. We miss, here and there, certain well-known and many rare words, such as *kindatu*^m (or *kinditu*^m), apparently meaning "dues" (Strassmaier, "Inscr. von Nabonidus," No. 9, l. 9; Sir Henry Peek's Tablets, No. 16, l. 10), *sakātu*, in Puul (=II. 1), "to be silent" (tablet 82-3-23, 925, l. 15), etc. Every scholar will, nevertheless, appreciate the completion of this long-promised work, and the industry of the scholar—now to be classed among the veterans—who has produced it; and the Assyriological world will doubtless look forward with great interest to such supplements as the author of this first complete Assyrian dictionary will doubtless from time to time publish.

T. G. P.


KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK. (Berlin: Reuther and Reichard, 1896.)




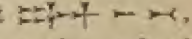

This publication is still continued under the able editorship of Professor Schrader, the last volume issued (the fourth) being devoted to Juridical and Business documents, translated by Dr. Peiser. It is very complete, the texts given ranging from the time of the second dynasty of Ur to the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, a period of over 2000 years, and covering every class of document. Dr. Peiser gives many corrections of tablets published before his work appeared, but in some cases the old Babylonian texts might have been improved by revision. In his transcription of names Dr. Peiser gives rightly *nunu* instead of *ili* (e.g. Kišununu for Kišili), *du-gu-ul* for *du-gu-mi* (?) (in Sin¹-dugul), etc. Improvements can be made here and there, as in the case of p. 34, II, 15-17, where I read "Year (when) Ammi-satana named Dûr-Iskun-Marduk on the bank of the river (or canal) Amzilaku." (*MU Ammi-satana LUGAL-E MU Dûr-Is-ku-un-Marduk GI TIG IDA Am-zi-la-ku.*) The work of Dr. Peiser is very good, however, and well worthy of the attention of students. Nine Cappadocian tablets are included in the number translated.

T. G. P.

One or two articles in periodicals worthy of notice may be here mentioned. The interest in the important inscription published by the Rev. P. Scheil will probably continue for some time longer, there being considerable difference of opinion as to who or what the words 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *i-ri-ba tuk-te-e*, may be. As they are followed by the phrase *šar Umman-manda*, "king of the barbarians" or "the Medes," *iriba-tukte* seems to be the name of the Median king, and Dr. Lehmann identifies it with Arbaces. Others, however, maintain that *iriba*

¹ Not Bel, as Strassmaier gives.

tuklé are two words, part of the remainder of the sentence. It is noteworthy that, as Seheil now recognizes, the name of Assyria is written with the characters , *Su-edina* (*ki*), a fact that throws new light on the geography of that region.

A tablet containing a record of two transactions referring to the same property, published by Dr. Peiser in his "Keilinschriftliche Aktenstücke," and again in his book above referred to, p. 94, has attracted the attention of Prof. Oppert, who gives a translation of it in the *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, with a very interesting commentary in which the words and measures are discussed, and remarks made upon the deities Lagamal, Adad (Addu), and Ramman(u)¹ (= Laomer, Hadad, and Rimmon). Prof. Oppert places the city  (generally read Dilbat) on the western bank of the Euphrates. Whilst in Babylonia, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam excavated at a site called  *Dailem*, which, from the dates of the contracts found there, I at once identified with the  of the inscriptions. This city, Mr. Rassam tells me, lies on the western bank of the Euphrates, as conjectured by Prof. Oppert. With regard to the name, the late Geo. Bertin told me many years ago that he had found the form *Dilmu* (better read, perhaps, *Délmu*), which would agree with the present Arabic name exactly. This is a geographical identification which is worthy of notice, and the question naturally arises whether *Dilmu* (or *Délmu*) has, after all, anything to do with the name of the planet , *Dilbat* (better *Delebat*) = Venus, especially as the god of the city, according to the inscriptions, seems to have been , *Uraš*.

T. G. P.

¹ This form really does exist, however, and will be found in the British Museum, tablet K 2866, line 19 (S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, pl. xvii).

ABHANDLUNGEN ZUR ARABISCHEN PHILOLOGIE, VON IGNAZ
GOLDZIHNER. Erster Theil. (Leiden, Brill, 1896.)

The three essays contained in this volume deal with the origins of Arabic poetry, the development of taste among the Mohammedan critics, and the uses of the loan-word *sakinah*. Arabic scholars are accustomed to find in Dr. Goldziher's writings an acquaintance with Arabic literature that is unsurpassed for width and depth, a rare talent for combination, and an attractive style. The new volume falls short of none of its predecessors in these qualities, and the skill with which the author utilizes passages of no obvious significance makes the book a discipline in careful reading.

Part of the first essay was communicated to the Congress of Orientalists that met at Geneva in 1894. It traces the idea which meets us in Mohammedan authors, that the poetic afflatus is due to the inspiration of the Jinn, to a period when that superstition referred not to the poet's art, but to the mystical powers he possessed; and according to the author the Arabic words for poet and poetry, which literally mean 'knower' and 'knowledge,' are to be compared with words like 'wizard'; in Hebrew *yid'oni* from *yada* 'to know,' where the knowledge signified is also of a mysterious nature. The poet's supernatural gift was of use to his tribe in many ways; but chiefly because he could abuse the tribes with which his own was at war; and of this war of words, which developed into the classical *hija*, or satire, we have an early illustration in the oracles of Balaam, an illustration which, it may be observed, had already been noticed by M. Renan in his "Histoire du peuple Israel." Dr. Goldziher collects notices of various superstitious practices connected with the *hija*, and ingeniously shows that their abolition was the real object of several of the enactments about dress introduced by Islam. The form of the *hija* was originally, like that of other oracular utterances, rhymed prose, and not the least valuable part of the essay is the demonstration that the employment of

this form of composition as the natural vehicle of oratory was comparatively late, not having been generally adopted till the time of the Buyids. From rhymed prose satire was advanced to *rejz*, a sort of intermediate style between prose and verse, and afterwards to the regular metres.

In the second essay the reaction from the taste of the earliest critics, who would admire none but pre-Islamic poetry, is traced historically, and acute suggestions are made about its causes. European taste, with which no Arabic poetry has ever found much favour, probably agrees with that of native critics in assigning the palm to Mutanabbi, whose claim to have surpassed the poets of pagan times would, it seems, have been regarded as outrageous a century before his time, but has been justified by the honour paid him in succeeding ages; of the two poets who are ordinarily coupled with him, Abu Tammam and Al-Buhtari, most readers will agree with Dr. Goldziher in regarding the second as greatly overrated. When Dr. Goldziher says (p. 145) that the great poets of the Abbasid period "burst the bonds in which tradition had bound Arabic poetry," is not this putting the matter rather too strongly? Mutanabbi does, indeed, ridicule the practice of commencing every encomium with erotic verses, but how often does he regard it as safe to abandon it? And how many of his night journeys and other heroic exploits bear any relation to facts?

The third essay is an interesting and ingenious analysis of the uses of the word *sakinah*, in which the author traces three elements—one got from the Jews, a second from the commentators on the Koran, and a third from Pagan reminiscences.

There are some important excursuses appended to the text, especially on fancies connected with the Jinn.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT ON THE PESHITTA PSALTER: Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia College. By J. FREDERIC BERG. (New York, 1895.)

The subject chosen by Mr. Berg for his dissertation is one of great interest, and it may be hoped that this, like so many dissertations, may be the forerunner of a more exhaustive treatise. In its present form the amount of Mr. Berg's work which is concerned with its ostensible subject is very disproportionate to the whole; for while the dissertation consists of 160 pages, we cannot find more than six that deal with the influence of the LXX on the Peshitto Psalter; the remainder being occupied with general questions connected with both versions, with a table of variants of MSS. and editions from the text of Lee, and with a list of various interpretations collected from the Greek, Syriac, and Chaldee versions of the Psalms. In the first of these sections the statement that "unlike the Peshitto the LXX is guilty of no errors which may be ascribed to ignorance" astounds us. The purpose of these general discussions is to establish an *a priori* probability that the Syriac translators would have consulted the Greek version; but the grounds on which Mr. Berg adopts the view that the Peshitto emanated from Jewish Christians seem so very slight that the chain of evidence would support no great weight. More important, therefore, is the internal evidence of imitation obtained from a study of the version itself; and we could wish that Mr. Berg had collected this fully and arranged it under heads, instead of restricting himself to occasional observations appended to this table of variants; which, it may be observed, is far less useful than Nestle's *Psalterium Tetraglotton*. However, it must be confessed that the dissertation gives evidence of many scholarly qualities, and

since such works should be judged rather by their promise than their performance, this new collaborateur will be welcomed by all those whose studies bring them into contact with the Peshitto.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE ZAND-I JAVÎT-SHÊDÂ-DÂD; or, Pahlavi Version of the Avesta Vendidad. Edited by DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA. (Harrassowitz: Leipzig.)

This new edition of two-thirds of the Pahlavi Vendidad (Fargards i-ix and xix) is specially intended for the use of Pahlavi students in the University of Bombay, where this portion of the text is prescribed for the Parsi B.A. and M.A. examinations.

The Pahlavi version of the Vendidad, the Levitical law of the Parsis, was first edited by Spiegel in 1853, and two of the MSS. he used, which were written in 1323-4, are still the chief authorities for so much of the text as they contain; but he had to rely upon much more modern MSS. for nearly one-third of the text. The present editor has trusted to Spiegel for the readings of the Copenhagen MS. of 1324, and has used collations of two copies of that MS. which were written three centuries ago; he has also consulted a collation of the London MS. of 1323, and has constantly referred to a MS. in his father's library, which was written in 1788, and is a descendant of that London MS. These five MSS. are the best authorities for the Vendidad text, when judiciously used. The two old MSS. of 1323-4 were copied from the same original, written in 1269; that was transcribed from another written in 1205, and that from a third whose writer's name is recorded.

So far as yet ascertained, all Pahlavi Vendidads in India belong to this family of MSS.; but whether any such MSS. of independent descent exist in Persia appears to be still doubtful. Darab certainly states (p. xxxv) that "it has now been ascertained that the Zoroastrians in Persia possess

no older copies of the Pahlavi Vendidad," but this is not the whole of the question. We should no doubt be glad to have collations of older MSS., but if these do not exist we still want to know whence their more modern MSS. are descended. If they are not of Indian descent, they must form an independent family of MSS., branching off somewhere from the Iranian ancestors of the Indian family; and a collation of any such MS. would be valuable. The Parsi Punchayat in Bombay might do much to settle this question, if they would obtain copies of the colophons of several Pahlavi Vendidads in Persia which have not been copied from Indian MSS., and then submit the copies to some competent scholar for report.

The colophons of four old MSS. of 1323-4, two Vendidads and two Yasnas, state that they were written by the same copyist, Mihrbân Kai-Khusro (a Parsi priest who had recently come from Persia), as a good work done at the expense of a Parsi layman of Cambay, named Châhil Sangan, of whom no other record than such colophons is known to survive. He must have been a wealthy man, and his genealogy is given for four or five generations back. In two Sanskrit colophons both his name and that of his father, Sangan, are preceded by an epithet which has been read *thava*, but which Ervad Tehmuras proposes to read *vyata*, as an abbreviation of *vyavagata* in the sense of "deceased." If this be correct, as seems very likely, it would imply that Châhil was already dead, and that the good work of providing these MSS. was done on his behalf by means of funds bequeathed by him for that purpose.

The editor of this edition is son of the high priest of the Shâhanshâhi Parsis of Bombay, and is well acquainted with Parsi tradition as well as with the views of European scholarship. His collation of the MSS. has been carefully made, and the various readings given in footnotes will be very useful to scholars, as soon as they fully understand the relative value of the MSS. in various parts of the text. This can be ascertained from the detailed description of the MSS. given in the introduction, from which it will be seen

that nearly all of them have lost many of their original folios, and the modern folios which often replace them are of little critical value. Besides his account of the MSS., the editor has included in his introduction a short summary of the contents of the twenty-one Nasks, or sacred books of the Parsis, abridged from the Dinkard, with a full translation of its analysis of the portion of the Vendidad he has edited. And the Pahlavi text of the passages he has translated from the Dinkard is given at the end of the book; the translations themselves being his revisions of some of those contained in "The Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxvii.

If no independent MSS. of the Pahlavi Vendidad be hereafter found in Persia, this edition may be considered very nearly equivalent to a critical edition of the text as it stood in the thirteenth century.

From the *Academy*
of August 15.

E. W. WEST.

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TRANSLITERATION.

THE subject of a uniform system of transliteration of Oriental characters has for a long time occupied the attention of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society. In May, 1890, a Committee was formed, on the motion of Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., to prepare a scheme, in conjunction with other learned societies, to be brought before the International Congress of Orientalists.

After long deliberation and careful consideration of the scheme propounded by Professor the Right Hon. F. Max Müller, and accepted by the Oxford University Press, of the scheme adopted by the Government of India, on the recommendation of Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I., of the papers contributed by Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., to this Society's Journal in 1890, and to the proceedings of the Berlin Congress, and of the schemes adopted by the Société Asiatique, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, the Bengal Asiatic Society, and the Pāli Text Society, this Committee presented their Report to the Council held on the 8th of May, 1894. That report was adopted by the Council, and published in the Society's Journal for July, 1894.

In the autumn of that year the Tenth Oriental Congress was held at Geneva; and, on the motion of Lord Reay on behalf of the Society, a representative Commission was appointed to consider the subject. The Report of this Commission was presented to the Congress before it separated, and was adopted by the Congress. The scheme prepared by the Commission (containing two systems—one for Sanskrit and the other for Arabic) was ordered to be incorporated in the Proceedings of the Congress, and was recommended for adoption by all Orientalists. A translation of this scheme was published, with the Report, in the Society's Journal for October, 1895.

This Report states that—"The Commission took as a basis for its work the Report of the Royal Asiatic Society's Special Committee, and the systems of transliteration usually adopted in France, in Germany, and by the Bengal Asiatic Society. The Commission does not pretend to have discovered a perfectly scientific system."

The Council is of opinion that it is advisable to take this opportunity of recommending the system thus placed before the world. Much care and pains have been taken over the subject, and there does not seem any probability of further steps being taken, at all events for some years to come. It has come to the decision, therefore, to recommend those Oriental scholars over whom it has influence to endeavour to adopt the system proposed by the Oriental Congress at Geneva. It observes, however, that there are some slight diversities between the scheme for Sanskrit and that for Arabic, and a few emendations have been suggested to bring them more fully into harmony. The Council, therefore, now republishes, together with its own resolution on the subject, the two systems suggested by the Geneva Congress; and adds a few suggestions (chiefly by way of harmonizing them), together with specimens of transliteration in various languages, so that all Oriental scholars may clearly understand what is recommended.

The following is the resolution that has consequently been passed:—"Resolved that the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, having given the most careful consideration to the Report on Transliteration prepared by the representative Commission appointed by the Oriental Congress at Geneva, while not entirely agreeing in all the details, gives the entire scheme its general approval; and earnestly recommends all connected with this country who are engaged in Oriental studies to set aside their own individual feelings and predilections, and, as far as possible, to employ this method of transliteration, in order that the very great benefit of a uniform system may be gradually adopted, and Oriental studies may thereby be facilitated."

TABLE I.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS ADOPTED BY THE
GENEVA CONGRESS.

| | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| अ | <i>a</i> | ज | <i>j</i> |
| आ | <i>ā</i> | झ | <i>jh</i> |
| इ | <i>i</i> | ञ | <i>ñ</i> |
| ई | <i>ī</i> | ट | <i>ṭ</i> |
| उ | <i>u</i> | ठ | <i>ṭh</i> |
| ऊ | <i>ū</i> | ड | <i>ḍ</i> |
| ऋ | <i>r̄</i> | ढ | <i>ḍh</i> |
| ॠ | <i>r̄̄</i> | ण | <i>ṇ</i> |
| ल | <i>l</i> | त | <i>t</i> |
| ळ | <i>ḷ</i> | थ | <i>th</i> |
| ए | <i>e</i> | द | <i>d</i> |
| ऐ | <i>ai</i> | ध | <i>dh</i> |
| ओ | <i>o</i> | न | <i>n</i> |
| औ | <i>au</i> | प | <i>p</i> |
| क | <i>k</i> | फ | <i>ph</i> |
| ख | <i>kh</i> | ब | <i>b</i> |
| ग | <i>g</i> | भ | <i>bh</i> |
| घ | <i>gh</i> | म | <i>m</i> |
| ङ | <i>ṅ</i> | य | <i>y</i> |
| च | <i>c</i> | र | <i>r</i> |
| छ | <i>ch</i> | ल | <i>l</i> |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|---|-------------------------|----|
| व | v | : | (Visarga) | h |
| श | ś | × | (Jihvāmūliya) | h̄ |
| ष | ṣ | × | (Upadhmāniya) | h̄ |
| स | s | . | ऽ (Avagraha) | ˘ |
| ह | h | | Udatta | ˘ |
| ळ (in Pali &-) | ḷ | | Scarita | ˘ |
| ँ (Anusvara, Niggahita) | m̐ | | Anudatta | ˘ |
| ं (Anundsika) | m̐ | | | |

TABLE II

TRANSLITERATION OF THE ARABIC ALPHABET
ADOPTED BY THE GENEVA CONGRESS.

[Notes in square brackets refer to pp. 6, 7.]

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| ا | at beginning of word
omit; hamza elsewhere
ء [' or °, Note 8] | غ | <i>g</i> permissible <i>gh</i> ✓ |
| ب | <i>b</i> | ف | <i>f</i> |
| ت | <i>t</i> | ق | <i>q</i> |
| ث | <i>t</i> permissible <i>th</i> ✓ | ك | <i>k</i> |
| ج | <i>j</i> permissible <i>dj</i> | ل | <i>l</i> |
| ح | <i>h</i> | م | <i>m</i> |
| خ | <i>h</i> permissible <i>kh</i> ✓ | ن | <i>n</i> |
| د | <i>d</i> | و | <i>w</i> [or <i>e</i> , Note 5] |
| ذ | <i>d</i> permissible <i>dh</i> ✓ | ه | <i>h</i> |
| ر | <i>r</i> | ي | <i>y</i> |
| ز | <i>z</i> | vowels | أ <i>a</i> , إ <i>i</i> , U <i>u</i> |
| س | <i>s</i> | lengthened | آ <i>ā</i> , ع <i>ī</i> , و <i>ū</i> |
| ش | <i>s</i> permissible <i>sh</i> ✓ | diphthongs | أَي <i>ay</i> and أَوْ <i>aw</i> |
| ص | <i>s</i> [see Note 1] | | [<i>ai</i> and <i>au</i> , Note 4] |
| ض | <i>d</i> [<i>d</i> , Note 2] | <i>e</i> and <i>o</i> may be used in place
of <i>ī</i> and <i>ū</i> | |
| ط | ظ or ط [only <i>t</i> , Note 3] | also <i>ē</i> and <i>ō</i> in Indian dialects,
<i>ū</i> and <i>ō</i> in Turkish | |
| ظ | ظ or ط ✓ | ل of article ال to be always <i>l</i> | |
| ع | ع ✓ | | |

ADDITIONAL IN PERSIAN, HINDI,
AND PAKHTŪ.

پ *p*
 ٢ *c* permissible *ch* ✓
 ژ *z* permissible *zh* ✓
 گ *g*

TURKISH LETTERS.

ک when pronounced as *y*,
k is permitted.
 گ *ñ*

HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.

ٲ or ٲ *t* ✓
 ڌ or ڌ *d*
 ڙ or ڙ *r*

PAKHTŪ LETTERS.

ټ *ts*
 ډ *g*
 ښ *n*
 ګ *ksh*

Also in India will be recognized *ṣ* for ٲ, *ḍ* for ڌ, and *ṣ* for ض.

The above scheme contains, it will be seen, two schemes—one for the transliteration of Sanskrit, Pāli, and the allied alphabets, and one for the transliteration of Arabic and the allied alphabets. These two tables are inconsistent with one another on several points. In applying the Congress scheme, therefore, to the transliteration of Hindī (which is written both with Sanskrit and Arabic letters) the same word would have to be transliterated differently according to the alphabet before the transliterator. These points are as follows:—

(1) The sound represented in English by *sh* is represented in the first table by *ṣ*, and in the second by *ṣ* (*sh* being permissible). On the other hand, the *ṣ* is used in the first table for the Sanskrit ष (*sh*) and in the second for ض (*z*). The practical difficulties arising from this discrepancy are, however, so small that the Council would merely point out the discrepancy.

(2) The sign *ḍ* is used in the Sanskrit table for ढ (the cerebral *d*), and in the Arabic table for ض (*dād*). This discrepancy could be avoided by selecting *ḍ* for the *dād*.

(3) The alternative transliteration *f* allowed for *ḥ* in the second table clashes with the use of the same sign in the first table. This alternative transliteration might be dropped out of Table II.

(4) The diphthongs *ai* and *au* in the first table are replaced by *ay* and *aw* in the second. It would be better to adhere to the first table.

(5) The transliteration *w* for the *و* in the Arabic table clashes with that proposed for the *व* in the Sanskrit table. Both *v* and *w* might be allowed for each of these letters.

(6) The sound represented by *ch* in the English orthography is transliterated *c* in the Sanskrit table, and *ç* (*ch* being permissible) in the second table. It would be more consistent to adopt *c* throughout.

There are also one or two other matters which are worthy of notice.

(7) The signs *z* and *ẓ*, and *q* and *ṭ* are each of them used in Table II as the transliteration of two different letters.

(8) No sign has been suggested in the Arabic table for the transliteration of the wasla. The comma above the line ' used in the table to represent the hamsa might be used for the wasla, and either a stroke or a circle above the line (' or °) might be used for the hamsa.

(9) No sign has been suggested in the Arabic table for the silent *t*. The sign *ḥ* might be used to represent this letter.

(10) A stroke beneath the line (thus *ḥ* or *ṃ*) might be suggested to signify that a letter written in any alphabet to be transliterated is not to be pronounced.

Subject to the suggestions above made, which will, the Council hopes, meet with the approval of Continental scholars, the following passages would illustrate the scheme as adopted by the Congress.

SANSKRIT.

R̥g Veda : opening lines—

अ॒पि॒मो॒ळि॒ पुरो॒हि॒तं॒ य॒ज्ञं॒ दे॒वमृ॒त्वि॒जम् ।
 हो॒ता॒रं॒ रत्न॒धा॒त॒मम् ॥
 अ॒पिः॒ पू॒र्वे॒भिर्ऋ॒षि॒भि॒रो॒द्यो नू॒त॒नै॒रु॒त ।
 स॒ दे॒वो॒ ए॒ह व॑च॒ति ॥

Agnīm ile puróhitam yajñásya devám ṛtvijam
 hótaram ratnadbhátamam.
 agnih púrvebhir ṛshibir idyo nūtanair úta
 sá devāṃ éhá vakṣati.

Nalopākhyāna : opening lines—

अ॒सो॒द् रा॒जा न॒लो ना॒म वी॒रसे॒नसु॒तो ब॒ली ।
 उ॒प॒प॒न्नो गु॒णैरि॒ष्टे रू॒प॒वान् अ॒श्व॒को॒वि॒दः ॥
 अ॒ति॒ष्ठन् म॒नु॒जेन्द्रा॒णां मूर्ध्नि॑ दे॒वप॑तिर् यथा ।
 उ॒पर्यु॑परि स॒र्वे॒षाम् आ॒दि॒त्य इ॒व ते॒जसा ॥

Āsīd rājā Nalo nāma Virasenasuto bali
 upapanno guṇair iṣṭair rūpavān aśvakovidah
 atiṣṭhan manujendrāṇāṃ mūrdhni devapatir yathā
 uparyupari sarveṣām āditya iva tejasā.

PĀLI.

Dīgha : opening words—

ච්චචෙට්ඨනං චිත්තං සමසංභත්තං අනන්තරං ජගතං
අනන්තරං ච භාලඤ්ඤං අධානමග්ගපරිප්පෙකානාමොතිමග්ග
නාහි සමුද්ධං ඤෙකාසංචංචමනෙහි හි සමුද්ධනෙහි

Evam me sutam. Ekam samayaṃ bhagavā antarā ca
Rājagaham antarā ca Nālandam addhānamaggapātīpanno
hoti mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhim pañca matthehi
bhikkhusatehi.

ARABIC.

Opening chapter of the Qur'ān—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنُ
الرَّحِيمُ يَوْمَ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ
الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ الْإِثْمِ
عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الْفَالِئِينَ.

Ch. ix, v. 1.

بَرَآءَةٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ إِلَى الَّذِينَ عَاهَدْتُمْ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ.

Ch. x, v. 14.

وَجَاءَهُمْ رَسُولُهُمْ بِالنَّبِيِّاتِ وَمَا كَانُوا لِيُؤْمِنُوا.

Bismi'llāhi'l-rahmāni'l-rahīmi. Al-ḥamdu lillāhi rabbi-
'l-'ālamīna'l-rahmāni'l-rahīmi māliki yaumī 'l-dīni. Iyāka
na'budu wa iyāka nasta'īnu. Ihdinā 'l-ṣirāṭa'l-mustaqīma
ṣirāṭa'llaḥīna an'amta 'alaihim ḡairi 'l-maḡḍūbi 'alaihim
wa lā 'l-dāllīna.

Ch. ix, v. 1. — Barā'atun mina'llāhi wa rasūlihi ila
'llaḥīna 'āḥadtum mina 'l-mušrikīna.

Ch. x, v. 14.—Wa jā'athum rusuluhum bi'l-baiyināti wa
mā kānū liyū'minū.

Notes—

Hamza at the beginning of a word is omitted, as prescribed on p. 5. Only the *vowel* is written. Ex. *usud*, a lion; plur. *usd*. *Insān*, a human being.

Hamza elsewhere = a stroke ' or circle °.

Wasla is represented by an apostrophe. See Note 8, p. 7.

The diphthongs have been written *ai* and *au*, not *ay* and *aw*. See Note 4, p. 7.

PERSIAN.

Opening words of the Gulistān—

منت خدايِرا عزّ و جلّ که طاعتش موجب قربتست و بشکر
اندرش مزید نعمت هر نفسی که فرو میرود ممّت حیاتست و چون
بر نیاید مفرّق ذات پس در هر نفسی دو نعمت موجودست و بر
هر نعمتی شکری واجب .

Minnat ḥudāirā 'azza wa jalla kih tū'ataṣ mūjīb-i-qurbatast. Wa biṣukr andaraṣ mazīd-i-ni'mat. Har nafasī kih farū mīravād mumidd-i-ḥiyātaṣt. Wa cūn bar niāyad mufarriq-i-zāt. Pas dar har nafasī dū ni'mat maujūdast. Wa bar har ni'matī ṣukrī wājib.

The Council would take this opportunity of suggesting the following scheme for the transliteration of Hebrew.

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| א | ' | צ | s |
| ב | b | כ | q |
| ב | b | ך | r |
| ג | g | ש | s |
| ג | g | ש | s |
| ד | d | ת | t |
| ד | d | ת | t |
| ה | h | ז | = ^o (or ^z) |
| ה | h (or hh) | ז | ā |
| ו | v | ח | ē |
| ו | z | ט | ī |
| ז | h | י | ō |
| ח | t | י | ū |
| ט | y | כ | a |
| י | k | כ | e |
| י | k | ל | i |
| כ | l | ל | o |
| כ | m | מ | u |
| ל | n | נ | g |
| ל | s | נ | g |
| מ | ' | ס | p |
| מ | j | ס | =b |
| פ | p | Dagges forte = double letter | |

HEBREW.

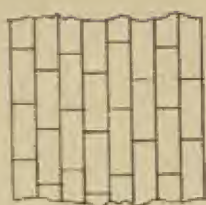
GENESIS I, 1-5.

בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ : וְהָאָרֶץ
הָיְתָה תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ וְחָשֶׁךְ עַל-פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת
עַל-פְּנֵי הַמָּיִם : וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהי-אֹר וַיְהי-אֹר : וַיֵּרָא
אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאֹר בֵּין-טוֹב וּבֵין-רָע וַיִּבְרָךְ אֱלֹהִים בֵּין הָאֹר וּבֵין
הַחָשֶׁךְ : וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לָאֹר יוֹם וּלַחֹשֶׁךְ קִרְא לַיְלָה וַיְהי-
עֶרֶב וַיְהי-בֹקֶר יוֹם אֶחָד :

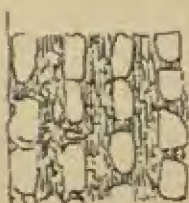
B'rē'sīt bārā' 'ēlōhīm 'et haššamayim v'et hā'āreš.
V'hā'āreš hāy'ṭah tōhū vābōhū v'hōšek 'al p'nēi t'hóm.
v'rūah 'ēlōhīm m'raḥefet 'al p'nēi hammāyim. Vayyō'mer
'ēlōhīm y'hī 'ôr vay'hī 'ôr. Vayyar' 'ēlōhīm 'et hā'ôr ki
tōb vayyabdēl 'ēlōhīm bēin hā'ôr ūbēin haḥōšek Vayyiqrā'
'ēlōhīm lā'ôr yóm v'laḥōšek qārā' lāy'lāh. vay'hī 'ereb
vay'hī bōqer yóm 'eḥād.



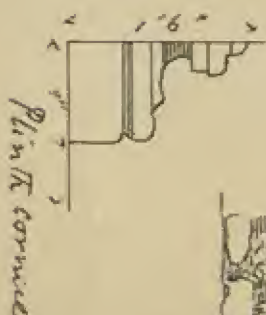
Section of Stupa

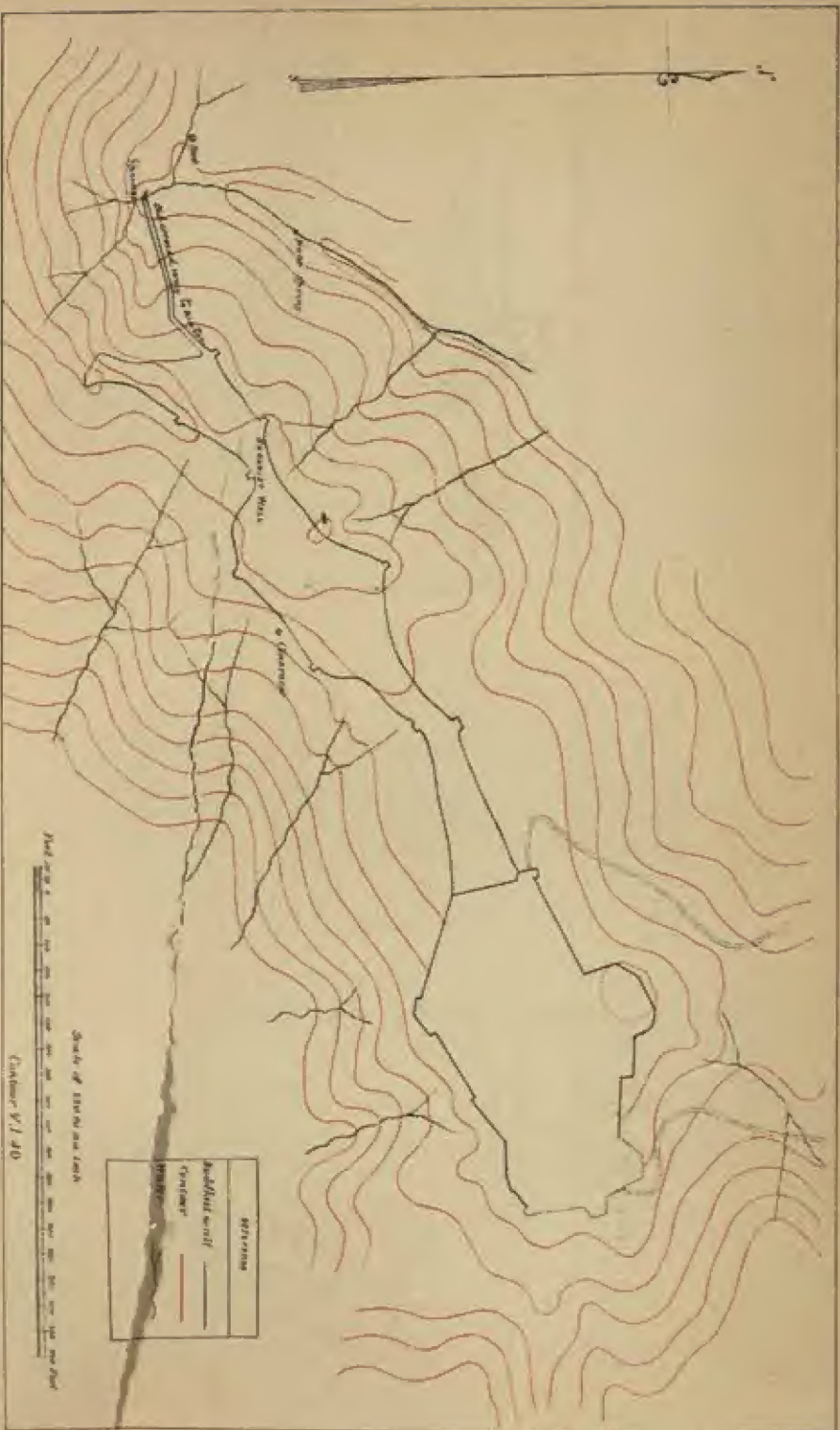


Section of Stupa

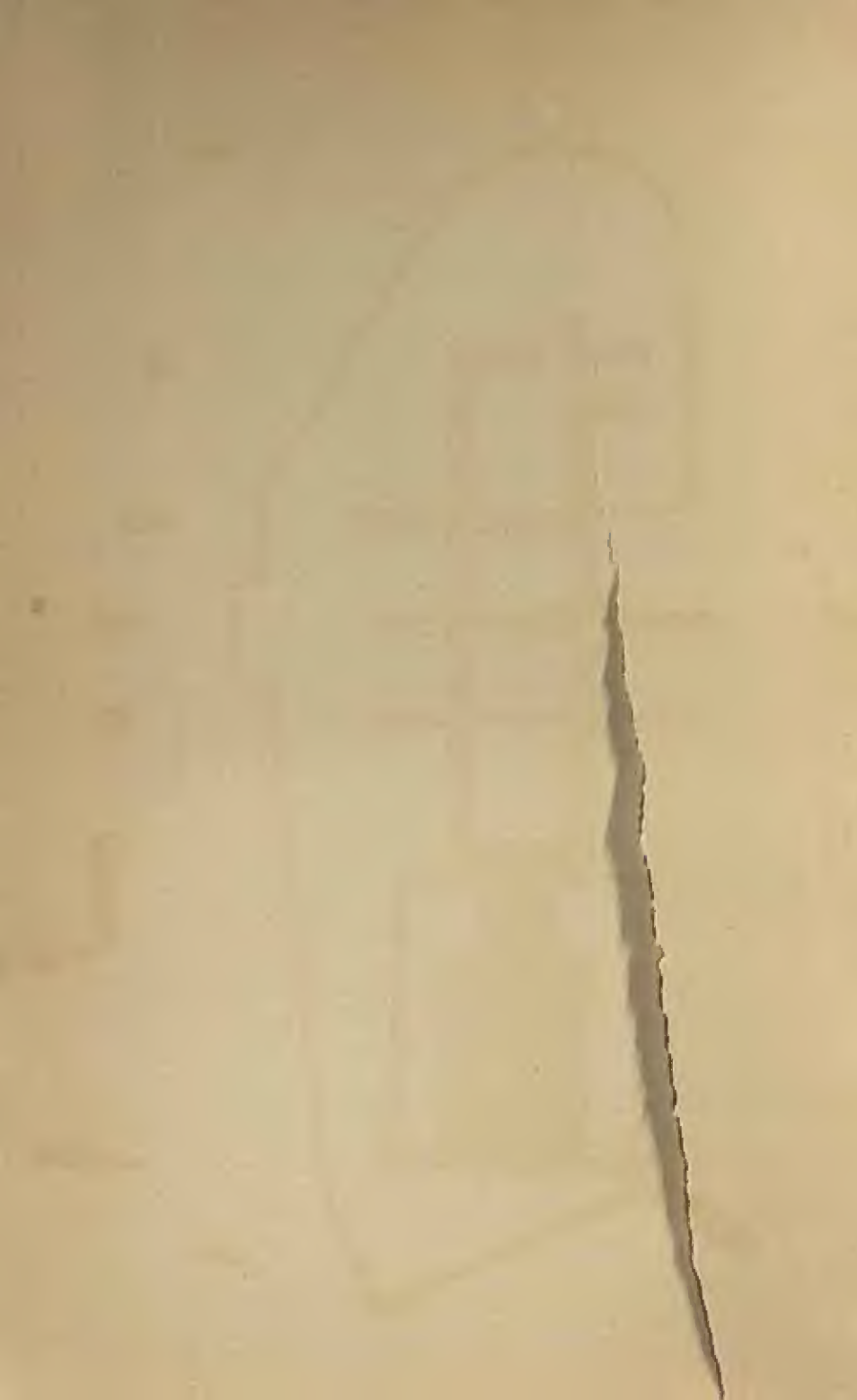


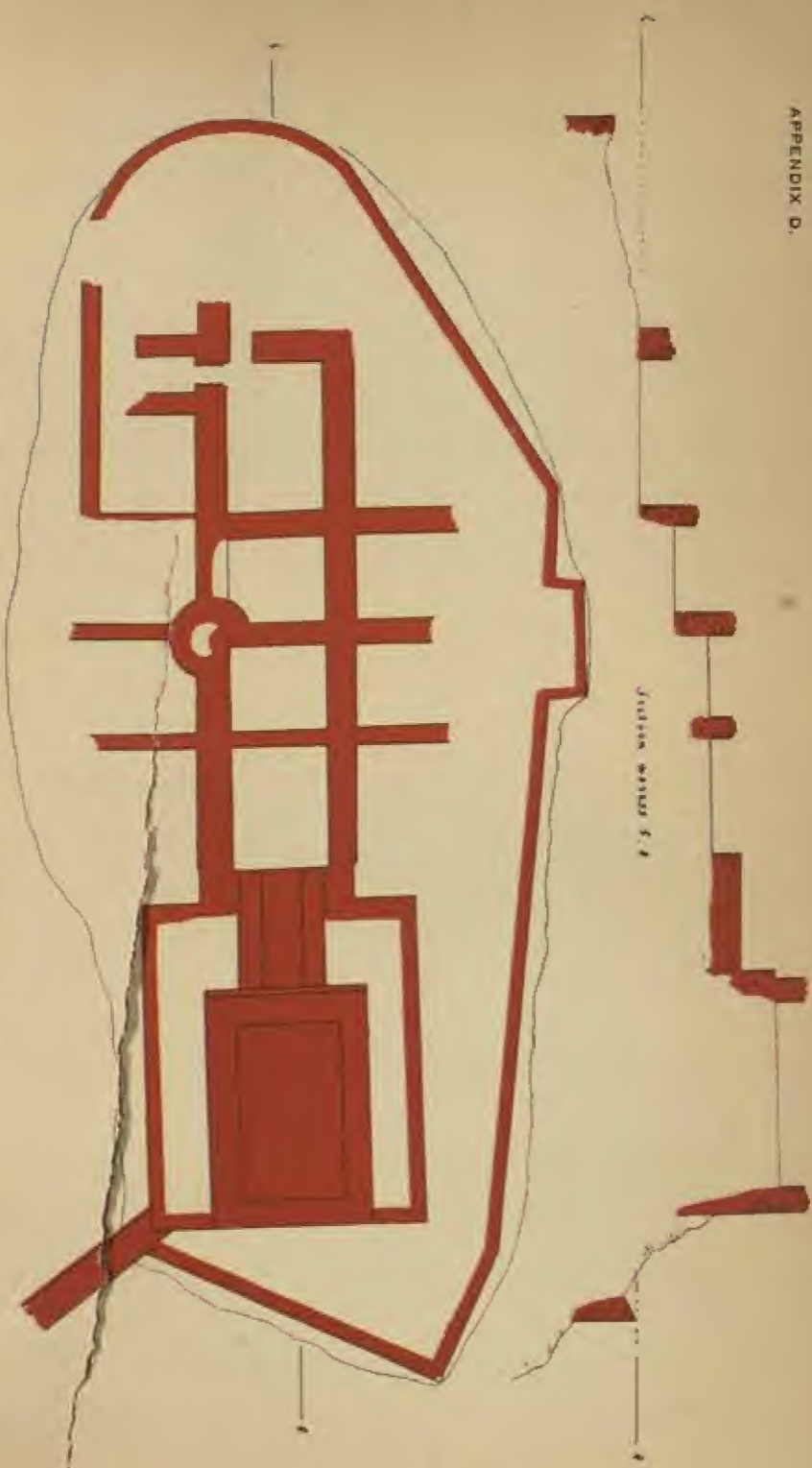
PLAN OF STUPA OF SUMA
NEAR UCH, ADINZAI VALLEY.





PLAN OF MALAKHAND BUDDHIST DEFENCES ON RIDGE.

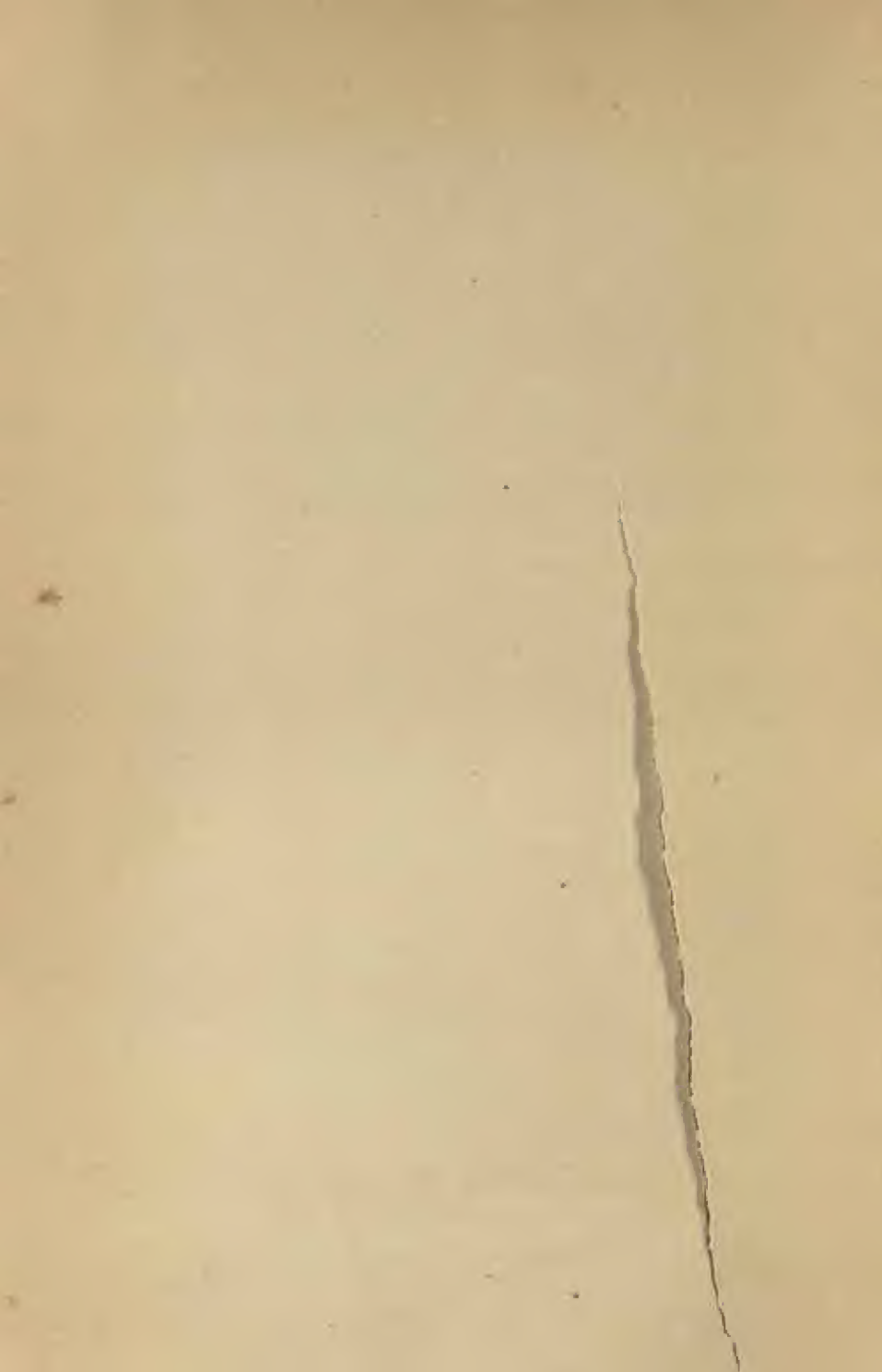




Foundation walls 5.1

Scale 1 inch = 50 feet

PLAN OF FOUNDATIONS OF OLD BUILDINGS
ON SHAMLI SPUR AT CHAKDARRA, SUNT.





14



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FOUNDED, *March*, 1823.

CORRECTED TO 1ST JANUARY, 1896.

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- HON. 1890 GUERNATIS, Conte Comm. Angelo De, *Florence, Italy*.
- 1893 *GUILLEMARD, F. H. H., *The Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge*.

- 1887 *GUIRAUDON, Capt. Th. de, 134, *Bishop's Road, Fulham.*
- 1893 *GUPTA, B. L., I.C.S., *Cuttack, Bengal.*
- 1894 *GURDON, Capt. Philip R. T., *Indian Staff Corps, Assistant Commissioner, Assam.*
- 190 1883 *HAGGARD, W. H. D., *H.B.M. Minister Resident and Consul General to the Republic of the Equator.*
- 1880 *§HAIG, Major-General Malcolm R., *Rosweide, Davos Platz, Switzerland.*
- 1884 *HARBHAMJI, PRINCE OF MORVI, B.A., LL.M., *Rajkumar College, Rajkote, Katthiawadh, India.*
- 1895 *HARDY, Dr. E., *Professor of Oriental Languages, Fribourg, Switzerland.*
- 1884 †*HARLEZ, Monseigneur C. de, *Professor of Oriental Languages, Louvain, Belgium.*
- 1883 †HATFIELD, Captain C. T., *late Dragoon Guards, Harts Down, Margate.*
- 1888 †HEAP, Ralph, 1, *Brick Court, Temple, E.C.*
- 1884 †*HEMING, Lieut.-Col. Dempster, *Deputy Commissioner, Police Force, Madras.*
- 1885 †HENDERSON, George, 7, *Mineing Lane, E.C.*
- 1884 *HENDLEY, Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel T. Holbein, C.I.E.
- 200 1880 *HERVEY, The Hon. D. F. A., *Resident Councillor, Malacca Straits Settlements.*
- 1888 *§HEWITT, J. Francis K., 14, *Rue Feydt, Brussels.*
- 1846 †HEYWOOD, James, F.R.S., 26, *Kensington Palace Gardens.*
- 1885 †*HIPPLEY, Alfred E., *Commissioner of Chinese Customs, and Chinese Secretary to the Inspector General of Customs, Peking; 26, Old Queen Street, Westminster.*
- 1891 *HIRA LAL, *Officiating Inspector P.O., Bhakkar, Dera Ismail Khān, Punjab.*
- 1891 *HIRSCHFELD, H., 3, *Montefiore College, Ramsgate.*
- 1895 *HODSON, T. Callan, *Bengal Civil Service.*
- 1881 *HOEY, William, *Bengal C.S., care of Dr. Hoey, 35, Brookview Terrace, Cliftonville, Belfast.*
- 1893 *HOGARTH, David, *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
- 1882 *HOLMWOOD, Frederic, C.B., *H.B.M. Consul, Smyrna.*

- 210 1865 *†HOLROYD, Colonel W. R. M., *Under Secretary to Government, Lahore; 23, Bathwick Hill, Bath.*
- 1889 *HOPKINS, Lionel Charles, *Chinkiang, China Consular Service.*
- 1892 *HOUGHTON, Bernard, *Deputy Commissioner, Sandoway, Burma.*
- 1882 HUGHES, George, *I.C.S. (retired), East India United Service Club, St. James' Square.*
- 1867 *§HUNTER, Sir William Wilson, M.A., LL.D., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., *Oakenholt Hall, Berkshire, by Oxford: Athenæum Club.*
- 1892 *HUSAIN, Mohammad Suffher, *Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Kurnool, Madras.*
- 1888 *INDRAJI, Pandit Vashnavá Niruttan, M.D., *Junagadh State, Kathiawar.*
- 1893 *INNES, John R., *Straits Service, Singapore.*
- 1879 IRVINE, W., *Hollicroft, Castlennau, Burnes, S.W.*
- 1888 *JACKSON, Arthur Mason Tippetts, *Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Custom House, Bombay.*
- 220 1894 *JACOB, Col. G. A., *Oakridge, Redhill.*
- 1890 JAO, Mohun Lal, *Student of Lincoln's Inn, and of Cambridge, 48, Powis Square, Notting Hill, W.*
- 1893 †*JAGO-TRELAWNEY, Major-General, *Coldrenick, Liskeard, Cornwall.*
- 1885 *†JAIKISHAN DASS BAHADOOR, Rajah, C.S.I., *Muradabad, Rohilkhand.*
- 1871 *†JAMES, S. HARVOY, *Bengal Civil Service, Simla.*
- 1891 *JAMESON, F., *Saxonbury Lodge, Frant, Sussex.*
- 1878 *JARDINE, The Hon. Mr. Justice John, *High Court, Bombay.*
- 1881 *†JAYAKAR, Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Atmaram S. G., *Muscat, Persia Gulf.*
- 1883 *†JAYAMCHUN, Thakur Singh, *Magistrate and Tahsildar of Seori Narayan, Bilaspur, Central Provinces, India.*
- 1892 JOHNSTON, Charles, *Bengal Civil Service (retired), 6, Kemplay Road, Hampstead.*
- 230 1888 *JOHNSTONE, Peirce De Lacy H., M.A. (Oxon.), *Craigmount House, Dick Place, Edinburgh.*

- 1881 §KAY, H. C., 11, *Durham Villas, Kensington.*
- 1864 *†KENBALL, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arnold, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.,
5, *Upper Belgrave Street: Uppat House, Solapic,*
N.B.
- 1895 *KENNEDY, Miss, *Fairacre, Concord, Mass.*
- 1891 KENNEDY, JAMES, 15, *Willow Road, Hampstead Heath,*
N.W.
- 1890 *KERALA VARMA, His Highness, *Valeyukoil Tamburam*
Trivandrum, Travancore State, Madras.
- HON. KEEN, Professor H., *Leiden.*
- 1856 †KEER, Mrs., 19, *Warwick Road, Kensington.*
- 1872 *KIELHORN, Dr. F., C.I.E., *Professor of Sanskrit,*
Göttingen.
- 1884 KIMBERLEY, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., 35,
Lowndes Square.
- 240 1884 *KING, Lucas White, B.A., LL.B., *Deputy Com-*
missioner, Derah Ismail Khan, Punjab, India.
- 1892 *KINO, Major J. S., *Indian Staff Corps (retired),*
Franklinstrasse 38th, Dresden.
- 1884 †*KITTS, Eustace John, *Bengal Civil Service.*
- 1894 KLUHT, Rev. A., 156, *Westbourne Grove, W.*
- 1884 KNIGHTON, W., LL.D., *Tileworth, Silverhill, St.*
Leonards-on-Sea.
- 1880 *KYNNESELEY, C. W. Sneyd, *Chief Magistrate, Penang,*
Singapore, Straits Settlements.
- 1884 *LACHMAN SINGH, Rāja, *Bulandshahr, N.W.P.*
- 1893 LAKE, Reginold J., *St. John's House, Clerkenwell, E.C.*
- 1895 *LANDIS, E. B., M.D., *English Church Mission,*
Chemulpo, Corea.
- 1880 *†LASMAN, Charles R., *Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard*
College, 9, Farrar Street, Cambridge, Mass.,
U.S.A.
- 250 1884 †*LANSDALL, The Rev. H. H., D.D., *Morden College,*
Blackheath, S.E.
- 1895 *LATIF, Syed Mohammed, Khan Bahadur, *District*
Judge, Jalandhar.
- 1874 LAWRENCE, F. W., *Oakleigh, Beckenham.*
- 1877 §LEGGE, The Rev. Dr., *Professor of Chinese, 3, Keble*
Road, Oxford.

- 1861 †LEITNER, G. W., Ph.D., LL.D., D.O.L., *Oriental University Institute, Woking.*
- 1892 *LEITNER, H., *Oriental University Institute, Woking.*
- 1883 *LE MESURIER, Cecil John Reginald, *Matara, Ceylon.*
- 1892 *LEON, J. Diaz de, M.D., *Aguascalientes, Mexico.*
- 1878 *†LEPPER, C. H.
- 1880 †LE STRANGE, Guy, 3, *Via S. Francesco Poverino, Florence, Italy.*
- 260 1890 *LEYSSON, Henry G. A., *Bengal Civil Service, Rangoon, Burma, Officiating Assistant Superintendent of Southern Shan States.*
- 1885 †LEWIS, Mrs. A. S., *Castlebrae, Cambridge.*
- 1883 *LILLEY, R., 199, *Broad Street, Bloomfield, New Jersey, U.S.A.*
- 1883 LINDLEY, William, M.Inst.C.E., 10, *Kidbrooke Terrace, Blackheath.*
- 1895 *LIVERMORE, Major W., *U.S. Army, Post Office Buildings, Boston, Mass.*
- 1870 *LOCH, Lord, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
- 1879 *LOCKHART, J. H. Stewart, *Hong Kong.*
- 1832 †LOVELACE, The Right Hon. the Earl, 9, *St. George's Place.*
- 1895 †*LOWELL, P., 53, *State Street, Boston, U.S.*
- 1895 *LUFTON, W., I.C.S., *Shāhjahānpur, N.W.P.*
- 270 1889 LYON, H. Thomson, 57, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
-
- 1878 MACARTNEY, Sir Halliday, M.D., K.C.M.G., *Secretary to the Chinese Embassy, Richmond House, 49, Portland Place.*
- 1882 *McCORKELL, G., *Bombay Civil Service, Ahmadabad.*
- 1882 §*MCCHINDLE, J. W., M.A., F.R.S.G.S., 9, *Westhall Gardens, Edinburgh.*
- 1880 *MACCELLUM, Major H. E., R.E.
- 1882 §*MACDONELL, Prof. A. A., Ph.D., *Corpus Christi, Deputy Professor of Sanskrit; 7, Fyfield Road, Oxford.*
- 1867 *McDOUALL, W., *Vice-Consul, Mahammerah, through Bushire, Persia.*

- 1894 *MACLAGAN, E. D., *Under Secretary Agricultural Department, Panjab Government.*
- 1877 *MADDEN, F. W., *Holt Lodge, 86, London Road, Brighton.*
- 1893 *MADHO, P. Beni, *Jodhpur, Rajputana.*
- 280 EXT. 1893 MAHĀ YOTHA, His Excellency the Marquis.
- 1891 *MANN, Edmund C., 128, *Park Place, Brooklyn, U.S.A.*
- 1879 †MANNING, Miss, 35, *Blomfield Road, W.*
- 1889 *MARGOLICUTH, D., *Professor of Arabic, 88, Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
- 1888 MASTER, John Henry, *Montrose House, Peterham.*
- 1880 *MAXWELL, The Hon. W. E., C.M.G., *Commissioner Gold Coast.*
- 1894 *MAY, A. J., *Queen's College, Hong Kong.*
- 1894 MEAD, G.R.S., 17, *Avenue Road, N.W.*
- 1883 *MEERMAGEN, The Rev. C. F., *St. Feock's Vicarage, Devonan R.S.O., Cornwall.*
- HON. MEYNARD, Professor Barbier de, *Membre de l'Institut, 18, Boulevard de Magenta, Paris.*
- 290 1863 *MILES, Colonel S. B., *Bombay Staff Corps.*
- 1873 *MINCHIN, Major-General, *Bengal Staff Corps.*
- 1895 *MITRA, Rajesvara, Rai Sahib, *Executive Engineer, P.W.D. Raipār, C.P.*
- 1878 †MOCATTA, F. D., 9, *Connaught Place, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1874 *MOCKLER, Lieut.-Col. E., *Bombay Staff Corps, Political Agent, Muscat.*
- 1882 †*MOHANLĀL VISHNULĀL PANDIA, Pundit, *Member and Secretary of the State Council of Mewar, Udaipur.*
- 1884 *MOLONEY, Sir Alfred, K.C.M.G., *Government House, British Honduras.*
- 1846 †§MONIER-WILLIAMS, Sir Monier, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., *Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford, Enfield House, Ventnor, Isle of Wight.*
- 1886 §MORGAN, E. Delmar, 15, *Roland Gardens, Kensington, S.W.*
- 1877 §MORRIS, Henry, *Eastcote House, St. John's Park, Blackheath.*
- 300 1881 MORRISON, Walter, 77, *Cromwell Road, S.W.; Malham Tarn, Bell Busk, Leeds.*
- 1882 *†MORSE, H. Ballou, *Chinese Imperial Customs, Shanghai; 26, Old Queen Street, Westminster.*

- 1892 *MORTON, Rev. B. Mitford, *Kingsthorpe, Northampton.*
 1890 *MOSS, R. Waddy, *Didsbury College, Manchester.*
 1877 §MUIR, Sir W., K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D., *Vice-Chancellor of the University, Edinburgh.*
 1885 *MUKAND LAL, *Udaipur.*
 1895 *MUKERJI, Babu Najendranath, *Professor of English History, Jaipur College.*
 1882 *MUKERJI, Phanibhusan, *Professor at Hughli College, Chinsurah, Bengal, India.*
 1893 *MUKERJI, Raja Pyari Mohan, C.S.I., *Uttarpara vid Calcutta.*
 1888 *MUKERJI, Satya Chandri, *Pleader of the High Court, Mathura, N.W.P., India.*
 310 1887 *MULLALLY, C. M., *Madras Civil Service, Kistna District, Madras.*
 1895 *MÜLLER, Dr. E., *Professor of Sanskrit at the University, Berne, 30, Zieglerstrasse.*
 HON. MÜLLER, Professor F. Max, 7, *Norham Gardens, Oxford.*
 HON. MÜLLER, Professor Friedrich, *University, Vienna.*
 1850 *†MURRAY, The Hon. Sir C. A., K.C.B., *The Grange, Windsor.*
- 1887 *NARAYAN, Laksmi.
 1891 *NATHAN, P. Rama, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
 HON. NAVILLE, Edouard, D.C.L., *Malaguy, near Geneva.*
 1888 *NEIL, R. A. E., *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
 1860 *†NELSON, James Henry, M.A., *Cuddalore, Madras.*
 320 1891 *NEVILL, Hugh, *Ceylon Civil Service.*
 1892 *NEWBERRY, Percy E., *Egypt.*
 1895 *NICHOLSON, R. A., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 1861 *NIEMANN, Prof. G. K., *Delft, Holland.*
 HON. NÜLDKE, Professor, *Strassburg.*
 1876 *NORMAN, Lieut.-General Sir Henry W., G.C.B., K.C.S.I., *Governor of Queensland.*
 1876 NORTHBROOK, The Right Hon. the Earl of, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., 4, *Hamilton Place, Piccadilly, W.*

- 1888 OLDHAM, Surgeon-Major Charles Frederick, *Sutton Haugh, Woodbridge, Suffolk.*
- 1885 *OLIVER, Edward E., *Secretary to Government, P.W.D., Lahore.*
- HON. OPPELT, Professor Jules, *Rue de Sfax, 2, Paris.*
- 330 1879 *ORMISTON, The Rev. James, 3, *Berkeley Square, Clifton, Bristol.*
- 1893 *PARGITER, F. E., B.C.S., *c/o Messrs. Balmer, Laurie, and Co., 103, Clive Street, Calcutta.*
- 1893 *PARSONSON, J. Marsden, 26, *Moorgate Street.*
- 1869 §PEARSE, General George Godfrey, C.B., R.H.A., 4, *Norfolk Square, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1895 *PEATLING, H., *Wisbech, Cambridgeshire.*
- 1882 †PEEK, Cuthbert E., 22, *Belgrave Square.*
- 1882 †PEEK, Sir H. W., Bart., M.P., *c/o Mr. Grover, Rousden, Lyme.*
- 1892 *PEREIRA, J. C. Walter, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1887 *PERKINS, Miss L. L. W., *Concord, Boston, Mass.*
- 1390 *PFUNGST, Dr. Arthur, 2, *Gärtnerweg, Frankfurt.*
- 340 1895 PHILLIPS, G., *late China Consular Service, 8, Christ Church Avenue, Brondesbury, N.W.*
- 1874 *† PHYA RAJANATTATANUHAR, His Excellency, *Private Secretary to the King of Siam.*
- 1895 *PILLAI, P. S., *Professor of Philosophy, Tricandrum College, Harneypuram House, Tricandrum, Travancore.*
- 1881 PINCHES, Theophilus G., *British Museum, W.C.*
- 1874 PINCOTT, Frederic, 63, *Bellenden Road, Peckham, S.E.*
- 1895 PITT, St. George Lane-Fox, 4, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*
- 1883 PITT-RIVERS, Major-General, F.R.S., *Rushmore, Salisbury.*
- 1894 *PLIMMER, Mrs., *Wunderbau, Sydenham.*
- 1893 §*PLUNKETT, Lieut.-Colonel G. T., R.E., 24, *Burlington Place, Dublin.*
- 1874 POPE, The Rev. G. U., D.D., *Lecturer in Tamil, Indian Institute, Oxford.*
- 350 1893 *POUSSIN, Louis de la Vallée, *The University, Ghent.*

- 1876 *POWELL, B. H. Baden-, *Ferlys Lodge, 29, Banbury Road, Oxford.*
- 1888 *PRATT, The Hon. Spencer E., *United States Minister to the Court of Persia, Teheran.*
- 1882 †*PRISDANG, His Excellency the Prince.
- 1862 PUSEY, S. E. Bouverie-, *Pusey House, Farringdon.*
- 1895 *QUINN, M. T., *Principal and Professor of English Language and Literature, Pacharyappa's College, Madras.*
- 1895 *RAGOZIN, Mdme. Zenaïde A., 115, *Second Avenue, New York.*
- 1874 †*RAMASVAMI, Iyengar B., *Bangalore, Madras.*
- 1887 *RANG LAL, *Barriater-at-Law, Delhi.*
- 1885 *RANKIN, D. J., *c/o Messrs. Woodhead & Co., 44, Charing Cross.*
- 360 1891 *RANKING, Surgeon-Lieut.-Colonel G. P. A., *Indian Medical Service, 17, Elysium Row, Calcutta.*
- 1869 †RANSOM, Edwin, 24, *Ashburnham Road, Bedford.*
- 1888 §*RAPSON, E. J., *Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, British Museum, W.C.*
- 1893 *RATTIGAN, Hon. Sir W. H., *Lahora.*
- 1895 *RAYNBIRD, Hugh, *Garrison Gateway Cottage, Old Basing, Basingstoke.*
- 1887 *REA, A., *Archæological Survey Department, Madras.*
- 1892 §REAY, The Rt. Hon. the Lord, G.C.S.I., LL.D., *PRESIDENT, Carolside, Earlsdon, Berwickshire; 6, Great Stanhope Street, Mayfair.*
- 1886 *REES, John David, C.I.E., *Madras Civil Service, Private Secretary to the Governor.*
- 1889 REUTER, Baron George de, 18, *Kensington Palace Gardens, W.*
- 1879 *RICE, Lewis, *Director of Public Instruction, Bangalore.*
- 370 1893 †*RIDDING, Rev. W., *St. Swithin's House, Chapelgate, Retford.*

- 1892 †RIDDING, Miss C. Mary, 6, *Southwold Road, Clapton.*
- 1860 RIFON, The Most Hon. the Marquess of, K.G., F.R.S.,
Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
- 1872 †*RIVETT-CARNAC, J. H., C.I.E., F.S.A., *Bengal C.S.,
Ghāzipur.*
- 1880 ROBINSON, Vincent J., C.I.E., F.S.A., *Hopedene,
Felday, Dorking.*
- 1882 *ROCKHILL, W. W., *c/o Smithsonian Institute, Washington.*
- 1881 *RODGERS, C. J., *Honorary Numismatist to the Govern-
ment of India, Amritsar, Punjab, India.*
- 1892 ROGERS, Alex., 38, *Clanricarde Gardens, W.*
- 1861 ROLLO, The Right Hon. the Lord, *Duncrub Castle,
Perthshire.*
- 1894 *ROSE, E., *Commissioner, Gorakhpur, N.W.P.*
- 380 1894 ROSS, E. D., 18, *Upper Westbourne Terrace.*
- 1873 *ROSS, Colonel Sir E. C., C.S.I., *Bombay Staff Corps,
8, Beaufort Road, Clifton, Bristol.*
- HON. §ROST, Dr. Reinhold, C.I.E., Ph.D., 1, *Elucorthy
Terrace, Primrose Hill.*
- HON. Roth, Professor R., *Tübingen.*
- 1888 *ROUFFIGNAC, P. Z. A., *Saint Germain, les 3 Clochers,
Département de la Vienne, France.*
- 1891 †*ROUSE, W. H. D., F.R.G.S., 4, *Bilton Road, Rugby.*
- 1891 †ROY, Robert, *Earlsdale, Ilfracombe.*
- 1885 *RUSDEN, G. W., *Cotmandene, South Yarra, Melbourne.*
- 1872 †*RUSTOMJI, C., *Jaunpur, care of G. Ardaseer, Esq.,
Olney House, Richmond, Surrey.*
- 1880 †RYLANDS, T. Glazebrooke, *Highfields, Thelwall, War-
rington.*
- 390 1876 RYLANDS, W. H., F.S.A., *Sec. Bib. Arch. Soc., 37,
Gt. Russell Street, W.C.*
- HON. SACHAU, Professor Eduard, *President of the Seminar
für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin.*
- 1883 SALMONÉ, Habib Anthony, *Professor of Arabic at
King's College and Lecturer at University College;
126, Belair Road, N.W.*
- 1893 *SANJANA, Dastur Darab Peshotan, *High Priest of the
Parsees, 114, Chundannawadi, Bombay.*

- 1892 *SANKARANĀRĀYANA, P., *Tripunitora Ernakulam, Cochin, Sirkar.*
- 1891 *SARDA, HAR BILAS, B.A., *Government College, Ajmere.*
- 1865 SASSOON, Sir Albert D., C.S.I., 1, *Eastern Terrace, Brighton.*
- 1865 SASSOON, Reuben D., 1, *Belgrave Square, S.W.*
- 1893 *SASTRI, Pandit Hari Prasad, *Bengal Librarian, Writer's Buildings, Calcutta.*
- 1880 *SATOW, Sir Ernest M., K.C.M.G., Ph.D., *H.B.M. Minister, Tokio.*
- 400 1874 †§SAYCE, The Rev. A. H., VICE-PRESIDENT, *Professor of Assyriology, Queen's College, Oxford.*
- 1870 *SCHINDLER, General A. H., *Teherān, Persia.*
- HON. SCHRADER, Professor, *Berlin.*
- 1893 SCOTT, E. J. Long, *Keeper of the MSS. and Egerton Librarian, British Museum.*
- 1885 *SCOTT, James George, C.I.E., *Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1886 *SCOTT, Sir John, K.C.M.G., *Cairo.*
- 1867 *†SELIM, Faris Effendi, *Constantinople.*
- 1887 *SELL, The Rev. E., *Church Missionary Society, Madras.*
- 1893 *SEN, GURU PRASAD, *Bankipur, Bengal.*
- HON. SENART, Emile, 18, *Rue François 1^{er}, Paris.*
- 410 1887 *SENATHI RAJA, E. G. W., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1892 *SESSIONS, F., *Monkleighton, Alexandra Road, Gloucester.*
- 1877 §SEWELL, R., *Madras C.S., 6, Palace Mansions, Buckingham Gate.*
- 1892 *SHĀR, Nurāllāh, *Gayā, E. India.*
- 1895 *SHAW, Rev. F. B., 22, *College Grove Road, Wakefield.*
- 1895 *SHELLABEAR, Rev. G. W., *M.E. Mission, Singapore.*
- 1884 *†SĀYAMAJI KRISHNA VARMA, M.A., *Barrister-at-Law, Ajmere, India.*
- 1890 *SIRREE, Ernest, *Bussage House, near Stroud.*
- 1883 SIMCOX, Miss Edith, *Ellesborough House, Tring, Herts.*
- 1887 SIMPSON, W., 19, *Church Road, Willesden.*
- 420 1877 SINCLAIR, W. F., late I.C.S., *Messrs. King & Co., Pall Mall.*
- 1894 *SINGH, Sardar Sir Atar, K.C.I.E., *Chief of Bhadaur, Bhadaur House, Ludhiana.*
- 1893 *SINGH, The Raja Visvanath Bahadur, *Chhatapur, Bundelkhand, C.I.*

- 1895 †*SINHA, KUNWAR Keshal Pal, *Raio Kotla, P.O. Narki, Agra District.*
- 1883 *SMITH, Vincent A., *Bengal Civil Service, Gorakhpur, N.W.P.*
- 1889 *SRI MHITINJAYA NISSENHA BAHAKA GARU, *Zemindar of Sangamcalsu, Parvatipur.*
- 1886 *STACK, George, *Professor of Ancient and Modern History, Presidency College, Calcutta.*
- 1858 §STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, The Right Hon. the Lord, 15, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*
- 1861 *STANMORE, The Right Honourable Lord, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.C.L., *Red House, Ascot.*
- 1887 *STEIN, M. A., Ph.D., *The Principal, Oriental College, and Registrar, Panjab University, Lahore.*
- 430 1894 *STEVENSON, Robert C., *Assistant Commissioner, Kyaukpyn, Arakan, Burma.*
- 1892 *ST. JOHN, R. F. St. Andrew, *Lecturer in Burmese, Oxford, Dunccliffe, Ealing Common.*
- 1848 STRACHEY, William, *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1893 §*STRONG, S. A., *Reader in Assyriology, Cambridge, 7, St. John's Road, Putney Hill.*
- 1891 STURDY, Ed. T., *High View, Caversham, Reading.*
- HON. 1892 SUMANGALA MAHĀ NĀYAKA UNNĀNĒ.
- 1893 †*SVASTI SOBHANA, H.R.H. Prince, *Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1895 *SYKES, Percy M., *H.B.M. Consul, Kerman, Persia.*
-
- 1875 *†TAGORE SOURENDRO MOHUN, *Rajah Bahadur, Mus.D., Calcutta.*
- 1896 *TAHL RAM, *Gungaram, Zemindar, Dera Ismail Khan, Panjab.*
- 440 1893 *TAW SEIN KO, 2, *Latter Street, Rangoon.*
- 1883 TAWNEY, C. H., *The Librarian, India Office.*
- 1894 *TAYLOR, Arnold C., *Uppingham, Rutland.*
- 1880 *†TAYLOR, The Rev. Charles, D.D., *Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.*
- 1892 *TCHÉRAZ, MINRS, *Professor of Armenian, King's College, London; 33, De Vere Gardens, S.W.*
- 1879 §*TEMPLE, Major R. C., C.I.E., *Commissioner of the Andamans.*

- 1881 †THEOBALD, W., *Budleigh Salterton, Decon.*
 1880 *†THORBURN, S. S., *Bengal Civil Service, Panjab.*
 1881 §THORNTON, T. H., C.S.I., D.C.L., 23, *Bramham Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*
 HON. TIELE, Professor, *University, Leiden.*
 450 1859 *†TIEN, The Rev. Anton, Ph.D., 23, *Park Place, Gravesend.*
 1892 *TOLMAN, Professor H. C., *Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.*
 1895 †*TRAVANCORE, H.H. Rama Varma, G.C.S.I., *Mahārāja of Travancore.*
 1879 *TROTTER, Coutts, *Athenæum Club; 17, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.*
 1884 *TROTTER, Lieut.-Col. Henry, C.B., *H.M. Consul-General, Galatz, Roumania.*
 1884 †TUFNELL, H., Esq., *The Grove, Wimbledon Park.*
 1891 *TUPPER, C. L., *Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, Lahore.*
- 1882 *UDÁIPÚR, His Highness Fateh Singhji Bahadur, *Maharāna of, G.C.S.I.*
- 1884 *VALENTINE, The Rev. Colin S., LL.D., *Medical College, Agra.*
 1884 *†VASADEV, Mādhur Samarth, R. R., B.A., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 460 HON. 1892 VASSILIEF, Professor V. P., *The University, St. Petersburg.*
 1883 VERNY, F. W., 6, *Onslow Gardens, S.W.*
 1827 †VIVIAN, K. H. S., *Irecon, St. Colomb, Cornwall.*
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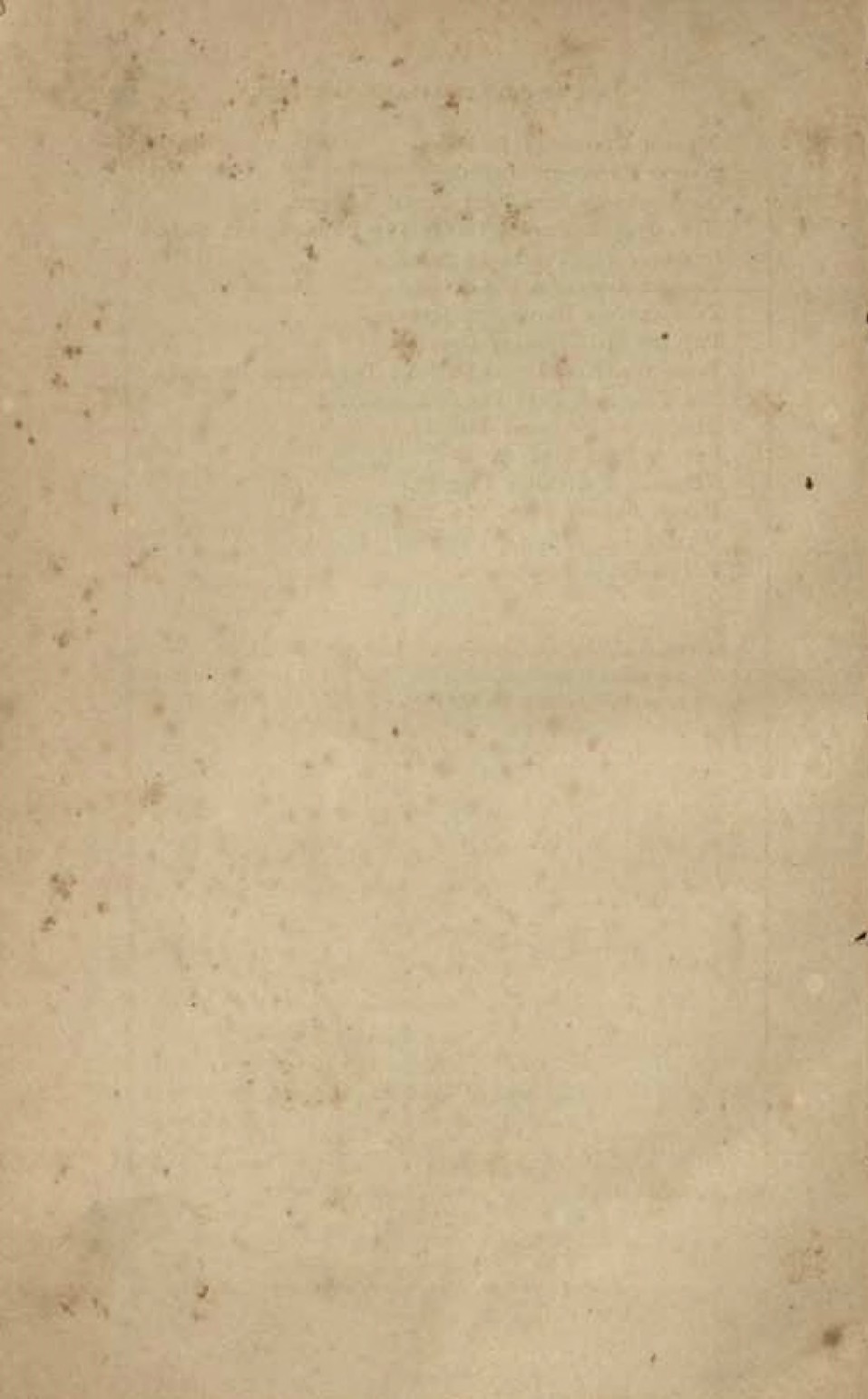
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